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Préface

L'importance de la contribution d'Hélène Brunner à l'étude du śivaïsme, la grande estime où nous tenons ses travaux, comme aussi l'ancienne amitié qui liait à elle l'un de nous, nous ont fait penser qu'il serait juste et opportun de faire paraître un volume à sa mémoire dont les contributions montreraient par leur ensemble la présence continuée de son œuvre dans les esprits ou les travaux en cours, et, par leurs apports propres, la poursuite et les progrès de la recherche dans le domaine des *āgama*s dont elle fut une pionnière il y a près d'un demi-siècle.

Encouragée par Jean Filliozat, fondateur visionnaire de l'IFP, Hélène Brunner avait commencé son étude des *āgama*s śivaïtes à Pondichéry dans le cadre de l'Institut Français d'Indologie (comme on disait alors). Elle y a par la suite beaucoup travaillé – en particulier avec le paṇḍit N. R. Bhatt de l'EFEO – et c'est dans cette « Collection Indologie » (autrefois « Publications du département d'indologie ») qu'a paru notamment son œuvre maîtresse sur la *Somaśambhupaddhati*. Cette étude volumineuse est devenue un ouvrage fondamental de référence pour ceux qui s'intéressent au tantrisme aujourd'hui. On comprend dès lors que l'EFEO et l'IFP aient approuvé l'idée de ce volume et en aient assumé la publication, ce dont nous leur sommes très vivement reconnaissants.

Des treize contributions ici rassemblées, onze sont des études śivaïtes. C'est évidemment chose normale pour un volume d'hommage à Hélène Brunner. Mais ce l'est également d'une manière plus générale pour un recueil d'études tantriques. Cela d'abord parce que, pour ce qui est de la quantité et la qualité des œuvres, le phénomène tantrique est avant tout śivaïte (nous ne parlons pas ici du bouddhisme). Mais ce l'est aussi, croyons-nous, fondamentalement et essentiellement, parce que le tantrisme (si on peut utiliser ce substantif) est avant tout śivaïte. L'apport tantrique viṣṇouïte est bien moins marqué, et même à certains égards secondaire. Il n'en a pas moins son importance et son intérêt, que nous tenons à reconnaître, sur le plan tant textuel et philosophique que socio-religieux. Mais ce n'est pas le lieu maintenant de traiter de ce problème.

Voyons ces treize études, qui ont été imprimées selon l'ordre alphabétique des noms de leurs auteurs.

L'article de Diwakar ACHARYA, sur la *Saṃskāravidhi*, un manuel de rituel des Lakulīśa-Pāśupatas, se trouve être le premier par une heureuse rencontre puisqu'il concerne une des plus anciennes formes d'ascétisme śivaïte, relevant de l'Atimārga. Il y donne le texte édité, traduit et annoté de l'une des quatre *vidhi*s attribuées à un certain Gārgya qu'il avait trouvées dans un manuscrit népalais datant sans doute du XIV[e] siècle. Cet ouvrage précédemment inconnu présente le rituel pāśupata d'initiation et se révèle être l'ancêtre des rites śivaïtes d'initiation qu'a étudiés Hélène BRUNNER, notamment dans le troisième volume de la *Somaśambhupaddhati*.

C'est également de textes non tantriques que traite Peter BISSCHOP, qui examine deux passages apparentés, l'un du *Vāyupurāṇa*, l'autre du vieux *Skandapurāṇa*, à propos de leur description du Śivapura, le paradis de Śiva. Littérature purāṇique, donc, mais où figure Vigraheśvara, déité tantrique présente dans « a kind of post-Pāñcārthika Atimārga ».

« People of the festival », de Richard H. DAVIS et Leslie C. ORR, nous éloigne de l'étude textuelle et nous rapproche de la réalité humaine en passant en revue, sur la base de la *Mahotsavavidhi* d'Aghoraśiva et d'inscriptions de temples du sud de l'Inde, les acteurs de toutes sortes qui jouent un rôle dans l'importante performance rituelle qu'est un *mahotsava*. Cette vaste mise en scène rituelle dans le cadre du temple a pris au cours des siècles une ampleur qu'elle n'avait pas au début. Le fait qu'elle ait persisté à certains égards jusqu'aux temps modernes ne peut qu'en rendre l'examen plus intéressant du point de vue tant rituel que socio-économique. Comme DAVIS et ORR le rappellent, c'est là un sujet dont Hélène BRUNNER avait eu l'occasion d'aborder certains aspects dans la *Somaśambhupaddhati* comme dans divers articles. Mais cette étude-ci a l'intérêt de reprendre le thème de façon globale et systématique en envisageant le cas de tous les acteurs et en recourant également à des sources tamoules, auxquelles Hélène BRUNNER n'avait pas eu accès.

C'est encore du temple śivaïte que traite Pierre-Sylvain FILLIOZAT dans ce qu'il intitule modestement une note, « Sur les modes de représentation de Sadāśiva dans l'ordonnance iconographique et architecturale du temple », exposé fondé en grande partie sur le *vidyāpāda* du *Mataṅgapārameśvara* avec la *Vṛtti* de Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha. « Comprendre Sadāśiva et comprendre le temple, c'est comprendre le fond de la doctrine śivaïte », nous dit-il. La divinité suprême, qui est par nature inaccessible, a voulu cependant se rendre accessible à ses fidèles

en prenant des états, des hypostases à de multiples niveaux plus proches des humains, aspects qui sont présents dans le temple. On voit ainsi comment, par les images qui s'y trouvent et au terme des rites qui y sont accomplis, le temple apparaît comme une représentation du corps de Śiva, être omniprésent dans le cosmos. Toute la théologie śivaïte y est présente, visible dans les panneaux narratifs, accessible à plusieurs niveaux de lecture, vécue dans les gestes du rituel, représentée mentalement tout en étant localisée en divers points du temple. Cette étude attentive, précise, sensible, fait bien ressortir, avec l'importance du temple, le caractère fondamental de représentation mentale de la pratique rituelle tantrique.

On revient aux textes avec le court article de T. GANESAN qui présente en résumé le contenu de deux āgamas inédits à partir des transcrits de l'IFP : le *Vijayāgama*, qui, bien qu'il s'agisse d'un Siddhāntatantra, est consacré au culte et aux fêtes de la déesse Durgā, et le *Svāyambhuvāgama*, grand tantra qui mélange le texte du *Svāyambhuvasūtrasaṅgraha* avec des chapitres consacrés au culte public de Śiva dans un temple. Vient ensuite la première édition critique du *Śatikakālottaratantra*, texte présenté, édité et commenté par Dominic GOODALL, qui le date d'avant le XI[e] siècle. Il s'agit d'une des versions (celle-ci en cent stances) d'un *āgama* connu également sous les noms d'*Āgneya*, *Vāthula* et *Kālottara* et dont la seule version publiée jusqu'ici est celle en 350 vers que N. R. BHATT avait publié en 1979 sous le titre *Sārdhatriśatikālottarāgama*. Le *Kālottara* a joué un rôle fondamental dans le développement des rites śivaïtes : c'est le *Dviśatikālottara*, version en 200 stances, qui a été adopté comme *tantra* de base pour toutes les *paddhati* du Siddhānta transmises jusqu'à nos jours, y compris celle de Somaśambhu.

Peut-être pouvons-nous mentionner maintenant, à la suite des précédentes, puisqu'elle concerne aussi le Śaivasiddhānta, l'étude de Francesco SFERRA, « Materials for the study of the levels of sound in the Sanskrit sources of the Śaivasiddhānta ». Cet article rappelle d'abord les conceptions relatives à l'évolution du son dans les textes saiddhāntika publiés, ainsi que dans la littéraire secondaire, avant de fournir une édition, avec leurs traductions, de quelques passages pertinents de la *Ratnatrayollekhinī* d'Aghoraśiva (XII[e] siècle). En appendice, sont cités des passages d'un autre commentaire, jusqu'ici inconnu, sur les mêmes stances de la *Ratnatrayaparīkṣā*.

Ce n'est plus seulement du Śaivasiddhānta qu'il s'agit dans les quatre études suivantes, mais du Mantramārga en général, notamment dans ses développements cachemiriens. Vient en premier la contribution d'Alexis SANDERSON

« The Śaiva exegesis of Kashmir » où l'on trouve une vue d'ensemble de ce que l'on peut savoir aujourd'hui d'une des plus brillantes traditions religieuses et philosophiques de l'Inde, vue que possède particulièrement bien l'auteur de cette étude. Un sujet aussi considérable ne se pouvait pas traiter dans les 25 ou 30 pages auxquelles il avait été prévu que se limiteraient les contributions à ce volume. Mais pouvait-on y publier un article de la longueur d'un livre ? Cela nous a posé un problème. Toutefois l'intérêt, qui nous en semble exceptionnel, nous a amenés à l'inclure – et à être heureux de pouvoir le faire. Sanderson rappelle d'abord avec précision ce qui, au sein du Mantramārga śivaïte, distingue le Siddhānta des traditions vouées au culte de Bhairava ou de la Déesse. Tout en rappelant ce que ces deux ensembles traditionnels ont en commun, il note ce qui les différencie, notamment les différences concernant le statut social des adeptes et le rôle des temples. Il souligne aussi, ce faisant, l'importance donnée par les exégètes cachemiriens, brahmanes vivant dans le monde, à la gnose (*jñāna*) salvatrice, au détriment de l'approche extatique visionnaire des tantras, les exégètes saiddhāntika étant marqués quant à eux par « uncompromising ritualism, relative mundanity and professionalism », affirmation que, bien entendu, il explicite, notamment en rappelant que l'accent mis sur la gnose n'excluait nullement les pratiques rituelles. Il termine la section de son étude consacrée au Siddhānta en mentionnant le cas du *Piṅgalāmata* qui montre que les oppositions entre Siddhānta et « Śākta-inclined tantras » n'étaient pas aussi tranchées qu'on le croit généralement.

Passant à l'exégèse des tantras śākta-śaiva, Sanderson la répartit en deux tendances, le Kālīkula et le Trika. Le premier enseigne le culte de diverses formes de la déesse Kālī, adorée seule entourée d'une cercle de divinités secondaires, alors que, dans les traditions relevant du Krama, Kālī est au centre d'une série d'hypostases incarnant des phases (*krama*) de son activité cosmique dont le dynamisme séquentiel anime l'univers en même temps que la conscience du dévot, isomorphe de celle de Kālī (ou des Kālī). Le principal texte du Kālīkula, le *Jayadrathayāmala*, a été particulièrement étudié par Sanderson. Il en traite ici rapidement tout en montrant l'influence qu'a eue ce texte, dont on retrouve des citations et nombre de divinités dans les manuels de rituel śivaïtes. On y trouve aussi des éléments krama. C'est surtout l'exégèse du Krama que Sanderson examine, tradition mal connue parce que ses textes n'ont généralement pas été édités, mais importante tant par son apport original que par son influence, qui se retrouve notamment dans le Trika et en particulier chez Abhinavagupta. Il en présente les auteurs et les œuvres principales, no-

tamment les trois *Mahānayaprakāśa* ainsi qu'un texte jusqu'à présent, croyons-nous, inconnu, le *Chummāsaṅketaprakāśa*, dont l'examen ici apporte vraiment du nouveau. SANDERSON est assez bref sur le Trika. On notera ce qu'il dit de la datation du *Vāmakeśvarīmata*, puis du śivaïsme du *Svacchanda* et du *Netratantra* (sur lesquels reposera désormais le culte śivaïte au Cachemire – deux textes, incidemment, qu'Hélène BRUNNER connaissait bien, mais sans en avoir remarqué tous les traits) et de leur commentaire par Kṣemarāja, le maître et le disciple ayant tous deux « propagated Krama-based analyses, Abhinavagupta of the Trika's *Mālinīvijayottaratantra* and Kṣemarāja of the *Svacchandatantra* and the *Netratantra* ». Kṣemarāja aurait aussi, selon SANDERSON, fortement tendu à lire les *Śivasūtra* dans l'esprit du Krama, texte dont il tend à penser qu'il ne faut pas exagérer l'importance. Il y a dans cette grande étude plusieurs autres points sur lesquels on aimerait attirer l'attention, mais on ne peut guère le faire dans cette préface. Après une utile chronologie de la littérature śivaïte cachemirienne, SANDERSON, dans une dernière section, « A Brief History », donne les raisons qu'il a de penser que le Siddhānta, qui avait pratiquement disparu du Cachemire dès le X^e^ siècle, avait dû y être la forme dominante du śivaïsme, pour être remplacé, dans le domaine non-śākta, par les cultes de Svacchanda et d'Amṛteśvarabhairava, non sans toutefois laisser des traces dans ces cultes. Du côté śākta, SANDERSON pense que le Trika y avait été beaucoup moins largement présent que le Kālīkula, c'est-à-dire le Krama – lequel a d'ailleurs influencé les auteurs du Trika alors que l'inverse ne s'est pas produit – cela même si le Trika y est sans doute apparu avant le Krama. L'ampleur et le brillant de l'œuvre d'Abhinavagupta (influencé souvent par le Krama) nous cache, pense-il, cette réalité. Il souligne enfin l'importance qu'a eue notamment au Cachemire le culte de Tripurasundarī – c'est au demeurant celui qui s'est le plus largement répandu en Inde où il a duré jusqu'à nos jours. Il y aurait ainsi beaucoup à revoir dans ce que nous croyons généralement savoir du śivaïsme cachemirien. On voit dans tout ce qui précède la valeur de l'apport à notre volume de cette contribution.

On revient à l'examen d'un texte, mais en restant dans l'exégèse śivaïte, avec la présentation commentée par Raffaele TORELLA d'un passage de la *Vivṛti* d'Utpaladeva sur ses *Pratyabhijñākārikā*, œuvre dont il avait retrouvé un fragment, qu'il a entrepris de publier. La découverte de ce fragment est importante car elle permet non seulement de mieux connaître certains aspects de la pensée d'Utpaladeva mais aussi de mieux comprendre les portions correspondantes du vaste commentaire, la *Vimarśinī*, qu'Abhinavagupta avait fait de cette *Vivṛti*,

portions qui, sans elle, nous restaient souvent obscures. La section ici présentée par Torella porte sur la mémoire (*smaraṇa*), Utpaladeva y réfutant l'idée qu'elle est simplement la reconnaissance d'une perception antérieure, alors que, pour la Pratyabhijñā, elle est l'effet de l'identité de la conscience individuelle et de la Conscience divine. On voit apparaître dans ce texte, une fois de plus, l'extrême subtilité de l'exégèse cachemirienne.

On reste largement dans le domaine de l'exégèse avec l'étude de Judit Torzsök « The Search in Śaiva Scriptures for Meaning in Tantric ritual », où l'on voit certains tantras kaula ou leurs exégètes soit juger les rites inutiles (car seule sauve la grâce divine ou la gnose, ou les mantras), soit les réinterpréter en leur donnant une portée nouvelle, plus riche parce que transcendant l'action vers le sens. Cela se fait par le biais de l'analyse sémantique traditionnelle (*nirvacana*) qui trouve dans les mots un sens plus riche ; ou par l'intériorisation, la représentation mentale vécue se substituant avec une plus grande efficacité salvatrice à l'action rituelle matériellement accomplie. Mais comment renoncer au rite quand on est un tāntrika, c'est-à-dire un hyper-ritualiste ? Il y a là un point important. Résumant ces diverses attitudes dans sa conclusion, Judit Torzsök fait remarquer que cette tension ne laissait pas de se rencontrer déjà dans les *Upaniṣad*s : elle est sans doute généralement indienne, mais le phénomène tantrique ne l'est-il pas lui aussi ?

La contribution de Somdev Vasudeva, « Synaesthetic iconography : the *nādiphāntakrama* » touche au cas particulier, propre au domaine tantrique, des divinités « alphabétiques », en l'occurence celui de la déesse Mālinī, qui a une place importante dans le Trika et qui est faite des lettres de l'alphabet sanskrit disposées dans un ordre particulier mêlant voyelles et consonnes, commençant par NA pour se terminer par PHA, d'où sa désignation *nādiphāntakrama*. Vasudeva présente onze recensions de cette séquence qui comportent quelques variantes, mais dont les phonèmes, correspondent toujours chacun à une déesse, leur ensemble formant le corps de la Mālinī, s'étageant en elle en des points précis de la tête aux pieds. Ces phonèmes/déesses sont à placer par *nyāsa* en 49 points du corps de l'adepte qui est ainsi purifié et divinisé. Ces points sont toujours les mêmes dans les diverses recensions et correspondent aux mêmes lettres, même si l'ordre n'est pas invariable. Cette correspondance constante ne serait pas sans raison : elle s'expliquerait par la ressemblance entre la graphie de ces phonèmes dans une des formes de l'écriture brāhmī et la forme des parties du corps humain où on les place rituellement. Or ces phonèmes se prononcent oralement. Le *nyāsa* de l'alphabet sanskrit dans cet ordre, donnerait ainsi

lieu à une représentation globale, cénesthésique, à la fois visuelle, celle des lettres écrites, et phonique, celle du son de ces phonèmes, expérience divinisante corporellement vécue, chose assurément curieuse.

Viennent enfin les deux contributions viṣṇouïtes à ce volume, que, pour souligner la particularité et la place qu'elles méritent dans ce recueil essentiellement śivaïte, nous n'avons pas mentionnées à leur place alphabétique, mais séparément. Vient d'abord l'étude sur le *Nyāsopadeśa* de Bharadvāja de Gerhard Oberhammer dont nous aimerions d'abord rappeler que sans lui le *Tāntrikābhidhānakośa* publié par l'Académie des Sciences d'Autriche, et qui est un utile apport à la connaissance du domaine tantrique, n'aurait jamais vu le jour : on lui en doit de la reconnaissance. Dans cette étude, donc, il examine un court traité sur la *prapatti* qui ne se présente pas comme un des principaux textes révélés du Pāñcarātra, mais plutôt comme un enseignement dont l'autorité ne se repose pas uniquement sur les *saṃhitā*, mais aussi sur les *Veda*, les *Upaniṣad* et les *Dharmaśāstra*. Le texte, qui est postérieur à Rāmānuja, s'intéresse au thème de la *prapatti* du point de vue de la praxis et semble avoir été rédigé dans un contexte viśiṣṭādvaita.

Marion Rastelli, enfin, confirmant une trentaine d'années après Hélène Brunner que les chapitres 72–106 de l'*Agnipurāṇa* proviennent d'une source āgamique, fait un travail attentif de recherche des sources possibles des chapitres 21 à 70 de l'*Agnipurāṇa*, qui sont généralement considérés comme faits de citations de textes du Pāñcarātra. Elle arrive à la conclusion que leur matière provient notamment de la *Nāradīyasaṃhitā* et (pour les chapitres 39–70) du *Hayaśīrṣapāñcarātra*. L'examen de ces passages a en outre l'intérêt de montrer la présence dans le Pāñcarātra de notions que l'on ne trouve pas dans les *saṃhitā*s que nous connaissons.

Nous remercions tous les contributeurs de leurs textes comme de leur coopération à la mise au point de ces articles pour l'impression. Quelques lecteurs nous ont communiqué leurs corrections Outre les contributeurs, nous remercions les personnes suivantes de nous avoir communiqué quelques rectifications pendant les derniers jours de la mise en page : Hugo David, Arlo Griffiths, Harunaga Isaacson, Nina Mirnig et Isabelle Ratié. Dominic Goodall, qui s'est occupé de la mise en page de ce volume, tient à remercier deux personnes qui ont apporté leur aide dans la manipulation du logiciel LaTeX : Kengo Harimoto et Somdev Vasudeva.

En ce qui concerne les informations bibliographiques, nous les avons regroupées en trois endroits : les manuscrits consultés sont indiqués à la fin de

chaque contribution ; une liste, que nous espérons complète, des publications d'Hélène Brunner se trouve après la note bibliographique qui suit cette préface ; une liste générale de tous les autres ouvrages cités dans ce volume se situe tout à la fin.

Dominic Goodall et André Padoux,
le 25 janvier 2007,
à Pondichéry et à Paris, respectivement.

Les contributeurs

Diwakar Acharya, *Visiting Lecturer, University of Kyoto*
Peter Bisschop, *Lecturer in Sanskrit, University of Edinburgh*
Richard H. Davis, *Professor of Religion, Bard College*
Pierre-Sylvain Filliozat, *Membre de l'Académie des Inscriptions & Belles-Lettres*
T. Ganesan, *Research Scholar, French Institute of Pondicherry*
Dominic Goodall, *Responsable du Centre EFEO de Pondichéry*
Gerhard Oberhammer, *Professor emeritus für Indologie, Universität Wien*
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Judit Törzsök, *Maître de conférences, Université Charles-de-Gaulle, Lille*
Somdev Vasudeva, *Editor, Clay Sanskrit Library, Oxford*

Hélène Brunner – Une vie, une œuvre

Hélène Brunner – Hélène Lachaux, de son nom de naissance –, à la mémoire de qui ce volume est dédié, naquit à Pouzolles, dans le département de l'Hérault, le 20 mai 1920. Elle fut très tôt attirée par les mathématiques et les sciences, d'où sans doute l'esprit de précision et de rigueur qui a marqué toute son œuvre. Si elle était sensible à ce qui fait l'attrait religieux et spirituel ou esthétique de l'Inde, elle s'agaçait parfois de l'imprécision et des illogismes des textes qu'elle déchiffrait avec une patience et une attention extrêmes. Rien, au départ, ne semblait la destiner à devenir indianiste, ce qu'elle ne fit que tardivement. Elève de l'Ecole Normale Supérieure de l'Enseignement Primaire de Fontenay-aux-Roses, section mathématiques et physique (1940–1942), elle obtint le Certificat d'Aptitude au Professorat des Ecoles Normales (le diplôme qui devint l'actuel CAPES). Elle enseigna dès lors les mathématiques et les sciences dans divers établissements secondaires, en France d'abord, puis en Allemagne et en Ethiopie. Pendant la guerre, alors qu'elle était en Algérie, son père, Emile Lachaux, qui était resté en France et était entré dans la Résistance, fut arrêté (à Bollène, où il était percepteur) par la Gestapo et déporté au camp de Ravensbrück, puis à celui de Flessenburg (en Tchécoslovaquie) où il mourut. Il est caractéristique de l'attitude morale d'Hélène Lachaux d'avoir demandé, après la fin des hostilités, à être envoyée en Allemagne, pour apprendre à connaître équitablement sans les juger les habitants du pays qui avait fait le malheur de sa famille. Elle enseigna alors pendant deux années (1951–1953) au Lycée français de Berchtesgaden. Elle se trouva ensuite deux ans à Addis-Abeba. C'est à cette époque-là qu'elle découvrit certains aspects de la pensée indienne qui l'intéressèrent aussitôt et qu'elle obtint d'être nommée (en 1955) professeur de mathématiques et de sciences au Collège Français de Pondichéry où elle resta sept ans. Je me souviens de l'avoir accueillie, alors que j'étais conseiller culturel adjoint de l'ambassade de France en Inde, à sa première arrivée à New-Delhi : rien ne laissait deviner que cette jeune enseignante de sciences, d'allure sportive – un peu 'scoute' – deviendrait une indianiste de réputation internationale ; je n'en étais à ce moment-là qu'au début de mes incursions dans la pensée de l'Inde. Nous n'aurions alors guère pu imaginer que cette première rencontre,

officielle, serait le prodrome de ce qui devint par la suite pour nous, au-delà de relations professionnelles suivies et étroites, une grande et durable amitié.

À Pondichéry, Hélène Lachaux se mit en rapport avec l'Institut Français de Pondichéry qui venait d'être fondé à la suite du traité de session des Etablissements français en Inde et que dirigeait Jean Filliozat, professeur au Collège de France. Celui-ci reconnut ses aptitudes et l'engagea à apprendre le sanskrit pour étudier les āgamas dont l'Institut s'employait à rassembler des manuscrits et à promouvoir l'étude. C'est ainsi que commença une carrière de chercheur qui devait faire d'Hélène une des plus éminentes spécialistes du domaine śivaïte tantrique et plus spécialement du śivaïsme saiddhāntika. Elle fut, dans ce travail, toujours encouragée et soutenue par Jean Filliozat, dont c'est ici l'occasion de rappeler le rôle fondamental qu'avec l'Institut Français de Pondichéry il a joué dans la vie de l'indianisme français, dans le développement de la recherche et la diffusion des travaux : si cet Institut et sa collection de publications se sont développés et ont acquis une réputation mondiale, c'est en premier lieu à lui, à son activité, à son travail de pionnier, qu'on le doit. Tant qu'il fut là, l'appui et l'aide de l'IFP ne manquèrent jamais à Hélène Brunner. Rappelons aussi le soutien que celle-ci a trouvé auprès du pandit R. N. Bhatt dans sa recherche sur les āgamas, ainsi que la contribution essentielle de ce dernier à la collecte et à l'étude de ces textes. C'est pendant qu'elle était à Pondichéry qu'Hélène rencontra un philosophe suisse, Fernand Brunner, qui avait, un temps, dirigé la Maison de la Suisse de la Cité Universitaire de Paris, avant de devenir professeur à l'Université de Neuchâtel. Elle l'épousa en 1958. Si les trois tomes de son œuvre principale, sur la *Somaśambhupaddhati* (1963–1998), ainsi que la traduction qu'elle fit de deux sections du *Mṛgendrāgama* (1985), parurent sous le nom d'Hélène Brunner-Lachaux, tout le reste de son œuvre parut sous son seul nom de femme mariée : c'est ainsi qu'elle est connue et c'est sous ce nom que nous l'évoquons, dans le regret de ne plus l'avoir parmi nous. Quand elle quitta l'Inde, en 1962, elle s'installa avec son mari en Suisse, à Cortaillod, village proche de Neuchâtel, au bord du lac, dans une maison qu'ils firent bâtir et où elle vécut désormais tout en retournant souvent, parfois longuement, en Inde et notamment à Pondichéry. Elle avait aussi coutume d'accompagner son mari dans des congrès philosophiques internationaux et notamment dans ceux de l'Association Internationale des Sociétés de Philosophie de Langue Française (qu'il présida pendant plusieurs années), instances où elle présenta parfois des communications (ainsi en 1988). Fernand Brunner, éminent historien de la philosophie, esprit très fin, infiniment cultivé,

s'intéressait d'ailleurs au travail d'Hélène, l'aidant de ses conseils. En 1962, elle soutint, sous la direction du professeur Jean FILLIOZAT, un diplôme de l'Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, Section des Sciences Historiques et Philologiques sur « Le rituel quotidien dans la tradition śivaïte de l'Inde du Sud selon la Somaśambhupaddhati. Introduction, traduction et notes », diplôme qui, édité en 1963 à Pondichéry, forma le premier volume de son œuvre maîtresse sur le rituel saiddhāntika. (Le résumé de ce diplôme se trouve dans les Annales de la 4[e] Section de l'EPHE, année 1962–63, p. 221–224.) En 1963, elle entra au CNRS où elle resta jusqu'à sa retraite, en 1980 ; retrait administratif qui n'interrompit nullement ses travaux, qu'elle poursuivit quasiment jusqu'à la fin de sa vie.

Ce n'est pas ici – pour en venir à l'œuvre d'Hélène BRUNNER – qu'il est nécessaire de souligner l'importance des āgamas dans le domaine des pratiques et spéculations religieuses non seulement śivaïtes mais indiennes. On peut toutefois rappeler que ces textes, à l'étude desquels Hélène BRUNNER allait se consacrer, n'avaient jusque dans les années soixante pratiquement jamais fait l'objet d'une recherche indianiste approfondie. On les situait mal dans l'espace et dans le temps : n'étaient-ils pas du sud de l'Inde ? Quand furent rédigés les plus anciens ? Ce sont des points que ses travaux (puis ceux d'autres chercheurs, notamment Dominic GOODALL) ont depuis lors contribué à éclairer. Au moment où elle les abordait, l'inventaire de ces textes n'avait pas encore été fait, ni leur classification traditionnelle examinée. On ne connaissait guère leur contenu, non plus que leur structure. Or ce sont des textes essentiels puisque, avec leurs commentaires, ils contiennent les éléments de base doctrinaux et surtout rituels de la religion śivaïte telle qu'elle a été vécue et pratiquée pendant des siècles et telle qu'elle existe encore aujourd'hui : le culte privé des hindous śivaïtes, ainsi que l'organisation socio-religieuse et l'activité rituelle des temples de Śiva ou de la Déesse (en particulier des temples du sud de l'Inde), reposent sur eux. Même les traditions śivaïtes les plus intensément tantriques, celles de l'ensemble du Kula notamment, les reconnaissent comme formant leur enseignement de base commun, leur sāmānyaśāstra. Les travaux d'Hélène BRUNNER ont largement contribué à faire apparaître l'étendue et la richesse de ces textes qui, s'ils sont souvent utilisés en Inde comme de simples manuels de rituel, sont en réalité beaucoup plus que cela, car ils présentent une vision originale, d'ailleurs diverse, tant de l'univers et de la divinité que de la condition humaine. (Un de ses articles, « Importance de la littérature āgamique pour l'étude des religions vivantes de l'Inde », paru en 1975–76, le souligne.)

L'œuvre maîtresse d'Hélène Brunner est son édition annotée et traduite en français de la *Somaśambhupaddhati*, vaste manuel de rituel (*paddhati*) śivaïte dû à un auteur du XI^e siècle, Somaśambhu, édition dont l'annotation, qui cite et se réfère à divers textes ou traités ultérieurs (dont la *paddhati* d'Aghoraśiva et son commentaire par Nirmalamaṇi), est d'une richesse extrême et constitue une source incomparable d'information sur le rituel śivaïte. Le premier volume en parut en 1963, le quatrième en 1998. Ils comptent en tout plus de deux mille pages ; leur ampleur qui allait croissant reflétait le développement de la recherche et l'enrichissement des connaissances au cours des ans. Hélène avait conscience des insuffisances des deux premiers volumes, entrepris alors qu'elle n'en était encore qu'au début de son étude des āgamas. Elle avait le projet de les reprendre sur la base de manuscrits dont elle n'avait pas eu connaissance en commençant, et en tenant compte de tout ce qu'elle avait appris depuis lors : c'eût été un travail d'un grand intérêt. Malheureusement, d'autres obligations, puis son état de santé, ne lui permirent pas de le réaliser. (Elle eût sans doute aussi repris, de ce point de vue, quelques passages de l'introduction à la traduction annotée qu'elle fit des sections des rites et du comportement – *kriyāpāda* et *caryāpāda* – du *Mṛgendrāgama*, avec la *vṛtti* de Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇakaṇṭha, parue en 1985, où elle notait toutefois les similitudes entre ce texte et le *Svacchandatantra*.) Dans le domaine du rituel śivaïte, on lui doit également une traduction présentée et annotée d'une partie de la *Parārthanityapūjāvidhi*, « Règle pour le culte quotidien dans un temple », attribuée à Aghoraśivācārya, maître śivaïte du 12^e siècle, qui parut en annexe au tome 3, Rites et Fêtes, de la grande étude du temple de Tiruvannamalai entreprise par l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient sous la direction de Françoise L'Hernault et Marie-Louise Reiniche.

Animée toujours par le désir de faire mieux connaître le domaine des āgamas śivaïtes, Hélène Brunner fit paraître dans le *Journal Asiatique*, en 1965 et 1967, de brèves analyses du *Kiraṇāgama*, puis du *Suprabhedāgama*. En 1981 paraissait à Bruxelles une traduction du chapitre sur le śaivadarśana, c'est-à-dire le śaivasiddhānta, du *Sarvadarśanasaṃgraha*. S'écartant un moment de son champ de recherche principal, elle donnait en 1975 au BEFEO une analyse détaillée d'un important tantra du Mantrapīṭha, consacré à Amṛteśvara et provenant sans doute du Cachemire, le *Netratantra*. L'examen qu'elle en fit alors ne laisse pas de marquer une étape dans l'étude de ce tantra : ceux qui travaillent dans ce domaine ont souvent l'occasion de s'y reporter. On remarquera le titre – « Un tantra du nord, le Netratantra » – sous lequel parut ce travail : il

reflète l'idée courante à cette époque que les āgamas saiddhāntikas provenaient du sud de l'Inde, alors que ceux du Mantrapīṭha, avec la littérature śivaïte essentiellement non dualiste et restée proche à certains égards d'origines supposées kāpalika, auraient été composés au nord. La recherche fit apparaître plus tard l'inexactitude de cette opposition : il y a eu, en effet, une tradition « cachemirienne » au sud de l'Inde – dont la Śrīvidyā est le cas le plus connu –, cependant que Somaśambhu, l'auteur de la Paddhati, fut abbé d'un monastère du nord de l'Inde et naquit sans doute au Cachemire : Hélène, toujours foncièrement droite et honnête, reconnut vite l'inexactitude de sa vision initiale. C'est ainsi que, dans l'introduction du 4^e^ volume paru en 1998, de la *Somaśambhupaddhati*, elle revient sur ce sujet, se corrigeant et apportant des éléments nouveaux. C'est à cette première vision de la géographie des textes que se référait également le titre de son étude de l'adepte initié śivaïte, « Le sādhaka, personnage oublié du śivaïsme du sud ». Elle faisait là encore, dans le domaine āgamique, un travail de pionnier, sur un sujet qui était en effet alors à peu près ignoré, travail riche d'informations, toujours extrêmement valable et utile.

Dans ses divers travaux, Hélène Brunner s'est continuellement efforcée de faire mieux connaître le contenu ou l'esprit des āgamas. Ainsi ses études sur « The four pādas of the Śaivāgamas » (1992), « Jñāna and kriyā : Relation between Theory and Practice in the Śaivāgamas » (1992), ou « The Place of Yoga in the Śaivāgamas » (1994), ou encore son étude sur « The sexual aspect of the *liṅga* cult » (1998), où elle démontre de façon convaincante la nature originellement phallique de cette image de culte. D'autres travaux sont centrés sur des points précis de doctrine, telle son étude sur « Les membres de Śiva », à ce jour seul travail complet sur le sujet. Il faut rappeler aussi, et surtout, des articles portant sur certains aspects du rituel śivaïte qu'elle connaissait mieux que personne. Tel est le cas de « Maṇḍala et yantra dans le śivaïsme āgamique » (1990), excellente mise au point sur un sujet souvent mal compris : elle y montre quels en sont la signification et l'usage qui est avant tout rituel (et non pas essentiellement méditatif, comme on le croit trop souvent). C'est aussi le cas de « L'image divine dans le culte āgamique de Śiva. Rapport entre image mentale et le support concret du culte » (1992), où elle fait apparaître à quel point le culte śivaïte est une opération mentale d'imagination visionnaire. Dans une de ses dernières publications, « Mantra et *mantras* dans les tantras śivaïtes », elle s'est attaquée au problème difficile de la nature des mantras tantriques : plutôt que d'admettre leur nature double, divine et de parole – de formes phoniques de divinités – qu'ils ont toujours, elle voulait établir que les mantras sont, dans

les rites, envisagés soit comme des puissances surnaturelles, des divinités, pour lesquelles elle utilise la majuscule, Mantras, soit comme des sons, des énoncés, des formes efficaces de la parole – qu'elle écrit en minuscules. Cette façon de voir est intéressante. Elle introduit une logique dans ce qui, dans les manuels de rituel et les commentaires de textes, peut paraître contradictoire. Elle ne m'avait toutefois pas entièrement convaincu, malgré la lumière qu'elle apporte sur un sujet difficile. Mais il se pourrait fort bien que j'aie tort. Nous en avions parlé plusieurs fois ensemble, sans pouvoir tomber d'accord. C'est une question dont, hélas, je ne pourrai plus jamais discuter avec Hélène.

En 1981–82 et 1982–83, puis en 1983–84, Hélène Brunner avait fait à la V[e] Section de l'Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes deux séries de conférences, les deux premières portant sur les rites du temple śivaïte, la troisième sur les rites śivaïtes d'apaisement, de protection et de purification. Entre 1982 et 1989, quoique étant loin de Paris puisqu'elle habitait en Suisse, elle avait pourtant participé activement aux travaux de l'équipe de recherche « L'Hindouisme, textes, doctrines, pratiques » du CNRS, où, par sa science śivaïte, elle apportait toujours des éléments utiles et intéressants. Dans cette équipe, on avait, entre autres choses, en partie à son instigation, entrepris de constituer un fichier de la terminologie de l'hindouisme tantrique. Ce projet, d'abord continué dans une équipe mixte CNRS-Collège de France (dirigée par M. G. Fussman), fut finalement repris par l'Académie des Sciences d'Autriche, en devenant le Tāntrikābhidhānakośa, Dictionnaire des termes techniques de la littérature hindoue tantrique, ouvrage trilingue, rédigé par un groupe européen de chercheurs sous la direction d'Hélène Brunner, Gerhard Oberhammer et moi-même. La mise en œuvre de cet ouvrage et ses premiers développements (rendus possibles grâce à l'appui généreux de l'Académie des Sciences d'Autriche) doivent beaucoup au travail et au dévouement d'Hélène Brunner qui y porta une grande attention. On lui doit le plan de l'introduction du premier volume, dont elle rédigea la majorité des entrées, et une importante contribution au tome 2 (parus l'un en 2000, l'autre en 2004). Au troisième tome, actuellement en cours de rédaction, elle ne put malheureusement participer, à cause de son état de santé, qu'à la rédaction des tout premiers articles.

Son état de santé s'était en effet gravement détérioré. Elle se déplaçait difficilement et surtout, à partir de la fin de l'année 2000, elle ne put lire qu'avec beaucoup de difficulté. Cela ne lui retirait rien de son acuité intellectuelle et elle continua à suivre les travaux des autres, mais sans pouvoir faire elle-même l'effort exigé par la rédaction d'un article. Il convient aussi de dire que la pro-

duction de ses dernières années ainsi trop tôt interrompue aurait pu être plus grande si, alors qu'elle était encore en pleine activité, elle n'avait consacré, après le décès (en 1991) de Fernand Brunner, qui enseignait encore à l'Université de Neuchâtel, pendant plusieurs années le plus clair de son temps à trier les papiers de son mari et à veiller à la sauvegarde ou à la publication des travaux qu'il avait laissés.

Ne pouvant plus travailler, elle avait fait don à l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient de la vaste bibliothèque indianiste qu'elle avait accumulée au cours des ans. (Elle en avait aussi donné quelques éléments à l'Université de Lausanne.) Fixée en Suisse depuis son mariage, elle vivait à Cortaillod dans une maison entourée de vignes et dominant la paisible étendue et le calme paysage du lac de Neuchâtel. Elle n'en bougeait plus guère à la fin. Tout déplacement lui était devenu difficile et pénible. Elle ne pouvait plus aller l'été dans le châlet que son mari et elle-même avaient fait reconstruire avec des éléments anciens à Ayer, beau village du val d'Anniviers, dans les Alpes valaisannes, où elle faisait naguère de longues randonnées dans ces hautes montagnes que domine le Cervin. C'est à Ayer, et dans le haut village voisin de Chandolin (où habitait son amie l'exploratrice Ella Maillard – qui y retrouvait des pentes abruptes lui rappelant celles de l'Himalaya), que je la revoyais chaque été, sur un plan qui n'était pas professionnel, mais personnel et chaleureusement amical : sous des dehors paisibles, un peu froids, Hélène cachait une vive sensibilité, une grande richesse intérieure. A Cortaillod, dans les derniers temps, elle demeurait seule avec ses deux chats, supportant des douleurs souvent intenses et les difficultés du quotidien avec un courage et une sérénité qui frappaient ceux allaient la voir. Elle savait qu'à tout moment un accident circulatoire pouvait se produire, qui serait fatal, elle n'en laissait rien paraître. Sa longue familiarité avec la pensée de l'Inde n'avait pu que la rendre plus paisible, plus détachée. Dans la semaine d'avant Pâques 2005, donc à peine avant sa fin, je lui avais téléphoné pour lui demander de ses nouvelles. Elles ne laissaient rien présager d'anormal et il avait été convenu que ma femme et moi irions passer un moment, peut-être même rester un peu, avec elle, en juillet, à notre retour de son cher Val d'Anniviers. Mais cela ne devait pas être. Le 27 mars, elle partait de Cortaillod pour Lausanne, où vivait une soeur de son mari, pour y passer ce jour de Pâques, qui fut le dernier qu'elle vécut en ce monde.

André Padoux

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The Saṃskāravidhi: A Manual on the Transformatory Rite of the Lakulīśa-Pāśupatas*

Diwakar Acharya

Introduction

This text, together with three other *vidhi*s for [purification of] the pot (*Pātravidhi*), atonement (*Prāyaścittavidhi*) and the last rite (*Anteṣṭividhi*), is preserved in a palm-leaf manuscript from the National Archives, Kathmandu. All of these *vidhi*s, except the *Pātravidhi*, begin with an invocation to Lakulīśa. The author of these texts appears to be a certain Gārgya,[1] at least of the *Prāyaścittavidhi*, in which he is mentioned in colophons. A verse quoted in the *Ratnaṭīkā* and not yet traced in any other source has been found in the *Anteṣṭividhi*.[2] Five verses forming part of a long quotation of 21 verses found in Kauṇḍinya's *Bhāṣya* (on *Pāśupatasūtra* I.9) have been found in the *Pātravidhi*.[3]

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[1] Gārgya is also the name of one of the four pupils of Lakulīśa according to the traditional account, and a passage in the original Skandapurāṇa names Jambūmārga, a place near Pushkar in Rajasthan, as the place of his initiation by Lakulīśa (see Bakker 2000:14). For Lakulīśa and his four pupils, see Bisschop 2006:44–50,209.

[2] *Ratnaṭīkā* on *Gaṇakārikā* 5cd: *uktaṃ hi – pūrvaṃ darbhāḥ punar bhasma candanaṃ sūtram eva ca| puṣpāṇi ca punar dhūpaṃ mantrā eṣaḥ kramaḥ smṛtaḥ||* This verse serves as verse 30 in the *Anteṣṭividhi*.

Bhāsarvajña first identifies '*kuśa* grass and so on' (*darbhādyāḥ*) as *kalā*, which he has made part of the *dravya* featuring in *Gaṇakārikā* 5; then he quotes the above verse and comments that there is no contradiction with the *Saṃskārakārikā*, since his interpretation incorporates the additional materials and so on (*upakaraṇādi*). Our text clearly states this point: *kuśa* grass and so on are the additional materials required for the transformatory rite. So it is quite likely that Bhāsarvajña knew our text by this name. It is also notable that he has quoted the above verse of the *Anteṣṭividhi* in this context, indicating that the two texts are closely related.

[3] *Pātravidhi* verses 4, 51–54 = Kauṇḍinya's quotation verses 4, 6–9:

The manuscript is registered in the record book under an imaginary title, *Dīkṣāvidhi*, but is rightly classified as a Paddhati text. It was given the manuscript number 1-736, and microfilmed by the NGMPP as Reel No. B 32/12. It is written with a neat hand in Mahārāṣṭra-style Devanagari script. This manuscript is not dated, but resembles a manuscript of the *Agastyasaṃhitā* copied in NS 455 (1325 AD) by a Maharashtrian brahmin residing in the south of the Kathmandu Valley, so I place it around the same period, in the middle of the 14th century.[4] The leaves have four or five lines per side and about sixty akṣaras per line, but, because of the scribe's efforts to spare a blank leaf, the last folio has seven lines, each of which squeezes in about 78 *akṣara*s. In a few places the manuscript is sparingly damaged by worms. The first folio is damaged on both edges, and a few *akṣara*s are broken away in each line. I have attempted to supply these missing *akṣara*s, basing my conjectures on logical and syntactical grounds. The restored text at the broken edge or worm-eaten spot is shown inside parentheses () and *akṣara*s that are partially visible are placed inside brackets [].

The recto of the first folio, which was originally blank, bears *syādipvastaka* in Newari script, prefixed with a *siddhi* sign. The text of the *Saṃskāravidhi* begins on the verso of the first folio and ends on the second line of the verso of the seventh folio. On the third line the *Pātravidhi* begins and continues to the last line of the 11th folio; the *Prāyaścittavidhi* covers folios 12–19. The *Anteṣṭi-vidhi* begins on the recto of the 20th folio and continues to the last line of the 21st folio.

Here I present the edited text with translation. I intend to analyse its content in the near future, after publishing the other three *vidhi*s, which are closely

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bhaikṣaśeṣaṃ samutsṛjya yatir yamaparāyaṇaḥ|
grāse grāse tu kartavyāḥ prāṇāyāmās trayas trayaḥ||
mādhukaram asaṃkalpaṃ prākpravṛttam ayācitam|
tataḥ kālopapannaṃ ca bhaikṣaṃ pañcavidhaṃ smṛtam||
gṛhād gṛhaṃ paryaṭaṃs tu na gṛhaṃ parivarjayet|
parasya vacanaṃ śrutvā duṣṭaveśma vivarjayet||
aduṣṭāpatitaṃ sādhuṃ bhikṣuko yo vyatikramet|
sa tasya sukṛtaṃ datvā duṣkṛtaṃ pratipadyate||
tathā yadi gṛhasthasya nirāśo bhikṣuko vrajet|
sa tasyeṣṭaṃ ca pūrtaṃ ca bhikṣur ādāya gacchati||

Kauṇḍinya's quotation reads verse 4ab differently, and has minor variant readings in verses 6c and 9a.

[4]National Archives, Manuscript no. 4-325, NGMPP reel No. B 23/35.

related to this one and preserved in the same manuscript. Furthermore, I am at the moment not prepared to assign a date to our text and hope to return to this issue later.

Sanskrit Text

[5]*pañcārthajñānakhaḍgena cchinnā yena kudṛṣṭayaḥ*|
sarvajñānātiriktāya[6] *tasmai lakuline namaḥ*|| 1||

kaḥ kālo 'tra saṃskārasya ko vā de[*śaḥ*] (*prakīrtitaḥ*|)
(*upakaraṇaṃ*) *kiṃ proktaṃ ke ca mantrāḥ prakīrtitāḥ*|| 2||

saṃskārahetuḥ[7] *kartā vā kena dravyeṇa kriyate*[8]|
saṃskārasya phalaṃ kiṃ vā saṃskāryaṃ ca mahāmune[9]|| 3||

[*kālaḥ*] (*prātas tathā deśo yatra*) *mūrtis tu dakṣiṇā*[10]|
upakaraṇaṃ darbhādyaṃ mantrāḥ sadyādayaḥ smṛtāḥ|| 4||

saṃskārakartā ācāryo nimittaṃ kāraṇaṃ smṛtam|
saṃskāradra[*vyaṃ ca puna*](*r dantadhāvanam u*)*cyate*|| 5||

saṃskārasya[11] *phalaṃ vidhāv adhikāraḥ prakīrtitaḥ*[12]|| 6||

pāṇī śiro lalāṭaṃ ca cakṣuṣī nāsike tathā [13]|
karṇau vaktraṃ tathā grīvā [*hṛc ca*] (*saṃskāryam ucyate*)|| 7||

athātaḥ saṃpravakṣyāmi saṃskāravidhim uttamam|
sādhakā vicchede yena te yogyā ca bhavanti vai|| 8||

saṃskṛtasyādhikāro 'smiñ jñeyo nānyasya kasya cit|
darśito [*gurubhiḥ*] *pūrvaṃ śivādyair brāhmaṇasya tu*|| 9||

yo jijñāsati[14] *nānyāni śivenaiva pracoditaḥ*|

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[5]At the broken edge of the manuscript [*ya*]|| is visible; I imagine it begins with an invocation: (*oṃ namaḥ śivā*)[*ya*]||.

[6]°tiriktāya] *emend.*; °bhiriktāya MS

[7]°hetuḥ] *emend.*; °hetu MS

[8]dravyeṇa kriyate] *conj.*; mantreṇa saṃskṛyate MS

[9]saṃskāryaṃ ca mahāmune] *emend.*; saṃskāryamva mahāmuneḥ MS

[10]dakṣiṇā] *conj.*; dakṣiṇāṃ MS

[11]saṃskārasya] MSpc; saṃskāraphasya MSac

[12]°kāraḥ prakīrtitaḥ] *conj.*; °kāraḥ MS

[13]pāṇī] *emend.*; pāṇi MS

[14]jijñāsati] *emend.*; jijñāsyati MS

upasanno[15] *guroḥ samyak taṃ parīkṣeta*[16] *brāhmaṇam*|| 10||

deśajātikulaṃ vṛttaṃ śrutam arthitvam eva ca|
indriyāṇāṃ paṭutvaṃ ca śarīrārogyam eva ca|| 11||

śraddhāstikyaṃ śive bhaktir dhairyaṃ sthairyam ajihmatā|
bodhotsāhaś ca śaktiś ca ete śiṣyaguṇāḥ smṛtāḥ|| 12||

evaṃ parīkṣitaṃ vipram ācāryo jñānacakṣuṣā|
parigrahet[17] *tataḥ paścād yathāvad vidhipūrvakam*|| 13||

hiraṇyavastradārādīṃs tyajasveti yadṛcchayā|
iti brūyād[18] *gurus taṃ vai yadī*[*cchet paramaṃ*] *padam*|| 14||

audambaramayaṃ snigdham aviddhaṃ dvādaśāṅgulam|
ṛju[19] *savalkalaṃ sārdraṃ dantakāṣṭhaṃ samāharet*|| 15||

kṣīrahīne[20] *gatotsāho vakre vakramatir bhavet*|
sakīṭe pratyantavāsī saroge vyādhitaḥ[21] *smṛtaḥ*|| 16||

nakhair na cchindyāt taṃ dantair na[22] *ca padbhyāṃ spṛśed budhaḥ*|
āhṛtya tad guror[23] *vipro dīkṣyamāṇo*[24] *nivedayet*|| 17||

taṃ gṛhītvā tadācāryo dantakāṣṭhaṃ yathoditam|
dakṣiṇāmūrtim āśritya ālabheta vicakṣaṇaḥ|| 18||

mantrair ālambhanaṃ kṛtvā vidhivat pūrvamūrtiṣu|
gandhapuṣpodakaiḥ paścāt tato 'rghaṃ tāsu vinyaset|| 19||

dhūpaṃ dadyāt prayatnena dhyāyīta sakalaṃ śivam|
tato vijñāpya deveśaṃ mantrajñaḥ[25] *prārthayed budhaḥ*|| 20||

śivadṛṣṭinipātena pūto 'yaṃ yadi brāhmaṇaḥ|
tavājñayā suraśreṣṭha saṃskaromi dvijottamam|| 21||

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[15]upasanno] *emend.*; upasannor MS
[16]parīkṣeta] *emend.*; parīkṣyeta MS
[17]parigrahet] *emend.*; parigrahe MS
[18]brūyād] *emend.*; brūyā MS
[19]ṛju] *emend.*; ṛjuṃ MS
[20]°hīne] *emend.*; °hīṇe MS
[21]°vāsī saroge vyādhitaḥ] *conj.*; °vāsī ca sarogena vyādhita MS
[22]cchindyāt taṃ dantair na] *conj.*; chidyāt taṃ na MS
[23]guror] *emend.*; guro MS
[24]dīkṣyamāṇo] *emend.*; dīkṣamāṇo MS
[25]mantrajñaḥ] *emend.*; mantrajñaṃ MS

anujñātas tu devena ācāryaḥ saṃśitavrataḥ[26]|
ālabhed dantakāṣṭhaṃ tu vidhinānena mantravit|| 22||

praṇipatya śivaṃ mūrdhnā mantrāṃś cāvartayet sakṛt|
vinyased dantakāṣṭhe ca mantrān pañca vidhānataḥ[27]|| 23||

sadyojātaṃ nyasen mūle vāmadevam anantaram|
aghoraṃ vinyaset paścāt tatas tatpuruṣaṃ nyaset|| 24||

paścād īśānadeveśaṃ vinyaseta vicakṣaṇaḥ|
pañcabrahmajapaṃ kuryāt sthāne sthāne sakṛt sakṛt|| 25||

pañcaparvāṇi tāny atra vijñeyānīhasūribhiḥ|
dadyāt puṣpāṇi gandhaṃ ca dhūpaṃ caiveha parvasu|| 26||

nivedya devadevāya pañcaparvasu saṃskṛtam|
bhasmanā mantrapūtena paścāt taṃ pariśodhayet|| 27||

taṃ gṛhītvā tadācāryaḥ kṛtvā caiva pradakṣiṇam|
uttarābhimukhaś caiva dadyāc chiṣyasya hastayoḥ|| 28||

vaktavyaṃ guruṇā caiva dattaṃ te dantadhāvanam|
saṃprāpyam avikalpena mantrasaṃnaddhavigraham[28]|| 29||

dakṣiṇenaiva hastena gṛhītvā prāgudaṅmukhaḥ|
bhakṣayed dantakāṣṭhaṃ ca śanair nāsṛk prapātayet|| 30||

visṛjya prāṅmukhas tena na ca svaṃ cālayec chiraḥ[29]|
vastrapū[te]na toyena prakṣālya taṃ visarjayet|| 31||

adhomukhaṃ dakṣiṇato nairṛtyāṃ tu samāśritam|
apraśastaṃ vijānīyāt praśastaṃ cānyadiṅmukham|| 32||

patitaṃ lakṣayet paścāc chubhaṃ[30] *vā yadi vāśubham*|
sarvasiddhāntatattvajña ācāryaḥ[31] *pūrvadiṅmukhaḥ*|| 33||

apramattaḥ[32] *svaped bhūmau gomayenopalipya ca*|
svapnaṃ dṛṣṭvā nivedīta ācāryasya tu sādhakaḥ|| 34||

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[26]saṃśitavrataḥ] *emend.*; saṃśitaḥ vrataḥ MS
[27]vinyased dantakāṣṭhe] *conj.*; vinyase dantakāṣṭhaṃ MS
[28]°vigraham] *emend.*; °vigrahaḥ MS
[29]svaṃ cālayec chiraḥ] *emend.*; śvaṃ cālaye chiraḥ MS
[30]paścāc chubhaṃ] *conj.*; paścā śubhaṃ MS
[31]°siddhāntatattvajña ācāryaḥ] *emend.*; °siddhāṃtatvajña ācārya MS
[32]apramattaḥ] *emend.*; apramatta MS

duḥsvapnadarśanāt taṃ tu na dīkṣeta kadā cana[33] |
maṅgalasvapnadarśī tu dīkṣitavyo yathāvidhi [34]|| 35||

vapanaṃ kārayet tasya sakeśaṃ sanakhaṃ tathā|
upavāsaṃ dine tasmin saṃyatātmā samācaret|| 36||

snānaṃ kṛtvā tato vipraḥ[35] *pitṛdevān kṣamāpayet*|
kṣamantu pitṛdevās te gato 'haṃ śaraṇaṃ śive|| 37||

strīśūdraṃ nābhibhāṣeta na caivādhārmikaṃ janam|
upavāsaparo vipro na kupyen nānṛtaṃ vadet|| 38||

sūtraṃ candanagandhāṃś ca dhūpaṃ ca kusumāni ca|
śuklāny evāhared[36] *yatnāt sāravantīha sarvaśaḥ*|| 39||

mṛṇmayāṇy arghapātrāṇi yājñikatarujāni vā|
patrāṇy āhṛtya kurvīta niśchidrāṇi[37] *dṛḍhāni ca*|| 40||

daśa dve cārghapātrāṇi kartavyāni prayatnataḥ|
bhasma caiva haret tatra udakumbhāṃś ca saṃskṛtān|| 41||

trisū[tryā] caiva kartavyaṃ śubhaṃ gandhapavitrakam|
sūtrābhāve kuśaiḥ kuryāt puṣpair vāpi śubhāgataiḥ|| 42||

etat sarvaṃ samāhṛtya puṇye 'hani guruḥ svayam|
saṃskṛtya pañcabhir mantraiḥ svavidhau tat prayojayet|| 43||

praśānto bhasmanā snāto laghvāhāro jitendriyaḥ|
jñānacakṣuś ca dhīraś ca tapasā dagdhakilbiṣaḥ|| 44||

apramattaḥ[38] *śivadhyāyī śāstravit karuṇānvitaḥ*|
mantradehī sadācārya ālabhec chivam avyayam|| 45||

prāsādaṃ[39] *codakumbhāṃś ca vedīṃ yogāsanaṃ tathā*|
paridhāpya brahmasūtreṇa tataḥ karma samācaret|| 46||

snāpayen mantrapūtena devaṃ caiva savedikam|
udakena guruḥ sākṣād yogapīṭhaṃ ca śodhayet|| 47||

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[33] kadā cana] *emend.*; kadā canaḥ MS
[34] yathāvidhi] *emend.*; yathāvidhiḥ MS
[35] vipraḥ] *emend.*; vipra MS
[36] °hared] *emend.*; °hare MS
[37] niśchidrāṇi] *emend.*; nichidrāṇi MS
[38] apramattaḥ] *emend.*; apramatta MS
[39] prāsādaṃ] *emend.*; prasādaṃ MS

dadyāc caivārghapātrāṇi sarvamūrtiṣv anukramāt|
pāpaghnāsu ca puṇyāsu[40] *dharmavṛddhikarāsu ca*|| 48||

yāmyā aindrī tathā saumyā vāruṇī ca tathāparā|
āgneyī ca tatheśānī vāyavyā ca tathā smṛtā|| 49||

nairṛtī ca dhruvā nāgī daśamūrtiḥ śivaḥ smṛtaḥ [41]|
dakṣiṇā procyate yāmyā aindrīṃ pūrvāṃ pracakṣate[42]|| 50||

saumyā caivottarā mūrtiḥ[43] *paścimā vāruṇī smṛtā*|
pūrvadakṣiṇa-m-āgneyī prācyudīcī tatheśānī|| 51||

aparottarā tu vāyavyā nairṛtī dakṣiṇāparā|
dhruvā cordhvā smṛtā mūrtir nāgīṃ cādhaḥ pracakṣate|| 52||

sarvayajñavidhāneṣu puṇyā hy etāḥ prakīrtitāḥ|
sarvamūrtiṣu yatnena arghapātrāṇi[44] *vinyaset*|| 53||

nyaset pañcārthavidyāṃ ca[45] *arghapātraṃ ca tatra vai*|
kalpayed arghapātraṃ tu yogapīṭhaṃ ca buddhimān|| 54||

vinyasec cārghapātrāṇi gandhatoyena pūrayet|
dadyāc caiva trisūtrīṃ tu ācāryaḥ śivamūrdhani|| 55||

sarvamūrtiṣu yatnena arghapātreṣv anukramāt|
tatas tu pārśvatas taṃ vai mūrtiṣv evālabhec chanaiḥ|| 56||

ālabheta yathānyāyam arghapātrāṇi mantrataḥ|
udakumbhāṃs tataḥ sarvān yogapīṭhaṃ tathaiva ca|| 57||

dhyātvā śrīlakulīśānaṃ mūrtau mūrtau sa yogavit|
arghaṃ datvā prayatnena pañcabrahmajapānvitam|| 58||

puṣpāṇi ca yathānyāyaṃ pavitrāṇi ca sarvaśaḥ|
datvā teṣv arghapātreṣu tatas tāni samālabhet|| 59||

ālabhya devadeveśaṃ mūrtimūrtiṣv anukramāt|
datvā cārghaṃ yathānyāyaṃ tāsv eva[46] *śivamūrtiṣu*|| 60||

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[40] pāpaghnāsu] *emend.*; pāpaghnasu MS
[41] mūrtiḥ śivāḥ smṛtaḥ] *conj.*; mūrtti śivaḥ smṛtāḥ MS
[42] aindrīṃ pūrvāṃ] *emend.*; aindrī pūrvā MS • pracakṣate] MSpc; pracacakṣate MS
[43] mūrtiḥ] *emend.*; mūrti MS
[44] yatnena] MSpc; yajetnena MSac
[45] vidyāṃ ca] *emend.*; vidyāṃś ca MS
[46] tāsv eva] *conj.*; tāś caiva MS

snāpayed bhasmanā pūrvaṃ devaṃ paścāc chubhodakaiḥ|
snāpya puṇyodakaiḥ kumbhair gandhaiś cālepya-m-īśvaram|| 61||

pūjāṃ kṛtvā śubhaiḥ puṣpair[47] *dadyād gandhapavitrakam*|
anena vidhinā yas tu ālabhet parameśvaram|| 62||

tasyāśu sādhakendrasya śivayogaḥ[48] *pravartate*|
evam ālabhanaṃ kṛtvā śivasya paramātmanaḥ|| 63||

śiṣyasaṃskārayoge tu[49] *yatnaṃ kṛtvā prayatnataḥ*|
sitāny ādāya puṣpāṇi ācāryas tu vicakṣaṇaḥ|| 64||

praṇipatya śivaṃ mūrdhnā śanaiḥ śiṣyāntikaṃ vrajet|
datvā tāni tu puṣpāṇi viprasya karasaṃpuṭe|| 65||

aṅguṣṭhābhyāṃ[50] *tato gṛhya ānayec chivasaṃnidhau*|
datvā puṣpāñjaliṃ rudre sādhakaṃ ca nivedayet|| 66||

pañcamantrān[51] *sakṛj japtvā tato vijñāpayec chivam*|
vijñāpya devaṃ sarvajñam upaveśya varāsane|| 67||

aṅgapratyaṅgasandhīṃś ca[52] *tasya-m-ājīvabhasmanā*|
teṣv evāṅgapradeśeṣu gandhān datvā śubhān guruḥ|| 68||

puṣpāṇi ca yathānyāyaṃ trisūtrīṃ cāpi sarvataḥ|
pāṇi … … … … … … … … … || 69||

… … … … … … … … … … … … |
… … … … … … … … … … … … || 70||

… … … … … … … … … … … … |
… … … … … … … … … … … … || 71||

… … … … … … … … … … … … |
… *śikhāsv adho mūrdhni*[53] *lalāṭād ūrdhva' mārjayet*|| 72||

karṇau gaṇḍau tathā netrau nāsike cibu[kaṃ] tathā|

[47] puṣpair] MSpc; puṣpaur MSac
[48] °yogaḥ] *emend.*; °yogaṃ MS
[49] °yoge tu] MSpc; yogesya tu MSac
[50] aṅguṣṭhābhyāṃ] *emend.*; aṅguṣṭābhyāṃ MS
[51] pañcamantrān] *emend.*; paṃcamaṃtrā MS
[52] °sandhīṃś ca] *emend.*; °sandhīś ca MS
[53] śikhāsv adho mūrdhni] *conj.*; śikhāṣṭadhā mūrti MS

†*nādyakartari* † *grīvā ca hṛdayaṃ stanasandhayaḥ*|| 73|| [54]

aṃsau kakṣau vikakṣau ca pṛṣṭhaṃ nābhyudaraṃ kaṭiḥ[55]|
kukṣau ca pārśvasandhiś ca sphikkorū jaṅghajānunī|| 74||

pārśvato granthayaḥ sarvāḥ[56] *pādau pādāgram eva ca*|
majjāśukrādi yac cānyat tan mantrair api śodhayet|| 75||

tato vijñāpya deveśaṃ dadyān mantrodakaṃ tataḥ|
paścāt pradakṣiṇaṃ kuryād upa[veśya varā]sane|| 76||

pūrvavac chodhayet[57] *so 'pi dravyaiś caiva vicakṣaṇaḥ*|
ālambhanaṃ punaḥ samyak śuddhir yena prajāyate|| 77||

śuddho bhavati pānena bāhyadoṣair upārjitaiḥ|
śuddhāni tāni sarvāṇi bhavanti śivabhasmanā|| 78||

evam ālabhanaṃ kṛtvā dakṣiṇāṃ mūrtim āśritaḥ|
bhasmanā mantrapūtena mantraiś caiva vidhānavit|| 79||

evam ālabhya taṃ vipraṃ dadyād bhasmodakaṃ punaḥ|
antargatānāṃ doṣāṇāṃ śuddhyarthaṃ bījayonijam|| 80||

punar etad vidhānaṃ tu paścād ārabhy' anukramāt |
vidhisaṃskārayoge 'smin kartavyaṃ[58] *devaśiṣyayoḥ*|| 81||

snātasya bhasmanā samyaksaṃskṛtasya ca śāstrataḥ|
saṃnyāsakāle śiṣyasya śivahasto vidhīyate|| 82||

dhyātvā mūrtau śivaṃ bhaktyā śrīlakuladhāriṇaṃ[59] *gurum*|
tasya hastaṃ punar dhyāyed dattaṃ sādhakamūrdhani|| 83||

dravyabhāvāgnisaṃnyāsaṃ kṛtvā samyag vicakṣaṇaḥ|
śikhācchedaṃ tataḥ kuryāc chivahastena mantrataḥ|| 84||

śivamūrdhnā trisūtrīṃ tu sādhakasya śikhāṃ nayet|
pañcabrahmamayo hy eṣa śivahasto hy udāhṛtaḥ|| 85||

dravyabhāvāgnikarmāṇi trīṇy etāni cchiyāt tribhiḥ|

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[54] stanasandhayaḥ] *conj.*; stanasaṃdhiṣu MS
[55] pṛṣṭhaṃ] *conj.*; pṛṣṭi MS • kaṭiḥ] *emend.*; kaṭiḥ MS
[56] sarvāḥ] *emend.*; sarve MS
[57] °vac chodhayet] *emend.*; °vat sodhayet MS
[58] kartavyaṃ] *emend.*; karttavyo MS
[59] lakuladhāriṇaṃ] *emend.*; śrīlakuladhāriṇaṃ MS

vāṅmanaḥkarmabhir nityaṃ bhāvayeta śivaṃ[60] *padam*|| 86||

tenaiva cchedayed yatnāc chikhāṃ[61] *sādhakamūrdhajām*|
na lohair na nakhair vāpi cchindyān notpāṭayet tathā|| 87||

nāmadheyaṃ ca kartavyaṃ maṅgalaṃ śivacoditam|
śiṣyaṃ puṣpadvayaṃ dadyān nāmataḥ śivacoditam[62] || 88||

mantrān adhyāpayec[63] *cainaṃ nityaṃ copadiśed vidhim*|
vidyayā vidhiyogyatvaṃ tasya śaucaṃ vinirdiśet|| 89||

sādhakasyābhiṣeke 'pi eṣa eva vidhiḥ smṛtaḥ|
pādanyāso viśeṣaḥ syād anteṣṭyāṃ cāvirodhataḥ|| 90||

codanā caiva jijñāsā guroś cātmanivedanam|
parigṛhya parīkṣetaḥ saṃskāro vidhiyogyatā|| 91||

vaidusyaṃ saptamaṃ hy eṣāṃ gurupūjā rahaḥ[64] *padam*|
sādhakasyābhiṣeke 'pi jñeyo 'yaṃ[65] *vidhivistaraḥ*|| 92||

saptapadāni evaṃ tu[66]*saptalokajayopari*|| 93||

iti saṃskāravidhiḥ|| o||

Translation

[*Invocation:*] Homage to Lakulin, who transcends all knowledge, [and] has cut down wrong views with the sword of the *pañcārtha* knowledge.[67] (1)

[*Question:*] What is the [appropriate] time for consecration in this [system], and which place is proclaimed [for this rite]? What is declared [in the Śāstras] as additional materials [needed for this rite], and which mantras are commended? (2)

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[60] bhāvayeta śivaṃ] *conj.*; tato bhāvayec chivaṃ MS

[61] cchedayed yatnāc chikhāṃ] *emend.*; cchedaye yatnā śikhāṃ MS

[62] śiṣyaṃ] *conj.*; śiṣye MS • dadyān nāmataḥ] *conj.*; ku dadyā nāmataḥ MSpc; kuryā dadyā nāmataḥ MSac • śivacoditam] *conj.*; śivacoditaḥ MS

[63] mantrān adhyā°] *emend.*; mantrān dhyā° MS

[64] rahaḥ] *conj.*; rahaṃ MSac; rihaṃ MSpc

[65] jñeyo 'yaṃ] *emend.*; jñeyayaṃ MS

[66] evaṃ tu] *conj.*; evatastu MS

[67] *Pañcārtha* is the technical term for five categories taught in the Lakulīśa Pāśupata system: *kārya, kāraṇa, yoga, vidhi* and *duḥkhānta*, and thus also for the Pāśupata doctrine. See also below fn. 95.

[And what is] the cause of the transformatory rite; and [who] is the agent [of it]; with which substances is it performed? What is the result of the transformatory rite, and, o great ascetic, what has to be purified [at the time of the transformatory rite]? (3)

[*Answer:*] The [appropriate] time [of the transformatory rite] is the morning, and the [appropriate] place is [a place] where the southern face [of the image (i.e. *liṅga*) located].[68] Materials required are the *kuśa*-grass and so on, and the *mantra*s [commended for the rite] are Sadyo[jāta] and the other *brahmamantra*s.[69] (4)

The teacher is the agent of the transformatory rite; the cause is God. And again, the instrument used in this rite is a tooth-cleaning twig.[70] (5)

The fruit of the rite is stated[71] to be eligibility for the prescribed way [of approaching Śiva] (*vidhi*).[72] (6)

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[68] Here the idea is clear: it is a place in the proximity of the *liṅga*. When a devotee or disciple approaches a *śivaliṅga* facing North while standing at God's right side, he sees the southern face of the *liṅga* (For the interpretation of the term *daṣiṇāmūrti* in this sense, see Bakker 2004). Wherever in the text *dakṣiṇāmūrti* is used or intended, I have rendered it with 'the southern face', but I have rendered *mūrti* in the context of Śiva's forms in ten directions with 'body' keeping the abstract idea intact, even though I am sure that our text is referring to a *liṅga* or some similar physical object. See also below fn. 92.

[69] Verse 4ab is an answer to the questions concerning the time and place of consecration asked in verse 2ab. *Kālaḥ* is partially visible at the damaged edge, and what followed after the lacuna in the next line is *mūrtis tu dakṣiṇāṃ*(!). So, the restored text of eight *akṣara*s in lacuna needs to cover a word indicating the appropriate time, another word meaning 'place', most likely *deśa*, and something to relate the place to 'the image at the right side'. My reconstruction, *prātas tathā deśo yatra*, keeps these points in view. As for the morning as the appropriate time, I rely on the *Ratnaṭīkā* (on *Gaṇakārikā* 5cd) where the forenoon (*pūrvāhṇa*) is accepted as the right time for the rite. However, the same term *pūrvāhṇa* does not fit the metre and I have adopted *prātas*. Likewise, verse 4c is an answer to the question asked in verse 2c, and the restored word there, *upakaraṇam*, is taken from the question.

[70] A tooth-cleaning twig (*dantadhāvana*) plays a very important role in the ritual as an essential tool, so the restored text is almost certain. This term, *dantadhāvana*, appears again in verse 29.

[71] This half verse, originally a short unmetrical line, is counted as an independent unit. I supply *prakīrtitaḥ* to make it a half verse. A section marker (|| o ||) is supplied in the manuscript after this line, which is irrelevant here but would be relevant if supplied after verse 7.

[72] I take *vidhi* here and in verses 81, 89 and 91 as a technical Pāśupata term for the prescribed way [of approaching Śiva] (cf. *Pāśupatasūtras* I.1: *athāto paśupateḥ pāśupataṃ yogavidhiṃ vyākhyāsyāmaḥ* and IV.19: *anena vidhinā rudrasamīpaṃ gatvā*). It is the fourth category of the five categories taught in the Lakulīśa-Pāśupata system, and, at least according to Kauṇḍinya, a large portion of the *Pāśupatasūtra*s, from the 12th sūtra of the second chapter to the end of the

Hands, head, forehead, eyes, nostrils, ears, mouth, neck and chest are purified [during the rite]. (7)

Now I shall teach the Superlative method of performing the transformatory rite,[73] by means of which *sādhaka*s indeed become qualified for the cutting off [of bonds].[74](8)

Only the initiated are eligible to enter this [system], nobody else, which has been revealed before only to brahmins by Śiva and the other teachers.[75](9)

He who wishes to know no other matter [and] who is impelled by Śiva himself[76] approaches the guru. [The guru] should properly examine that brahmin. (10)

The [birth-]place, caste, clan, behaviour, knowledge, quest, efficiency of the senses,[77] the physical health, faith, belief, devotion to Śiva, patience, perseverance, straightforwardness, and endeavour as well as ability to acquire knowledge: these are the qualities of a disciple. (11–2)

The teacher should then accept the brahmin thus examined with his inner eye of knowledge in a proper way following the prescription. (13)

The teacher should ask him to relinquish gold, clothing, wife and so on voluntarily if he would like to attain the ultimate goal. (14)

[The disciple] should bring a twelve *aṅgula*s long smooth tooth-cleaning twig from an Udumbara tree, one with sap and bark, not perforated and straight. (15)

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fourth chapter, is devoted to this topic.

[73]The tranformatory rite in the Pāśupata system is briefly described by Kauṇḍinya in his *Bhāṣya* on the first *sūtra* (for the relevant passage and translation, see Bakker 2004:124 and fn. 28 on p. 139). The *Gaṇakārikā* (5cd) enumerates the elements of the initiation – the materials, time, rite, the image and the teacher. Commenting on that passage, Bhāsarvajña shows how the additional materials such as *kuśa* grass and so on can be covered by the term *dravya* in the *Gaṇakārikā*, and a conflict with the *Saṃskārakārikā* is avoided. He does not give details of the rite but recommends to consult the latter for that purpose. For a possible identity of our text as the *Saṃskārakārikā*, see above fn. 2.

[74]It is quite likely that 'the cutting off' in this verse is refers to the ritual of cutting the topknot (*śikhāccheda*) which ultimately stands for the cutting of bonds. See also below verse 87 and fn. 107. Verse 8c is a striking *Mavipulā*.

[75]The manuscript reading *pūrvaṃ* could be emended to *pūrvaiḥ* and related to *gurubhiḥ*, meaning 'by earlier teachers'.

[76]An expression very similar to 'impelled by Śiva himself' (*śivenaiva pracoditaḥ*) is found in the beginning of Kauṇḍinya's *Pañcārthabhasya* (I.1 = p. 4, ll. 5–6): *ato rudrapracoditaḥ kuśikabhagavān abhyaagatya* ....

[77]This quality of a pupil is mentioned in the *Pañcārthabhasya* (I.1 = p. 3, l. 18): ... *paṭvindriyo brāhmaṇaḥ śisyaḥ*.

If it is lacking in sap he will be dispirited, if curved he will be deceitful. If with worms, he will have to live in the frontier [as an outcast], and if affected with some disease, he will be diseased. (16)

He should not slit it with nails or teeth;[78] and the wise man should not touch it with his legs. The brahmin who is going to have initiation should fetch and present it to the teacher. (17)

Then the learned teacher should take the tooth-cleaning twig described before, and, approaching the southern face of the image, he should touch it [to the image]. (18)

He should touch it also to the [other] faces [starting from] the East, reciting *mantra*s and following the prescription, and after that he should offer *argha* with sandal paste, flower and water to the faces [of Śiva]. (19)

The learned [teacher], the knower of *mantra*s, should further offer incense and diligently meditate on 'Śiva with form' (Sakala), and beg the supreme among the gods, [for permission] and pray [the following way]: (20)

"If this brahmin has been purified by a glance of Śiva, o supreme among the gods, I will initiate [him], one of the best brahmins, by your permission." (21)

When permitted by the God, the teacher, who is strictly keeping the [Pāśupata] vow and knows the *mantra*s, should handle the tooth-cleaning twig the [following] way. (22)

Bowing his head down to Śiva he should once recite the *mantra*s, and then place the five *mantra*s on the tooth-cleaning twig according to the [following] prescription. (23)

The skilled [teacher] should place Sadyojāta on the bottom, then Vāmadeva, Aghora, and then Tatpuruṣa, and finally Īśāna. He should recite each of the five *brahmamantra*s once at the respective places. (24–5)

People learned in this tradition[79] have to regard those [five *mantra*s as forming] five sections of the twig. The teacher should offer flowers, sandal paste and incense to [each of] these sections. (26)

He should offer to the supreme among the gods the [twig] sanctified in five sections, and later clean it with ashes purified with *mantra*s. (27)

Then the teacher should circumambulate [the God] holding that [twig], and facing North should give it into the hands of the disciple. (28)

[78] I supply *dantair*, as two *akṣara*s are missing in this *pāda* and logically 'with teeth' is the most fitting thing here.

[79] I take *ihasūribhiḥ* to mean people learned in this tradition; otherwise there would be two local adverbs.

The teacher should also say, "this tooth-cleaning twig has been given to you, the body of which has been armed with [*brahma-*]*mantra*s should be accepted without hesitation." (29)

Taking the tooth-cleaning twig with his right hand, the disciple, facing East or North, should chew it slowly; he should not let blood flow.[80] (30)

Stopping with that, he should face East, yet he should not move [viz. turn] his head. He should rinse it with water that has been strained through a cloth and throw it. (31)

If [the twig falls] upside down, [or with the head pointing to the] South or Southwest, one should know it to be an inauspicious omen, and if to the other directions or corners an auspicious omen. (32)

Afterwards, facing East, the teacher, who is aware of the essence of all Siddhāntas, should check the fallen twig [to see] whether [the omen] is good or not good. (33)

Paying attention [lest he should make some slip] he should go to sleep on the ground, which is smeared with cow-dung, and tell the teacher what he dreamt.[81] (34)

The teacher should never initiate the one who has seen bad dreams,[82] but the one who has seen auspicious dreams has to be initiated according to the prescription. (35)

He should ask him to shave his hair and cut his nails. (36ab)

That day the self-controlled disciple should fast. Then the brahmin should bathe and beseech the ancestors and gods to pardon him saying, "The ancestors and gods, may they pardon me, I have taken refuge in Śiva."[83] (36cd–37)

He should not speak with women and Śūdras,[84] and also not to irreligious

[80]'He should not let blood flow', with a causative tone, is a smooth expression in Sanskrit and other Indian languages. Another way, however, is to take *prapātayet* as causative for simplex, and translate: 'blood should not flow', which sounds better in English.

[81]Note that *nivedīta* in *pāda* c is an *aiśa* form for *nivedayeta*.

[82]Contrary to this, the canonical versions in the Siddhānta do not deny even those who have seen bad dreams. They prescribe some remedy against bad dreams or omens.

[83]This verse reminds me of the *Pāśupatasūtra*s II.9–11: *tasmād ubhayathā yaṣṭavyaḥ, devavat pitṛvac ca, ubhayaṃ tu rudre devāḥ pitaraś ca*. ('Therefore, [Rudra] has to be worshipped in both ways, as god and as ancestor. Both the gods and ancestors are united in Rudra.')

[84]This is almost a quotation from the *Pāśupatasūtra* I.13: *strīśūdraṃ nābhibhāṣet*, which in turn is closely echoing brahminical prescriptions. However, the *sūtra* has the verb in the active voice, while our text has it in the middle, as found in many other places. Cf., e.g., *Baudhāyanadharmasūtra* III.8.17 and 4.5.4; *Manusmṛti* XI.223cd. See also Bisschop and Griffiths 2003:338, fn. 121.

people. The fasting brahmin should not be angry or speak untruth.[85] (38)

He should carefully offer thread, sandal paste and incense [sticks] only of white colour and always precious ones. (39)

He should get twelve[86] earthen *argha* vessels, or should find strong leaves with no holes of a tree suitable for use in sacrifices, and prepare them. He should also bring there sacred ashes and sanctified water-jars. (40–41)

The auspicious *gandhapavitraka*[87] has to be made from a three-string cord. If such cord is not available, one should make it of *kuśa* grass or flowers acquired by auspicious means.[88] (42)

Having collected all these [materials], the teacher should himself sanctify them with the five *mantra*s on an auspicious day and use them in the rite he is going to perform (*svavidhau*). (43)

A teacher who is calm, bathed in ashes, eating little, with his senses controlled and an eye of knowledge, patient, having vices burnt with austerity, attentive, meditating on Śiva,[89] knowing the scripture, compassionate and having *mantra*s placed all over the body may touch the eternal Śiva. (44–5)

He should begin the rite after enclosing the shrine, water-jars, altar and the

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[85] *Pāda* d of this verse, *na kupyen nānṛtaṃ vadet*, can be found in the *Manusmṛti* as III.229b.

[86] I interpret *daśa dve* as twelve: ten for the ten *mūrti*s of Śiva, one for the *pañcārthavidyā*, and one for the *yogapīṭha*.

[87] Here is a description of the *gandhapavitraka* from the *Siddhāntaśekhara* (T. 57, p. 199–200) as quoted in Brunner (1968:112–113) with her French translation:

kastūrikācandanameghajātikarpūratakkolalavaṅgakoṣṭham|
uśīram elānavanītalohaṃ phalatrayaṃ kesarakaṃ sanāgam||
etaiḥ sacūrṇair vidadhīta gandhair liṅgaṃ viliptaṃ śivaśambareṇa|
tenaiva gandhena viliptasūtraṃ tad ucyate gandhapavitrakākhyam||

"On oint d'abord le *liṅga*, tout en récitant le *śivamantra*, d'un mélange composé de substances parfumées réduites en poudre: musc, santal, etc.; et on oint ensuite les *pavitra*, qui sont dès lors appelés *gandhapavitra*, avec cette pâte reprise au *liṅga*."

[88] For such options for the material of *pavitraka*, see *Somaśambhupaddhati*, Pavitrārohaṇavidhi 11–13 (Brunner 1968:21).

[89] *Apramattaḥ śivadhyāyin* could be an allusion to *Pāśupatasūtra*s V.39–40: *ekaḥ kṣemī san vītaśoko 'pramādī* ('Alone, being in a condition of fixing his mind in Rudra (*kṣemī san*…), free from sorrow, and attentive, …').

yogāsana (i.e. *yogapīṭha*)[90] with the *brahmasūtra*.[91] (46)

The teacher should bathe the God together with the altar in water purified with *mantra*s and clean the *yogapīṭha*. (47)

He should offer the *argha* vessels in due order to all bodies[92] [of Śiva mentioned below], which are auspicious, destroy sins and augment virtues. (48)

Śiva is taught to be one who has the ten bodies: Yāmyā, Aindrī, Saumyā, Vāruṇī, Āgneyī, Īśānī, Vāyavyā, Nairṛtī, Dhruvā and Nāgī. (49–50ab)

The body in the South is called Yāmyā, [and] that in the East is called Aindrī. Saumyā [is] the body in the North, and the body in the West is named Vāruṇī. The body in the Southeast [is] Āgneyī and that in the Northeast [is] Īśānī.[93] (50cd–51)

Vāyavyā [is] the body in the Northwest and Nairṛtī is that in the Southwest. The body above is named Dhruvā and that below is called Nāgī.[94] (52)

These [bodies] of Śiva are regarded as auspicious in all rites. [So, the teacher] should carefully place *argha* vessels near all these bodies [of Śiva]. (53)

He should also place the *pañcārthavidyā*,[95] and [place] an *argha* vessel there.

[90] For metrical reasons, *yogāsana*, rather an ambiguous term, is used in this verse. It is, however, clear from the following verse that *yogāsana* here refers to the *yogapīṭha*, the throne on which a deity is visualised or worshipped. I assume that *yogapīṭha* or its substitute in this text refers generically to the whole structure of the throne, but not only to a level inside it as found in many Siddhānta works. For such a possibility and the difficulty of determining the intended meaning of the term in different texts, see Goodall *et al.* 2005:23.

[91] I assume the *brahmasūtra*, a cord charged with the *brahmamantra*s, is the same as *pavitra*[*ka*], otherwise known as *trisūtrī*, but it puzzles me that the author should have chosen this term, making the *pāda* hypermetrical, instead of taking other synonyms fitting in metre.

[92] I have not yet found these ten bodies or forms of Śiva mentioned in any other source. However, Kauṇḍinya's statement, 'the sun divides the directions and the directions differentiate the bodies of Śiva' (*ādityo diśo vibhajati, diśaś ca mūrtiṃ vibhajanti*), could be taken as an indication for a possibility of ten bodies of Śiva in ten directions. Clearly associated with the directions, one might expect these bodies rather to be abstract ones. However, in our text, they are touched and offered *argha*, and there is no doubt that they are physical objects. So, it appears that in the scheme of this text the main *liṅga* is surrounded by ten other *liṅga*s or images, be they temporary or permanent, representing the ten bodies of the God in ten directions.

[93] Verses 51c, 61d and 68b have a hiatus breaker *m*. Verse 51d is unmetrical.

[94] Verse 52a is hypermetrical.

[95] Note that the *pañcārthavidyā* is praised as a personified goddess in the last verse of the so-called *Rudranāmāni* attributed to Viśuddhamuni: *pañcārthavidye niḥśeṣe niravadye śivapriye| bhaktānugrāhikā(sic) devi mātas tubhyaṃ sadā namaḥ||*

It is quite probable that the *Pañcārthavidyā* or *Pañcārthajñāna* in our text and elsewhere in Pāśupata and Śaiva texts occasionally refers to the text known to us as the *Pāśupatasūtra*.

The wise one should arrange then [another] *argha* vessel and the *yogapīṭha*. (54)

The teacher should place the *argha* vessels and fill them with scented water, and offer a three-string cord (*trisūtrī*) on Śiva's head, on all [ten] bodies [of Śiva] carefully, and on the *argha* vessels in a successive order. Then he should touch that [twig] on these [ten] bodies on their sides without any haste (*śanaiḥ*). (55–56)

He should touch it in a proper way using *mantra*s to the *argha* vessels, all water-jars, and also the *yogapīṭha*. (57)

Meditating on Śrīlakulīśa, he, the one cognisant of [the way of] union [with Śiva], should attentively offer *argha* to each body of the God muttering the five *brahmamantra*s. (58)

He should put flowers as well as *pavitra*s in all (*sarvaśaḥ*) of these *argha* vessels in a proper way, and then touch those [bodies of Śiva]. (59)

Having touched the supreme among the gods on each body in a proper order and having offered *argha* in a proper way to those bodies of Śiva, he should bathe the God first in ashes and then in pure water. (60–61ab)

After bathing the God in jarfuls of sanctified water and besmearing him with sandal paste, he should worship the God with auspicious flowers and offer the *gandhapavitraka*. (61cd–62ab)

Whoever attaches himself to the supreme among the gods following this prescription, union with Śiva commences for him,[96] the best among *sādhaka*s. (62cd–63ab)

Having attached himself to Śiva, the supreme among the gods, this way, the learned teacher should put his efforts on the disciples's consecration and bring white flowers. First he should reverence Śiva bowing his head down, and slowly go near the disciple. (63cd–65ab)

He should place those white flowers in the brahmin's hands, and lead him near to Śiva, holding him in his thumbs. (65cd–66ab)

Having offered a handful of flowers to Rudra, the teacher should present the *sādhaka* in front of the God. And, after reciting the five *mantra*s, he should

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Kauṇḍinya, the commentator, himself appears to regard the text as *Pañcārtha*[*sūtra*/ *-śāstra*] when he opens his text with the following expression: *āha – vakṣyati bhagavān pañcārtham*| *athāsyādisūtraṃ kim iti.* Dr. Peter Bisschop has told me in a personal communication that he is also inclined to regard *Pañcārtha* as another name of the *Pāśupatasūtra*, and has made some remark to this effect, based on the same opening remark of Kauṇḍinya in his recent book (Bisschop 2006:212).

[96] This appears to be an allusion to the *Pāśupatasūtra* V.23: *ato yogaḥ pravartate* ('From here the yoga commences.').

request Śiva [for his permission]. (66cd–67ab)

Having requested [permission from] the omniscent God, he should seat [the disciple] on a nice seat, and besmear all the major and minor members and joints of his body with ashes from a cremation ground (lit. of all creatures?)[97], and then apply good sandal paste on those body parts. (67cd–68)

He should take [in his] hand flowers according to the rule, and entirely the three string cord, (i.e. *pavitraka*), and … … … … … … …[98] (69–72ab)

[97]I guess *ājīvabhasman* to be ashes from the cremation ground.

[98]Not all the verses but a few, verses 53, 74, 75, 80, 90 and 92, are numbered in the manuscript itself. Until 53 the numbering is perfect, but the next number 74 is incorrect if counted continuously. This means either his numbering is wrong around here or the scribe copies the verse numbers faithfully from the exemplar but skips a line or two covering three verses. I am convinced of the second possibility. It appears to me that text is missing after *pāṇi* in *pāda* c of verse 69, and so I have decided to show a lacuna here.

Concerning the same *nyāsa*, the *Anteṣṭividhi*, the last of the four *vidhi*s in the manuscript, states the following:

> *śivasādhakayoḥ karma dīkṣākāle tu niścitam|*
> *tathā rudre punaḥ kuryāt sādhake tu viparyayam||* (verse 22)
>
> At the time of initiation the [same] rite for Śiva and the Sādhaka ([for the sake of symbolic union?]) has been determined. Now [the priest] should perform that rite in that manner in Rudra [viz. in the *liṅga*], but in case of the [deceased] Sādhaka, [he] should do it reversed.

It is clear that this verse presents an exception to the general prescription made at the time of initiation, and such a general prescription is missing in our text. In the light of the information obtained from this verse and verse 81 below in the text, we can imagine that some text covering a prescription to perform the action on Śiva should be there in the proposed lacuna before enumeration of body parts begins. Moreover, the *Anteṣṭividhi*, in verse 30 cited below, suggests that *dhūpa* and *mantra*, too, have to figure there.

After three more verses, the *Anteṣṭividhi* (verses 26–30) gives a list of the body parts to be touched. It is a list of almost the same body parts found in our text but prepared in a reversed order to result in an upward movement:

> *lakulīśaṃ punar dhyātvā paścāt karma samācaret|*
> *dravyāṇy ādāya sarvāṇi haste kṛtvā pavitrakam||*
> *pādāgrāṇi tathā pādau tayoś corddhvaṃ ca jānunī|*
> *ūruṃ śiśnaṃ kaṭiṃ caiva gudaṃ nābhyudaraṃ tathā||*
> *kukṣiṃ kakṣau stanau vidyād dhṛdayaṃ pṛṣṭim eva ca|*
> *aṃsau grīvāṃ mukhaṃ ghrāṇaṃ gaṇḍau karṇau tathaiva ca||*
> *netre lalāṭaṃ mūrdhni tu bāhubhyāṃ sandhayas tathā|*
> *hastau hastāgram evaṃ ca tvak sarvatra niyojayet||*
> *pūrvaṃ darbhāḥ punar bhasma candanaṃ sūtram eva ca|*
> *puṣpāṇi ca punar dhūpaṃ mantrā eṣaḥ kramaḥ smṛtaḥ||*

… He should purify [the places] in the head, below the topknot and above[99] the forehead. (72cd)

He should further purify with *mantra*s his ears, cheeks, eyes, nostrils, and chin; †*nādyakarttari*†,[100] neck, chest, breast and joints[101]; shoulders, armpits, and near the armpit, the back, navel, belly and waist; cavity of the abdomen, hip-joints, buttocks, thighs, shanks and knees; all joints on the back side, feet and the toes, and whatever substances in the body, the marrow and semen, and the like. (73–75)

Then he should request [permission from] the supreme among the Gods and give the disciple water sanctified with *mantra*s, and after that, he should circumambulate [the God]. (76abc)

Having [the disciple] seated on a nice seat, the learned teacher should purify him with objects as before, and [carry out] the touching through which purity is generated thoroughly. (76d–77)

[The disciple] becomes free, by drinking the water, from the external evils he has accumulated: all these are purified with the Śiva-ashes. (78)

Having attached himself to the supreme among the gods this way, the

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There can be little doubt that the passage in the *Saṃskāravidhi* and this one are related. However, if one compares these two passages, one can detect that there is nothing in the *Saṃskāravidhi* corresponding to '*bāhubhyāṃ sandhayas tathā| hastau hastāgram evaṃ ca tvak sarve ca niyojayet||*' of the *Anteṣṭividhi*.

So, a very tentative reconstruction of the missing text could be as follows:

*pāṇi≪nā gṛhya dhūpaṃ tu mantrān vai cintayan punaḥ|**
nyasen mūrtau yathānyāyaṃ ācāryas tu vicakṣaṇaḥ|
anenaiva vidhānena śiṣyadehe samācaret|
*yathā deve tathā śiṣye kuryāc caiva guruḥ svayam|***
tvak sarvatra tataḥ paścād hastāgrāṇi tathaiva ca|
hastau caiva yathānyāyaṃ bāhubhyāṃ sandhayas tathā|
tataḥ≫ śikhāṣv adho mūrdhni lalāṭād ūrdhva' mārjayet|

*A similar expression is present in the *Anteṣṭividhi*: *sādhakakarmakartā ca mantrān vai cintayet kila|* (verse 31ab)

**I think that the prescription for the *sādhaka* in the (above-quoted) 22nd verse of the *Anteṣṭividhi* is intended as a reversal of this prescription.

[99] I regard the reading *ūrdhva' mārjayet* as a case of metrically required oddity.

[100] The transmitted text cannot be interpreted. One could asume that one or two body parts between the chin and neck are required. So it could be emended to something like *āsyaṃ kaṇṭhaṃ ca*. I have noted that *mukha* appears in the parallel list of body parts in the *Anteṣṭividhi*.

[101] As all other words are in the nominative, I correct the exceptional case of *stanasaṃdhiṣu* in the manuscript.

[teacher], conversant with the ritual, should approach the southern face [of the liṅga]. Then, reciting the *mantra*s, he should besmear the brahmin with ashes sanctified with *mantra*s, and give again water mixed with ashes, for the sake of cleaning the interior evils inherited from the [male and female] seed and womb. (79–80)

Now this rite [should be performed] in due order, starting again afterwards[102]: in the context of an initiation into the prescribed way [of approaching Śiva] it should be performed [both] for the God and for the disciple.[103](81)

For the disciple who has bathed properly in ashes and is purified according to scriptural [prescription], the rite of *śivahasta* is performed at the time of renunciation. (82)

Having meditated on Śiva in the [southern] face with devotion, he should meditate on the teacher who holds a staff, and think that his hand is placed on the head of the *sādhaka*. (83)

The experienced teacher should perform the rite of renunciation with regard to material [possessions] (*dravya*), mental states (*bhāva*) and the [sacred] fire, and then cut off the topknot by the *śivahasta* reciting the *mantra*s [in the following way]. (84)

[The teacher] has to draw a three string cord (*trisūtrī*, i.e. *pavitraka*) from Śiva's head to the topknot of the disciple. This [above-described rite] is called 'the hand of Śiva' (*śivahasta*)[104] containing the five *brahmamantra*s.[105](85)

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[102]The reading *ārabhy' anukramāt* is obviously yet another example of metrically required irregularity.

[103]Note *Ratnaṭīkā* on *Gaṇakārikā* 5cd: *kāraṇamūrtiśiṣyayoḥ saṃskārakarma kriyety ucyate. tatkramaś ca saṃskārakārikāyāṃ draṣṭavyaḥ.*

[104]This text identifies a sequence of actions as being part of the rite called *śivahasta*. It appears that this rite covers three major actions: the placing of the teacher's hand, empowered with the five *brahmamantra*s, on the disciple's head, the cutting of the *śikhā* with the *mantra* power following the triple vow of renunciation, and the drawing of a *trisūtrī* from the main image or *liṅga* to the disciple's head. Also the early Siddhānta texts include the rite of *śivahasta* among others to be performed during the initiatory rite. However, they do not mention the last, the drawing of a *trisūtrī* to the disciple's head. This fact is remarkable, particularly because our version of the whole transformatory rite is simple compared to the canonical versions in the Siddhānta. The cutting of the *śikhā*, though not clearly stated in some of the canonical versions of this rite in the Siddhānta, is found in a couple of older ones (e.g. *Niśvāsamūla* IV.14–15, *Niśvāsottarasūtra* III.21–22; *Svāyambhuvasūtrasaṅgraha* XIII.10–11). I am very much grateful to Dr. Dominic Goodall for drawing my attention to these passages.

[105]This statement alludes to the fact that the five *brahmamantra*s are ritually placed on the hand of the *ācārya* at the outset of the *śivahasta* rite, which is clearly stated in the Siddhānta

He should cut off[106] the three, material [possessions], mental states and [the ritualistic obligation to] the [sacred] fire, with the three: speech, mind and action.[107] He should always meditate on the Śiva state. (86)

He should cut off the topknot on the disciple's head with the same [hand]. He should not cut it off with iron tools or nails, or pluck it off. (87)

An auspicious name ordained by Śiva has to be coined, and the teacher should give two flowers to the disciple who is [now] ordained by Śiva, by name [itself]. (88)

He should teach him the *mantra*s and instruct him in the obligatory rules (*nityaṃ…vidhim*). Through *vidyā*[108] one [acquires] eligibility for the prescribed way [of approaching Śiva]. [Then] he should assign him the [rules of] purity. (89)

The same procedure is prescribed for consecration of a *sādhaka* also. And, [this is true] in the case of the funeral rite as long as no contradiction occurs, [however,] the *pādanyāsa* would be additional [in that case].[109] (90)

The instigation, desire for knowledge, self-submission to the teacher, examination following acceptance, and thence, initiation – eligibility for the prescribed way [of approaching Śiva], learning; and veneration of the teacher, the seventh of these, is the secret stage.[110] This very detail of the prescription is

versions of the rite but not in our text.

[106] I take the reading *cchiyāt* as a metrically required oddity chosen by the author in place of a regular *chindyāt*. An alternative would be to emend it to grammatically correct *kṣiyāt*.

[107] The cutting of these three is equivalent to the cutting of the *pāśa*s (*pāśakṛntana*) in the Siddhānta versions of the rite. It seems that the cutting of the *pāśa*s and that of the *śikhā* are paired in our text as well as in the Siddhānta versions. Note that in the context of *śivahasta* the *Svāyambhuvasūtrasaṅgraha* (XIII.11ab: *homānte tu śikhāṃ chittvā dadyāt pūrṇāhutiṃ kramāt*) takes *śikhā* when the *Niśvāsamūla* (IV.15ab: *śivena chindayet pāśaṃ hutvā pūrṇāhutiṃ dadet*) has *pāśa* in the same context. See also above fn. 74.

[108] It might at first sight appear that *vidyā* here refers mainly, but not only, to the knowledge of the post-initiatory rules (for the *samaya*s would normally be taught after a tantric initiation). I note that a statement to the effect that the section on *vidyājñāna* (acquistion of knowledge?) has been completed is found after the fifth *sūtra* of the fourth chapter in the *Kauṇḍinyabhāṣya*. But there is another possibility suggested by the texts of the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā*: these teach a *muktidīkṣā*, which consists in purifying the levels of the cosmos, but before teaching that they also teach what they term a *vidyādīkṣā* (*Mūlasūtra* 4.16, *Uttarasūtra* 3.22), which is evidently intended as a preparation for embarking on *sādhana*. It is possible, therefore, that the *Niśvāsa*'s *vidyādīkṣā*, or at least its name, is inherited from the *saṃskāra* of the Pāñcārthikas.

[109] I associate *pādanyāso viśeṣaḥ syāt* with the folllowing not with the preceding, in the light of the *Anteṣṭividhi*.

[110] This much is clear: that these are the stages in the transformatory rite; but the passage is

followed in the rite of a *sādhaka*'s consecration also. (91–92)

These seven steps in the rite thus refer to [one's] conquest of the seven worlds. (93)

Thus the manual on consecration of a disciple.

Other Manuscripts Consulted

NIŚVĀSATATTVASAṂHITĀ

Transcription of the Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā, from the palm-leaf Nepalese MS No. 1–227, NGMPP A 41/14 supplemented with readings from its Kathmandu apograph MS No. 5-2406, NGMPP A 159/18, by Dominic GOODALL. [Includes the *Niśvāsamukha*, *Niśvāsamūla*, *Niśvāsottara*, *Niśvāsanaya* and *Niśvāsaguhya*]. The verse and chapter numeration used in footnotes is that of GOODALL's edition in progress.

rather tricky. I assume that the *lyap* suffix in *parigṛhya* suggests examination and acceptance to be combined as one single stage. Furthermore, I take eligibility for the prescribed way [of approaching Śiva], which is the result of initiation, as an explanatory remark on intiation but not as a separate stage. It is noteworthy that the concluding half-verse speaks of the seven stages, and also that the *Anteṣṭividhi* prescribes to walk seven steps (referred to as *pādanyāsa* in verse 90 above), alluding to these seven stages, around the end of the funeral rite.

However, one could think of relating *saptamaṃ hy eṣāṃ* to the preceding and translating the line with 'learning is the seventh of these, [and] veneration of the teacher is the secret stage [beyond these seven]'. In that case, it is necessary to count either examination following acceptance as a combined stage but initiation and eligibility for the prescribed way [of approaching Śiva] as two different stages, or the opposite. I give this alternative a second priority.

The description of Śivapura in the early *Vāyu-* and *Skandapurāṇa*[*]

PETER BISSCHOP

INTRODUCTION

The closing chapter of the original *Skandapurāṇa* (SP_{Bh} 183) contains, as I have noted elsewhere (BISSCHOP 2004:75–76), a major parallel with *Vāyupurāṇa* 2.39 (≈ *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* 3.4.2).[1] Another more extensive parallel exists between the Nīlakaṇṭha myth told in *Vāyupurāṇa* 1.54 (≈ *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* 1.2.25) and *Skandapurāṇa* 114. While the latter parallel is relatively straightforward, the former is less obvious and as such may be more rewarding for the study of the transmission of Purāṇic literature. As I hope to show, the *Skandapurāṇa* has adapted the text in order to bring it in line with the Pāśupata Yoga teaching that precedes it (SP_{Bh} 174–182). The passage is concerned with an important concept of lay Śaivism, in that it consists of a description of the City of Śiva (Śivapura), the Śaiva version of paradise. It also contains an intriguing creation account, along Sāṃkhya lines but with the central role played by Śiva.

At the outset it should be noted that the passage forms part of the last ten chapters of the *Skandapurāṇa*, for which there is no testimony in the *Ambikākhaṇḍa* and *Revākhaṇḍa* recensions because they break off prematurely.[2] The sole basis for the text of these ten chapters of the *Skandapurāṇa* are the two early Nepalese palm-leaf manuscripts S_1 and S_2. It is therefore possible that not all of this was part of the original composition of the text of the *Skandapurāṇa*; that part of it or even the entire section was added in the transmission of the Nepalese recension. However, for the time being I am inclined

*I thank Prof. Hans BAKKER, Prof. Harunaga ISAACSON and Prof. Yuko YOKOCHI for commenting on an earlier draft of this paper.

[1] References are to the numbering of the Veṅkateśvara edition of the *Vāyupurāṇa* throughout this paper. In the Ānandāśrama edition this corresponds to chapter 101.

[2] Cf. HARIMOTO 2004:187–189.

to consider the last ten chapters as an integral part of the original text.

The paper falls into two parts: 1) a running commentary, and 2) a synoptic edition of the parallel. The synoptic edition is mainly to facilitate comparison between the Purāṇas. For the text of the *Vāyupurāṇa* I have made use of two *Vāyupurāṇa* editions, the Ānandāśrama ($\text{VāP}_{\text{ĀĀ}}$) and the Veṅkateśvara edition ($\text{VāP}_{\text{Veṅ}}$), as well as of the Veṅkateśvara edition of the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* (BḍP). The fact that the chapter also occurs in the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* indicates that it formed part of the early *Vāyupurāṇa*, before the split into *Vāyu-* and *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*.[3] I have also incorporated readings from an early *Vāyupurāṇa* manuscript held in the British Library in London (VāP_{IO}). The numbering of the verses follows that of the Veṅkateśvara's *Vāyupurāṇa* edition. The text of the *Skandapurāṇa* in general follows the edition and numbering of BHAṬṬARĀĪ's *editio princeps*, but I have looked at the two Nepalese manuscripts available for this chapter and occasionally incorporated readings from them and resorted to conjectural emendation. Differences between the two parallels are presented in italics.

Commentary on VāP 2.39 (≈ BḍP 3.4.2) and SP 183

A new topic is introduced in VāP 2.39.209 with the question of the Naimiśa sages about the respective interval (*antara*) between the seven worlds, Mahat, Jana, Tapas, Satya, Bhūta, Bhavya and Bhava. The sages mention that Vāyu has already given a description of these worlds, by which they probably refer to the teaching given earlier on in the same chapter (VāP 2.39.10–48). SP 183.1–2 starts with Sanatkumāra's assertion that the World of Śambhu is located above these seven worlds. The *Skandapurāṇa* itself does not contain any systematic account of these worlds, so this remark presupposes knowledge about these worlds from some other source, presumably the *Vāyupurāṇa*. However, there is something strange about this list: instead of the traditional triad Bhūr, Bhuvar and Svar, it includes Bhūta, Bhavya and Bhava, which I have not seen anywhere else except in this very passage.[4] Indeed, in the description of the seven worlds

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[3]For the relationship of these two Purāṇas see e.g. KIRFEL 1927: x–xix and, more recently, VIELLE 2005. Note, however, that KIRFEL has not included the present passage in his *Bhuvanavinyāsa*. A substantial part of what precedes it is included in his chapter eight of the second textgroup (KIRFEL 1954:191–195).

[4]The order and names of the seven worlds are pretty much standard since the time of the *Taittirīyāraṇyaka*; see KIRFEL 1920:24*, 55, 128. Cf. also e.g. *Bhuvanavinyāsa* I.7 (KIRFEL 1954:48–55).

given in VāP 2.39.10–48 the traditional seven form the subject of teaching. This could indicate that the present passage is not original to the *Vāyupurāṇa*, but was incorporated from some other, now lost source.

Naturally VāP 2.39.210 contains no parallel in the *Skandapurāṇa*, because this verse refers to the frame-story of the *Vāyupurāṇa*, with the speaker change from the Naimiśa sages to their instructor Vāyu. Also the following verses (VāP 2.39.211–214) have no parallel, although SP 183.2–6ab, a passage which introduces the world of Śambhu, seems to go back to these verses. According to the *Skandapurāṇa* all the other worlds as well as the Egg of Brahmā are established in Śambhuloka. It is not clear whether Śambhuloka is supposed to be identical with Śivapura, although there are some indications that it is;[5] in the remainder of the text the *Skandapurāṇa* only deals with Śivapura. Sanatkumāra mentions that he (*aham*) and various other divine beings and Yogis are worshipping the Lord in Śambhuloka. This remark seems to have been triggered by VāP 2.39.212, where it is said i.a. that Sanatkumāra and others reside in Brahman, the abode of the Lord (*ālayaṃ ceśvarasya yat* VāP 2.39.214d). In the *Skandapurāṇa* this location is somewhat out of order because according to the same text Sanatkumāra in fact resides in his *vimāna* on Mount Meru, where he tells the Purāṇa to Vyāsa (cf. SP 1.17–18).

The real parallel starts with VāP 2.39.215–216, according to which Īśvara can (only) be conceived by the learned, because he is an infinitesimal atom.[6] Ten qualities – Jñāna, Vairāgya, Aiśvarya, Tapas, Satya, Kṣamā, Dhṛti, Draṣṭṛtva, Ātmasambandha and Adhiṣṭhātṛtva – are said to reside continuously in him. SP 183.6cd–8 identifies this Īśvara who is an infinitesimal atom with Vigraheśvara. This seems to reflect a significant theological development. The same figure is mentioned again in SP 183.19a (*sthānaṃ vigraheśasya*), but he does not play a role in the *Vāyupurāṇa*;[7] in fact he is known mainly from Śaiva Tantric literature, where he is located in various spots of the Śaiva universe, but never in Śivaloka.[8] Rather he is assigned a relatively low position, which may

[5]The inhabitants of Śambhuloka and Śivapura seem to be the same. Thus e.g. Vigraheśvara (SP 183.7b; 183.19a), and Sanaka and other sons of Brahmā (183.4c; 183.43ab), are said to reside in both places.

[6]Cf. Hsüan Tsang, *Ch'eng wei shih lun* (*Vijñaptimātratāsiddhiśāstra*): "Pour les Pāśupatas, Parivrājakas, etc., l'Ātman, éternel, est subtil comme un atome, réside secrètement dans le corps, fait les actions" (transl. de la Vallée Poussin 1929:12).

[7]Note, however, the reference to *vigrahavat īśvara* in VāP 2.39.231 below.

[8]*Niśvāsamukha* 4.120d (Vigraheśa above Gahana who is himself above the twenty-five Tattvas), *Niśvāsaguhya* 1.118a (Vigraheśa located at the *granthi*), *Kiraṇatantra* 8.132c (Vigra-

point to his being a remnant of an earlier form of Śaivism, presumably a kind of post-Pāñcārthika Atimārga,[9] which was superseded by the Śaivasiddhānta.[10] The name Vigraheśvara indicates that he is intended to be identical with the *sakala* form of Śiva, mentioned at the start of this passage (SP 183.2b).[11]

At first sight the ten qualities attributed to Īśvara in VāP 2.39.215cd–216 seem to be reduced to eight in SP 183.7cd–8: Kṣamā, Satya, Dhṛti, Tapas, Vairāgya, Sraṣṭṛtva, Ātmabodha and Maheśatā. Lacking are Jñāna and Aiśvarya, while Draṣṭṛtva is replaced by Sraṣṭṛtva,[12] Ātmasambandha by Ātmabodha, and Adhiṣṭhātṛtva by Maheśatā. This may be due to textual corruption on the part of the *Skandapurāṇa*: Jñāna is in fact present in the awkward ablative compound *jñānavairāgyāt*, which repeats the item Vairāgya. To retrieve ten items *jñānavairāgyāt* may be emended to *jñānam aiśvaryam*. The list of ten attributes also occurs elsewhere in the *Vāyupurāṇa*, with some noteworthy variants. Instead of Draṣṭṛtva we find Sraṣṭṛtva, the same item conjectured by BHAṬṬARĀĪ in SP 183.8a, and instead of Ātmasambandha we find Ātmasambodha,[13] which

heśa located in Kalātattva), *Mataṅgapārameśvarāgama* Vidyāpāda 8.83 (Vigraheśāna located at the *granthi*), *Svāyambhuvasūtrasaṃgraha* 4.18a (Vigraheśvara). A seventh-century inscription from Malhar refers to the eight forms of Śiva as 'Vigraheśvaras': *śivasya mūrtīnām aṣṭau vigraheśvarāṇām* (BAKKER 2000:8).

[9]With the term 'post-Pāñcārthika Atimārga' I refer to a form of Pāśupata theology that does not find expression in Kauṇḍinya's *Pañcārthabhāṣya* on the *Pāśupatasūtra*; one of its distinguishing features is the teaching of a hierarchy of worlds (*bhuvanādhvan*) which is purified at the initiation of the practitioner. Cf. SANDERSON 2001:29 and in particular SANDERSON 2006.

[10]The figure of Gahana, with which he seems to be associated (cf. *Niśvāsaguhya* and *Niśvāsamukha* above), is "the lowest in a group of Rudras in the cosmography of the Pāśupata Pramāṇaśāstras" (GOODALL in: BRUNNER, OBERHAMMER & PADOUX 2004:184). After its reference to the eight forms of Śiva as Vigraheśvaras the inscription from Malhar mentioned in n. 8 on p. 52 continues to say that *gahaneśasya mūrtayo rudrāḥ ṣaṭṣaṣṭy anugrāhakā yuge yuge parivartamānā* "the embodiments of Gahaneśa are the sixty-six Rudras who bestow grace (initiation) and who roam about in each *yuga*" (tr. BAKKER 2000:10).

[11]Cf. also SP 183.9.

[12]The reading of this item is insecure, being a conjecture by BHAṬṬARĀĪ. S_1 reads *saṃskṛtaṃ*, S_2 according to BHAṬṬARĀĪ's apparatus *saṣṭitaṃ*. The first syllable reported by BHAṬṬARĀĪ is illegible in the photograph of S_2 available to me.

[13]VāP 1.10.60 *jñānaṃ vairāgyam aiśvaryaṃ tapaḥ satyaṃ kṣamā dhṛtiḥ | sraṣṭṛtvam ātmasambodhas tv adhiṣṭhātṛtvam eva ca | atha yāni daśaitāni nityaṃ tiṣṭhanti śaṃkare ||* (≈ BḍP 1.2.9.89cd–90ab *jñānaṃ tapaś ca satyaṃ ca hy aiśvaryaṃ dharma eva ca || vairāgyam ātmasambodhaḥ kṛtsnāny etāni śaṃkare |*); VāP 1.30.136 *jñānaṃ vairāgyam aiśvaryaṃ tapaḥ satyaṃ kṣamā dhṛtiḥ | prabhutvam ātmasambodho hy adhiṣṭhānaguṇair yutaḥ ||* . Cf. also KūP 1.10.39–40ab *jñānaṃ vairāgyam aiśvaryaṃ tapaḥ satyaṃ kṣamā dhṛtiḥ | sraṣṭṛtvam ātmasaṃbodho hy adhiṣṭhātṛtvam eva ca || avyayāni daśaitāni nityaṃ tiṣṭhanti śaṃkare |* . The list calls to mind the

may have been the original reading of VāP 2.39.216a as well, for SP 183.8b has the equivalent Ātmabodha.

In both sources the Lord is identified with the (inner) fire of Yoga and is said to assume physical form (VāP 2.39.217 ≈ SP 183.9). His magical abode (*māyāmaya sthāna* / *māyādhāman*) is the eighth world (beyond the seven worlds of Mahat etc.) and is beyond misfortune (*aupasargika*). It is noteworthy that here (SP 183.10) and in SP 183.16b the *Skandapurāṇa* has a word meaning 'causing final release' (*muktikāraṇa*, *āpavargika*) instead of the *Vāyupurāṇa*'s 'beyond misfortune' (*aupasargika*).[14] Two verses follow in VāP 2.39.219–220 that have no parallel in the *Skandapurāṇa*. The first dwells on the subject of Māyā, identifying Maheśvara as the magician (Māyin).[15] Next Vāyu requests the sages to listen as he will recount in detail the measure (*pramāṇa*) of creation. The distance from Bhūrloka to Brahmaloka is calculated to one hundred and forty-five million Yojanas.[16] There are said to be sixty million Yojanas more beyond Brahmaloka in the upper part of the Egg of Brahmā (VāP 2.39.221).[17] The latter statement is adapted in SP 183.11 to accomodate the City of Sthāṇu, which is situated two hundred million Yojanas above Brahmaloka.[18] While the *Vāyupurāṇa* has dealt with Brahmaloka earlier on in the same chapter (e.g. VāP 2.39.141–143), identifying it with Satyaloka, nothing has been said about it in SP 183 so far, which makes the reference to it here somewhat awkward.[19]

The said places, respectively the upper part of the Egg of Brahmā and the City of Sthāṇu, are identified with the highest point in the universe in VāP

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set of Dharma, Jñāna, Virāga (/Vairāgya) and Aiśvarya in *Sāṃkhyakārikā* 23 and 44-45. Note that it does not occur elsewhere in the *Skandapurāṇa*.

[14]It is certainly possible, however, that *aupasargika* in the *Vāyu-* and *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* is just a corruption of an original *āpavargika*. Note in this connection that the British Library manuscript reads *āpasargikam* in VāP 2.39.218b.

[15]VāP 3.29.219 clearly alludes to the teaching of *Śvetāśvatara-Upaniṣad* 4.9–10 *chandāṃsi yajñāḥ kratavo vratāni bhūtaṃ bhavyaṃ yac ca vedā vadanti | asmān māyī sṛjate viśvam etat tasmiṃś cānyo māyayā saṃniruddhaḥ || māyāṃ tu prakṛtiṃ vidyān māyinaṃ tu maheśvaram | tasyāvayavabhūtais tu vyāptaṃ sarvam idaṃ jagat ||* (Oberlies 1998:84).

[16]In this and the following I reckon a Koṭi as ten million and a Niyuta as one million.

[17]This verse is almost a repetition of VāP 2.39.142cd–143ab *ekakoṭir yojanānāṃ pañcāśan niyutāni tu || ūrdhvaṃ bhāgas tato 'ṇḍasya brahmalokāt paraḥ smṛtaḥ |*.

[18]For references to the location of Śiva in Saiddhāntika literature see the annotation by Goodall *ad Parākhyatantra* 5.136 (p. 311, n. 612).

[19]Cf., however, Sanatkumāra's announcement in the last verse of the preceding chapter: *sakalasyāspadaṃ divyaṃ brahmalokāt pare sthitam | mahādevasya vakṣyāmi tadbhaktā yatra yānti te ||* (SP_{Bh} 182.54).

2.39.222 and SP 183.12. It is here that the innumerable,[20] eternal, subtle Prakṛtis are. According to VāP 2.39.223a these Prakṛtis have the property of procreation (*prasavadharmin*), while according to SP 183.13ab they have the properties of knowledge and authority (*jñānādhikāradharmin*) and are called Śaiva Prakṛtis. Possibly they are specified as such in order to distinguish them from the regular set of eight Prakṛtis – Mahat, Buddhi, Ahaṃkāra and the five Tanmātras – mentioned several times in the preceding section on Pāśupata Yoga.[21] 'Procreation' is certainly the more natural attribute of the Prakṛtis; in fact the compound *prasavadharmiṇī* echoes *Sāṃkhyakārikā* 11, which indicates that it is most probably original.[22] It is interesting to notice that the property of authority (*adhikāra*) comes into play in VāP 2.39.223cd, where the knower of the field (*kṣetrajña*), the superintendent (*adhikartṛ*), designated as Brahmā, is said to originate from the Prakṛtis. By contrast, in SP 183.13cd the two Prajāpatis, Brahmā and Viṣṇu, are produced from them. Through this reference to the two Prajāpatis the instruction is connected with the preceding Pāśupata Yoga teaching, in which it is taught that Brahmā and Viṣṇu are the two Prajāpatis brought forth in the beginning to do the job of creation. They consist of and are dependent on Prakṛti (singular), who is identified with Devī.[23]

In VāP 2.39.224–225 various qualities are attributed to the Prakṛtis. The parallel is condensed to four pādas in SP 183.14 and connected with the first

[20] For the doctrine of innumerable Prakṛtis in the *Vāyupurāṇa* cf. also VāP 1.49.185 (≈ BḍP 1.19.195–196ab) *sapta prakṛtayas tv etā dhārayanti parasparam* | *tāsv alpaparimāṇena prasaṃkhyātum ihocyate* | *asaṃkhyeyāḥ prakṛtayas tiryag ūrdhvam adhastāc ca* ‖ .

[21] Cf. SP_{Bh} 174.63cd *aṣṭau prakṛtayo nityā vikārāś caiva ṣoḍaśa* ‖ ; SP_{Bh} 175.2c *avyaktaṃ prakṛtiś caiva tathāhaṃkāra eva ca* | *aṣṭau prakṛtayo hy etās tanmātrair pañcabhiḥ saha* ‖ ; SP_{Bh} 179.2cd–3ab *mahān buddhir ahaṃkāras tanmātrāṇi ca pañca hi* ‖ *imāḥ prakṛtayo vyāsa deham aṣṭau samāśritāḥ* | . Cf. also SP Vol. I: 65, n. 14.

[22] Cf. *Sāṃkhyakārikā* 11, which attributes *prasavadharmin* to Pradhāna. Many more passages can be cited, e.g. MBh 13 App. 3, l. 152 *nityāṃ tu prakṛtīm āhur yāsau prasavadharmiṇī*, and VāP 1.14.11 (≈ LiP 1.88.42) *tām āhur munayaḥ sarve loke prasavadharmiṇīm* | *prakṛtiṃ sarvabhūtānāṃ yuktāḥ paśyanti cetasā* ‖ .

[23] SP_{Bh} 173.31 *brahmaviṣṇū smṛtau yau tau rajaḥsattvaguṇātmakau* | *āvābhyāṃ tau prajāyete sṛṣṭikāle prajāpatī* ‖ (here *āvābhyām* 'from us' refers to Devī = Prakṛti and Śiva = Puruṣa; cf. SP_{Bh} 173.30cd *prakṛtis tvaṃ samākhyātā puruṣaḥ paramo hy aham* |); SP_{Bh} 174.11cd–13ab *yo 'sṛjat sṛṣṭikāle tu devau sarvajagatsṛjau* ‖ *prajāpatī mahātmanau dhyātvā viṣṇupitāmahau* | *taṃ praṇamya mahādevaṃ tryakṣaṃ varadam īśvaram* ‖ *pravakṣyāmi mataṃ tasya yogasiddhāntaniścayam* ‖ ; SP_{Bh} 180.36–38cd *īśvarān nirgatā sā hi prakṛtir guṇabandhanā* | *tasyāḥ sraṣṭā mahādevo yato viṣṇupitāmahau* ‖ *prajāpatī samutpannau guṇatrayanibandhanau* | *tāv ākramya maheśas tu prakṛtisthau guṇātmakau* ‖ *makārastho vibhur bhūtvā bhuṅkte saṃcarate ca hi* | ; SP_{Bh} 182.2ab *śaṃkarāt prakṛtir jātā brahmaviṣṇū tadātmakau* | .

hemistich of the following verse (SP 183.15ab), teaching that the undecaying, pure [Īśvara], who is both *niṣkala* and *sakala* and is situated in the place of the most subtle atom, gave the two Prajāpatis, as Prakṛti(s), the power to create. This seems to refer again to the aforementioned Vigraheśvara. In pāda c of the same verse the reading *manasaḥ* is highly doubtful. In the light of the parallel in VāP 2.39.226 it seems probable that the text originally read *tamasaḥ*,[24] and so SP 183.15cd may be translated: 'First (*ādau*) His *tejas* irradiates the primordial (*prāktana*) darkness (*tamas*).' In other words, Śiva expells the primordial darkness before the actual process of creation can take place, which is the subject of the following verses (up to SP 183.18d).

VāP 2.39.227 and SP 183.16 embark on a new topic with the Golden Egg that was produced from Īśvara. A revision on the part of the *Skandapurāṇa* is revealed by the unsmooth repetition of *tu* in pādas ab, possibly due to rewriting a Ma-vipulā to a regular Pathyā Śloka. VāP 2.39.228 contains a highly condensed doctrine, attributing the sprouting (*nirbheda*?) of a seed to Īśvara. The Knower of the field (*kṣetrajña*) is identified with this seed and Prakṛti with the womb, whose essence is Nārāyaṇa. The doctrine in the *Skandapurāṇa* is less clear: instead of the *Vāyupurāṇa*'s *īśvarād* we find *tasmād*, which could either mean that the seed sprouts from Īśvara – as in the *Vāyupurāṇa* – or from the golden egg mentioned in the previous verse. As in the *Vāyupurāṇa*, the Knower of the field is identified with this seed (*kṣetrajñaḥ sa vibhuḥ smṛtaḥ*). It is from this (*tasmād*), viz. from the seed which is another form of Īśvara, that the Prakṛti called Vaiṣṇavī originates (SP 183cd). This statement again seems to refer to the Pāśupata Yoga doctrine in the *Skandapurāṇa* mentioned above, namely that Īśvara produces Prakṛti, who in turn produces Brahmā and Viṣṇu. Here the doctrine is somewhat different: Viṣṇu is the first Prakṛti to appear. The following verse in the *Vāyupurāṇa* (VāP 2.39.229) is largely incomprehensible because the sentence seems to be incomplete; I hypothesize the loss of one or two lines.[25] The parallel in SP 183.18, however, continues with the

[24]The corruption of *tamasaḥ* may have happened due to metaphesis of *ta* and *ma*, creating *matasaḥ*, and confusion of *ta* and *na* or 'improvement' of *ta* to *na*, yielding *manasaḥ*. I am indebted to Prof. Yuko YOKOCHI for the proposed conjecture and interpretation as well as for the conjecture *prāktanasya* adopted in the edition below.

[25]The translation of the Ancient Indian Tradition & Mythology Series makes up for this lacuna in the free rendering of VāP 2.39.229: "The creator of the worlds, the noble souled omnipresent lord *in contact with Prakṛti creates Brahmaloka and Brahmāṇḍa* through his body, for the purpose of the creation and maintenance of the worlds." (TAGARE 1987:866; italics mine). The translation of BḍP 3.4.2.232 in the same series is more faithful to the text, but

teaching of the two Prajāpatis, stating that the first Prakṛti turns into a second Prakṛti, which might be called Brāhmī (*brahmatvaṃ punar āsthitā*) for the sake of convenience. This second Prakṛti takes its place on the lotus (*padme*)[26] of the egg of Brahman, which is Śaṃkara himself. What we have here then is a Śaiva rendering of the well-known image of Brahmā appearing on the lotus which springs from Nārāyaṇa's navel. Both Brahmā and Viṣṇu ultimately owe their powers as Prakṛtis to Śiva.

With VāP 2.39.230 we turn to the main topic of the next section, viz. the description of Śivapura itself, which is situated above Brahmaloka and below the shell of the cosmic egg. The *Skandapurāṇa* omits the latter location. VāP 2.39.231 and SP 183.19 both identify Śivapura as the residence of Vigraheśa (VāP: *vigrahavataḥ īśvarasya*). It is surrounded by a great and luminous wall with four golden doors adorned with jewels and pearls. There are variants in the use of words but in principle the description that follows is more or less the same. A remainder of the description (VāP 2.39.235–301ab) is missing in the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* version, but the testimony of the *Skandapurāṇa* indicates that this is an omission by the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* rather than an addition by the *Vāyupurāṇa*. In VāP 2.39.235ab the parallel with SP 183.22cd, which has *śuśubhe*, allows us to reconstruct *cakāśe* instead of the editions' *cākāśe*.[27] Śivapura is described as a place where there is no death, no torment, no old age, no exertion (VāP 2.39.235cd–236ab).[28] According to VāP 2.39.237cd, the earth in Śivapura is golden, while according to SP 183.25ab, it is emerald-coloured or made of emeralds (SP 183.25a). Although this may seem a trivial variant it is noteworthy that this agrees with a similar description of Śivapura in an earlier passage of the *Skandapurāṇa* (SP 13.65a).[29]

The text continues to describe the marvellous lotuses to be seen in Śiva-

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obscure: "The lord is for the purpose of creation of the worlds. He is the support and sustenance of the worlds. The creation of the noble-souled *Lokadhātṛ* (Creator of the worlds) is excellent on account of correlation of *Tattvas* (Primary substances)." (Tagare 1984:999).

[26] This conjecture was suggested to me by Prof. Yuko Yokochi. In a note Bhaṭṭarāī suggests emending *padma* to *padmaṃ*, but this does not solve the problems which these two pādas present.

[27] This emendation was suggested to me by Prof. Harunaga Isaacson. Note that it is partly suppported by the British Library manuscript, which has *cakośe*.

[28] The parallel in SP 183.23 has a slightly different list: old age, death, exertion, sickness, anger, delusion, madness.

[29] Compare SP_{Bh} 13.65a *citrā mārakatī bhūmiḥ* – where incidently S_2 likewise reads *marakatī* – and SP 183.25a *divyā mārakatī bhūmiḥ*.

pura. In VāP 2.39.242cd–244 and SP 183.29–31ab we are informed about seven rivers flowing there: the Varā, Vareṇyā, Varadā, Varārhā (SP_{Bh}: Vareśā), Varavarṇinī, Varamā (SP_{Bh}: Varāhī) and Varabhadrā (SP_{Bh}: Vāribhadrā).[30] In the middle of the city is a palace (*prāsāda*), whose magnificent ornamentations are listed in a couple of verses in which the *Skandapurāṇa* follows the *Vāyupurāṇa*'s topics but uses different expressions throughout. Incidently it may be pointed out that in a number of cases the *Skandapurāṇa* bears testimony to the originality of the reading of the British Library manuscript ($VāP_{IO}$): thus e.g. the presence of *pādapair* in SP 183.37d suggests that *hemapuṣpopagair drumaiḥ* in VāP 2.39.253b is original. Of particular interest in this passage is SP 183.39: instead of VāP 2.39.254cd–255ab, which is once again about the palace and mentions that unequalled women[31] are sporting in Tryambaka's dwelling, SP 183.39 contains yet another cross-reference to the Pāśupata Yoga teaching, the subject of the preceding chapters (SP_{Bh} 174–182). It repeats one of the central doctrines of those chapters, namely that Īśvara is the supreme 26th principle.[32] Clearly building upon the *Vāyupurāṇa*'s assertion that unequalled women are sporting in Tryambaka's dwelling, the *Skandapurāṇa* informs us that the Lord of All (Viśveśvara), this 26th principle, continually resides in Śivapura together with his wife. The last verse in this section in the *Vāyupurāṇa* gives the names of the women: Lakṣmī, Śrī, Vapus (?), Māyā, Kīrti, Śobhā (?) and Sarasvatī together with Devī. The *Skandapurāṇa* has a different list, Lakṣmī, Medhā, Dhṛti, Hrī, Śrī, Kīrti and Sarasvatī, and calls them 'Mothers of the world.'[33] Because of the re-composition of the preceding verse, the com-

[30]The seven rivers are also mentioned in a description of Śivapura in *Niśvāsaguhya* 7.69–80, where only the names Varā, Vareṇyā, Varadā, Variṣṭhā and Varavarṇinī are legible (*Niśvāsaguhya* 7.73). From the parallel passage of the *Svacchandabhairavatantra* (10.550cd–551ab) we get the two remaining names as Varāhā and Varārohā.

[31]I adopt the reading of the British Library MS (*ramanty apratimā*). The reading of the two editions (*vasantapratimā* 'image of Spring'?) seems implausible.

[32]For this doctrine cf. especially SP_{Bh} 179. Other passages in these chapters referring to the 26th principle are SP_{Bh} 174.11; SP_{Bh} 175.36; SP_{Bh} 175.38; SP_{Bh} 176.41; SP_{Bh} 178.2; SP_{Bh} 181.52; SP_{Bh} 182.3; SP_{Bh} 182.111; SP_{Bh} 182.45. Only two other references to the 26th principle occur in other parts of the *Skandapurāṇa*: SP 1.2 and SP_{Bh} 69.5. It is not found in the extant *Vāyupurāṇa* as far as I am aware.

[33]As Yokochi (*2004:50, n. 32) observes, "[t]he expression 'Mothers of the world' is frequently used in the *Skandapurāṇa* and, in all cases but one (SP_{Bh} 171.134d), denotes a group of Brahmanical goddesses, which is a completely different group from the Mothers who are said to have emerged from Kauśikī." In SP_{Bh} 111.2–6 some of the goddesses mentioned in SP 183.40 (Lakṣmī, Dhṛti, Śrī, Kīrti and Sarasvatī) are grouped together with other goddesses,

poser(s) of SP 183.40 also had to add the verb *modante*, which equals *ramanti* in VāP 2.39.255a.[34]

Here the parallel between SP 183 and VāP 2.39 ends.[35] The *Vāyupurāṇa* continues with an extensive passage of about 120 verses without parallel in the *Skandapurāṇa*. After this, however, a few more verses are once again shared with the *Skandapurāṇa*. The relevant passage is introduced in the *Skandapurāṇa* by two verses in which Sanatkumāra mentions that Rudra's devotees reach Śivapura wherever they die and he requests Vyāsa to pay attention to the names of the sages, devoted to Śaṃkara, who live in his abode.[36] In the following verses the names of these sages are given, starting with Brahmā's mind-born sons Sanandana, Sanaka and Sanātana. It is noteworthy that the *Vāyupurāṇa* omits Sanatkumāra, the fourth of Brahmā's sons, while the *Skandapurāṇa* has Sanatkumāra refer to himself in the first person (*aham*) as befits the storyline.[37] The *Vāyupurāṇa* continues with the names of other celebrated sages residing in Śivapura: Voḍhu, Kapila, Āsuri, Pañcaśikha and others. The *Skandapurāṇa* has a different list: Ṛbhu, Brahmā, Nara, Nārāyaṇa, Pañcaśikha, Hayaśiras, Yajñavalka and others.[38] According to the *Vāyupurāṇa* innumerable Rudras go there at the end of a Kalpa cycle, crossing 'the river whose waters are birth and

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such as Mālinī, Śucavatī, Sāvitrī, and are designated as 'Mothers of the world.'

[34]The presence of *modante* in the *Skandapurāṇa* is a clear sign that the reading *ramanty apratimā* in VāP 2.39.255a in the British Library MS is original (see above).

[35]This also forms the end of the synoptic edition. The remaining passages from the *Skandapurāṇa* are quoted in the footnotes below.

[36]SP 183.41–42 *śivabhāvārpitātmāno* (corr., °*bhāvarpitātmāno* SP_{Bh}) *ye narā rudratatparāḥ | yatra tatra mṛtā vatsa teṣāṃ tatrāspadaṃ smṛtam || ye ca māheśvarā vyāsa tiṣṭhante śaṃkarālaye | munayaḥ śaṃkaraṃ bhaktās tān śṛṇuṣva samāhitaḥ ||* . Pādas 41ab are omitted in S_2 and the same manuscript ends with 41cd, so that for the remainder of the text only S_1 is available.

[37]VāP 2.39.337–338 ≈ BḍP 3.4.2.272cd–274ab *yatra pūrvagatās teṣu* ($VāP_{IO}$; *yatra pūrvaṃ gatās te tu* BḍP, *tatra pūrvagatās teṣu* $VāP_{VeṅĀĀ}$) *kumārā brahmaṇaḥ sutāḥ | sanandanaś ca sanakas* (BḍP, *sanakaś ca sanandaś ca* VāP) *tṛtīyaś ca sanātanaḥ || voḍhuś* (BḍP $VāP_{VeṅĀĀ}$, *boḍhaś* $VāP_{IO}$) *ca kapilas teṣām āsuriś ca mahāyaśāḥ | muniḥ pañcaśikhaś caiva ye cānye 'py evamādayaḥ ||* . SP 183.43–44 *ahaṃ sanandanaś caiva sanakaḥ sasanātanaḥ | ṛbhur brahmā surajyeṣṭho naranārāyaṇāv api ||* – – – – – – *śiṣyaḥ siddhaḥ pañcaśikhas tathā | munir hayaśirā yaś ca yajñavalkādayas tathā ||* (the missing syllables possibly hide some reference to Āsuri being the pupil of Kapila: cf. SP_{Bh} 172.59cd *sākṣāt bhagavataḥ śiṣyaṃ kapilasyāsuriṃ munim*).

[38]That the *Vāyupurāṇa*'s list of sages is more traditional is indicated by a very similar passage in Kirfel's reconstruction of the *Bhuvanavinyāsa* (I.7.9), where these sages are however located in Janaloka: *dve koṭyau tu janaloko yatra te brahmaṇaḥ sutāḥ | sanakaś ca sanandaś ca tṛtīyaś ca sanātanaḥ | kapilaś cāsuriś caiva voḍhuḥ pañcaśikhas tathā ||* (Kirfel 1954:50).

death.'[39] The *Skandapurāṇa* has a similar passage, mentioning that three-eyed *mumukṣu*s, possessed of supreme lordship, enter Īśvara when the great destruction has arrived, and reach a state leading to final release.[40]

The *Skandapurāṇa* adds a list of various people who go to Śivapura. First of all they who have seen the *liṅga*s at the main Śaiva pilgrimage sites go to Śivapura when they die (SP_{Bh} 183.47–50ab).[41] Also practitioners of the Pāśupata observance and devotees of Bhava reach Śivapura at death and become Rudras (SP_{Bh} 183.50cd–53ab). Sanatkumāra requests Vyāsa to practise the Pāśupata observance as well, after which Vyāsa pays his respects to his *guru*, Sanatkumāra, and wanders the earth to see Śarva's sanctuaries (SP_{Bh} 183.53cd–62). At this point a speaker indication *vāyur uvāca* follows, which is out of place, because according to the frame story this should be the *sūta* who tells the Purāṇa to the Naimiśa sages. It seems likely that the wrong speaker indication was triggered by the passage which formed the subject of the present paper, in which the *Skandapurāṇa* redactor has adopted material from the *Vāyupurāṇa*, thus accidently causing him to write *vāyu* instead of *sūta*.[42]

In conclusion it can be reasonably assumed that, even in the absence of a critical edition of the *Vāyupurāṇa*,[43] it is more likely that the *Skandapurāṇa* has borrowed from the *Vāyupurāṇa* in the present passage than *vice versa*. In a number of respects the *Skandapurāṇa*'s doctrine is more advanced; e.g. in its ref-

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[39] VāP 2.39.339–342 ≈ BḍP 3.4.2.294cd–278ab *tataḥ kāle vyatikrānte kalpānāṃ paryaye gate* | *mahābhūtavināśānte* (BḍP $VāP_{VeṅĀĀ}$; °*vināśānāṃ* $VāP_{IO}$) *pralaye pratyupasthite* || *anekarudrakoṭyas tu yāḥ prasannā maheśvarīm* (BḍP; *maheśvarī* VāP) | *śabdādīn vividhān* ($VāP_{IO}$; *viṣayān* BḍP $VāP_{VeṅĀĀ}$) *bhogān saṃtyajyāṣṭavidhāśrayāt* (BḍP; *satyasyāṣṭavidhasrayāt* $VāP_{VeṅĀĀ}$, *satyasyāṣṭavidhaśrayāt* $VāP_{IO}$) | *praviśya sarvabhūtāni jñānayuktena tejasā* | *vaihāyapadam* (VāP, *vihāya padam* BḍP) *avyagraṃ bhūtānām anukampayā* || *tatra yānti mahātmānaḥ paramāṇuṃ maheśvaram* | *taranti sumahāvartāṃ janmamṛtyūdakāṃ nadīm* || .

[40] SP_{Bh} 183.45–46 *tryakṣāḥ śaṃkaravarṣmāṇaḥ paramaiśvaryasaṃyutāḥ* || *tiṣṭhantīśvaramūlasthā guṇātītā mumukṣavaḥ* || *utpanne jagato nāśe mahāpralayasaṃjñake* | *īśvaraṃ te samāviśya prāpnuvanty apavargikam* || . Note again the use of the word *apavargika* (see above, p. 53).

[41] Most of the sites mentioned in this list (Kedāra, Madhyama, Mahālaya, Catuḥśṛṅgeśvara, Śrīgiri, Kārohaṇa, Gaṅgādvāra, Bhadreśa, Śaṅkukarṇeśvara, Mahākāleśvara, the two Gokarṇas and Avimukteśvara) are familiar from other parts of the *Skandapurāṇa*, in particular the topographical chapter 167, for which see Bisschop 2006. They indicate the hand of the redactor of the *Skandapurāṇa*.

[42] The incongruity of the speaker indication was noted by Bhaṭṭarāī who adds a note: *sūta uvāca* (?).

[43] Cf. the cautious remark by the editors of SP Vol. I: "In the absence of a reliable, not to speak of a critical edition of the *Vāyupurāṇa*, a text critical analysis of the passages common to both Purāṇas cannot yield results that can be called conclusive" (introduction, p. 21).

erences to such theological concepts as Vigraheśvara, the two Prajāpatis Viṣṇu and Brahmā, and Īśvara being the 26th principle. With the exception of the figure of Vigraheśvara, these concepts form part of the Pāśupata Yoga teaching that precedes it. In quite a few cases it could be shown that the *Skandapurāṇa* has reformulated the wording of the *Vāyupurāṇa*. The redactor has skillfully integrated the passage within the larger framework of the *Skandapurāṇa*, by placing it at the end, thus granting the lay Śaivas, the potential audience of the text, a vision of heaven. In the *Vāyupurāṇa* it forms part of the text's *Bhuvanavinyāsa*, a general account of the different worlds constituting the cosmos starting with Maharloka and ending with Śivapura on top. As an aside, it may be noted that the passage attests to the Śaiva character of the early *Vāyupurāṇa*.[44]

Synoptic Edition

Vāyupurāṇa 2.39

ṛṣaya ūcuḥ |

mah*ān* janas tapa*ḥ* satya*ṃ*
bhūt*o* bhavy*o* bhav*as* tathā |
uktā hy ete tvayā lokā
lokānām antareṇa ca |

lokāntaraṃ ca yādṛg vai
tan no brūhi yathātatham || 209

→ VāP 2.39.209–256ab ≈ BḍP 3.4.2.211–238ab.

a mahān] BḍP VāP$_{\text{IO}}$, maho VāP$_{\text{VeṅĀĀ}}$ • satyaṃ] BḍP VāP$_{\text{VeṅĀĀ}}$, satyo VāP$_{\text{IO}}$; **b** bhavyo] BḍP, bhāvyo VāP; **f** yathātatham] VāP, yathā tathā BḍP

teṣāṃ tad vacanaṃ śrutvā
ṛṣīṇām ūrdhvaretasām |
sa vāyur dṛṣṭatattvārtha
idaṃ tattvam uvāca ha || 210

ad] BḍP VāP$_{\text{VeṅĀĀ}}$, *om.* VāP$_{\text{IO}}$

Skandapurāṇa 183

sanatkumāra uvāca |

satya*sya* mah*ataś caiva*
janas*ya* tapa*sas* tathā |
bhavy*a*bhūt*a*bhav*ānāṃ ca*
saptānām ūrdhvataḥ sthitaḥ || 1

[44] I have addressed the issue of the Śaiva character of the early *Vāyupurāṇa* in connection with the relationship to the *Skandapurāṇa* in general in a paper presented at the Purāṇa panel of the 13th World Sanskrit Conference in Edinburgh (forthcoming B).

vāyur uvāca |
vyaktaṃ tarkeṇa paśyanti
yogāt pratyakṣadarśinaḥ |
pratyāhāreṇa dhyānena
tapasā ca kriyātmanaḥ || 211

d ca kriyātmanaḥ] $\text{VāP}_{\text{VeṅĀĀ}}$, kriyayātmanaḥ VāP_{IO}, kṣayam ātmanaḥ BḍP

ṛbhuḥ sanatkumārādyāḥ
sambuddhāḥ śuddhabuddhayaḥ |
vyapetaśokā virajāḥ
santo brahmeva sattamāḥ || 212

akṣayāḥ prītisaṃyuktā
brahme tiṣṭhanti yoginaḥ |
ṛṣīṇāṃ vālikhilyānāṃ
tair yathāhṛtam īśvaraiḥ || 213

b brahme] VāP, brāhme BḍP; **c** vālikhilyānāṃ VāP_{IO}, vālakhilyānāṃ BḍP $\text{VāP}_{\text{VeṅĀĀ}}$; **d** yathāhṛtam] $\text{VāP}_{\text{VeṅĀĀ}}$, yathākṛtam BḍP VāP_{IO}

yathā caiva mayā dṛṣṭaṃ
sāṃnidhyaṃ tatra kurvatā |
agrāhyam akṛtārthānām
ālayaṃ ceśvarasya yat || 214

a yathā caiva] VāP, yathātraiva BḍP; **b** kurvatā] BḍP $\text{VāP}_{\text{VeṅĀĀ}}$, kurvataḥ VāP_{IO}; **c** agrāhyam akṛtārthānām BḍP, anahyasatkṛtārthānām $\text{VāP}_{\text{VeṅĀĀ}}$, annahyasatkṛtārthānām VāP_{IO}

loko bhagavataḥ śambhor
yatrāste sakalaḥ śivaḥ |
nāsau tarkavinirdeśyo
lokās tasmin pratiṣṭhitāḥ || 2

ūrdhvaṃ tiryag adhastāc ca
lokās tadvinibandhanāḥ |
brahmāṇḍaṃ sakalaṃ tasmiñ
chivaloke pratiṣṭhitam || 3

	nāsau naśyati saṃhāre *dhruvaḥ sthāṇuḥ surālayaḥ* | *yatrāhaṃ sanakādyāś ca* *brahmā caiva pitāmahaḥ* ‖ 4
	vālikhilyapurogāś ca *siddhāś ca kapilādayaḥ* | *śivayogaparipräptāḥ* *sattvādiguṇavarjitāḥ* ‖ 5 **a** vālikhilya°] S$_1$, (va)≍ ≍ lya° S$_2$, bālakhilya° SP$_{Bh}$; **c** °pariprāptāḥ] *em.*, pariprāptā S$_1$, pariprāptyā S$_2$SP$_{Bh}$
	tiṣṭhāmo nirvṛtā vyāsa *sevamānās tam īśvaram* |
īśvaraḥ paramāṇu*tvād* bhāva*grāhyo* manīṣiṇām |	paramāṇu*r asāv īśo* bhāva*gamyo* manīṣiṇām ‖ 6
	paramaiśvaryasaṃyuktas *tatrāste vigraheśvaraḥ* |
jñānaṃ vairāgyam *aiśvaryaṃ* tap*aḥ* satyaṃ kṣamā dhṛti*ḥ* ‖ 215 **a**] BḍP VāP$_{VeṅĀĀ}$, īśvarāparamāṇutvād VāP$_{IO}$	kṣamā satyaṃ dhṛti*ś caiva* tap*o* vairāgyam *eva ca* ‖ 7
*d*raṣṭṛtvam *ātmasambandham* *adhiṣṭhātṛtvam eva ca* | *avyayāni daśai*tāni tasmi*ṃs* tiṣṭhanti *śaṅkare* ‖ 216 **b** adhiṣṭhātṛtvam] VāP$_{IO}$, adhiṣṭhānatvam BḍP VāP$_{VeṅĀĀ}$; **d** tiṣṭhanti] BḍP, tiṣṭhati VāP	*s*raṣṭṛtvaṃ *jñānavairāgyāt* *ātmabodho maheśatā* | *nityam e*tāni tiṣṭhanti tasmi*n deve maheśvare* ‖ 8 **a** sraṣṭṛtvaṃ] *conj.* SP$_{Bh}$; saṃskṛtaṃ S$_1$, ≍ (ṣṭitvaṃ) S$_2$
vibhutvāt khalu yog*āgnir* brahma*ṇo 'nugrahe rataḥ* | *sa lokavigraho bhūtvā* *sāhāyyam upatiṣṭhate* ‖ 217 **b** yogāgnir] VāP$_{VeṅĀĀ}$, yogāgni VāP$_{IO}$, yogāḍhyo BḍP; **d** upatiṣṭhate] BḍP VāP$_{VeṅĀĀ}$, upatiṣṭhati VāP$_{IO}$	yog*avahnir asāv ātmā* brahma*sṛk parameśvaraḥ* | *sākalyān mūrtim āsthāya* *karoti jagataḥ sthitim* ‖ 9

akṣaraṃ dhruvam *avyagram*
aṣṭamaṃ *tv aupasargikam* |
tasyeśvarasya cinmātraṃ
sthānaṃ māyā*mayaṃ param* || 218

b aupasargikam] BḍP VāP$_{\text{VeṅĀĀ}}$, āpasargikam VāP$_{\text{IO}}$; **c** cinmātraṃ] BḍP, yanmātra VāP

aṣṭamaṃ dhruvam *adhyeyam*
akṣaraṃ *muktikāraṇam* |
māyā*dhāma tad īśasya*
jagatsaṃhārahetumat || 10

māyayā kṛtam ācaṣṭe
māyī devo maheśvaraḥ |
devānām upasaṃhāras
tatpramāṇaṃ hi kīrtyate || 219

vistareṇānupūrvyā ca
bruvato me nibodhata |
trayodaśaiva koṭyas tu
niyutā daśa pañca ca |
bhūrlokād brahmaloko vai
yojanaiḥ saṃprakīrtyate || 220

d niyutā daśa pañca ca] VāP, niyutāni daśeṣavaḥ BḍP

*eka*yojan*a*koṭī *tu*
pañcāśan niyutāni ca |
ūrdhva*ṃ bhagavato 'ṇḍaṃ* tu
brahmalok*āt paraṃ smṛtam* || 221

a ekayojanakoṭī] VāP, ekā yojanakoṭī BḍP; **c** bhagavato 'ṇḍaṃ] BḍP VāP$_{\text{IO}}$, bhāgavatāṇḍaṃ VāP$_{\text{VeṅĀĀ}}$

ūrdhva*to* brahmalok*asya*
yojan*ānāṃ mahātmanaḥ* |
viṃśatīnāṃ tu koṭī*ṇāṃ*
puraṃ sthāṇoḥ samāsthitam || 11

e*ṣo*rdhva*gaḥ pra*cār*as tu*
gatyantaś ca tataḥ smṛtaḥ |
nityā *hy* a*pari*saṃkhyātāḥ
parasparaguṇāśrayāḥ || 222

a eṣordhvagaḥ pracāras] BḍP, eṣordhvagapracāras VāP$_{\text{VeṅĀĀ}}$, eṣoddhaṃgaḥ pracāras VāP$_{\text{IO}}$; **b** gatyantaś ca tataḥ smṛtaḥ] BḍP, gatyantaṃ ca tataḥ smṛtam VāP$_{\text{VeṅĀĀ}}$, gatyaṃtaś ca taḥ smṛtaḥ VāP$_{\text{IO}}$; **c** aparisaṃkhyātāḥ] VāP$_{\text{IO}}$, aparisaṃjñātāḥ BḍP, aparisaṃkhyeyāḥ VāP$_{\text{VeṅĀĀ}}$

e*tāvān ū*rdhva*saṃ*cār*o*
gatyantaś ca tataḥ smṛtaḥ |
asaṃkhyātāḥ *pure tasmin*
nityā*ḥ sūkṣmās tathāvyayāḥ* || 12

*sūkṣmāḥ prasava*dharmiṇya*s*
tataḥ prakṛtayaḥ *smṛ*tāḥ |
*ye*bhyo *'dhikartā saṃ*jajñe
kṣetrajño brahma*saṃjñitaḥ* || 223

sūkṣmāḥ] BḍP VāP$_{\text{VeṅĀĀ}}$, sūkṣmāt VāP$_{\text{IO}}$

*jñānādhikāra*dharmiṇya*ḥ*
*śaivī*prakṛtayaḥ *sthi*tāḥ |
*yā*bhyo jajñe *maheśānau*
brahma*viṣṇū prajāpatī* || 13

a jñānā°] S_1S_2, jñanā° SP$_{\text{Bh}}$ (*typo*)

tā*su* prakṛti*mat sūkṣmam*
*adhiṣṭhāt*ṛtva*m avyayam* |

tā*bhyāṃ* prakṛti*bhūtābhyāṃ*
*sraṣṭ*ṛtva*ṃ paramaṃ dadau* |

anutpādyaṃ paraṃ dhāma
paramāṇu pareśayam || 224

akṣay*aś cāpy anūhyaś ca*
amūrtir mūrtimān asau |

akṣay*o vimalaḥ sūkṣmo*
niṣkalaḥ sakalo 'pi ca || 14

prādurbhāvas tirobhāvaḥ
sthitiś caivāpy anugrahaḥ || 225

b amūrtir] VāP, tv amūrtir BḍP • asau] BḍP VāP$_{\text{VeṅĀĀ}}$, iva VāP$_{\text{IO}}$

vidhir anyair anaupamyaḥ
paramāṇu*r maheśvaraḥ* |
*sa*tej*ā eṣa* tamas*o*
yaḥ purastāt prakāśa*kaḥ* || 226

b paramāṇur] VāP, paramāṇu° BḍP; **d** purastāt] VāP$_{\text{ĀĀ,IO}}$, parastāt BḍP VāP$_{\text{Veṅ}}$

sthire mūrte pare divye
paramāṇu*pade sthitaḥ* |
tamas*aḥ prāktanasyādau*
*tat*tej*aḥ saṃ*prakāśa*nam* || 15

c tamasaḥ prāktanasyādau] *conj.*, manasaḥ prāptamasyādau S_1, manasaḥ prāptanasyādau S_2, manasaḥ prāk tamasy ādau SP$_{\text{Bh}}$ (*conj.*)

yad aṇḍa*m* āsī*t sauvarṇaṃ*
prathamaṃ tv *aupasa*rgikam |
*bṛha*ntaṃ sarvato *vṛttam*
īśvarāt tad *vyajāyata* || 227

a yad aṇḍam] BḍP VāP$_{\text{VeṅĀĀ}}$, yad daṃḍam VāP$_{\text{IO}}$; **c** bṛhantaṃ] VāP$_{\text{IO}}$, bṛhat tu BḍP, bṛhataṃ VāP$_{\text{VeṅĀĀ}}$; **d** tad vyajāyata] *em.*, vyavajāyata VāP, tad vyajāyate BḍP

yad āsī*d dhaimam* aṇḍa*ṃ tu*
laukikaṃ tv *āpava*rgikam |
*mahā*ntaṃ sarvato *nityam*
īśvarāt tad *abhūt tadā* || 16

c mahāntaṃ] S$_1$S$_2$, mahat tat SP$_{\text{Bh}}$

īśvarād bījanirbhedaḥ
kṣetrajñ*o bījam iṣyate* |
yoniṃ prakṛt*im ācaṣṭe*
sā ca *nārāyaṇātmikā* || 228

b bījam] BḍP, bīja VāP

tasmād bīja*sya* nirbhedaḥ
kṣetrajñ*aḥ sa vibhuḥ smṛtaḥ* |
prakṛti*r vaiṣṇavī proktā*
sā ca *tasmād vinirgatā* || 17

vibhur lokasya sṛṣṭyarthaṃ
lokasaṃsthānam eva ca |
sannisargaḥ satanvā ca
*lokadhātur mah*ātmanaḥ || 229

b sṛṣṭyarthaṃ] BḍP VāP$_{\text{VeṅĀĀ}}$, vṛṣṭyarthaṃ VāP$_{\text{IO}}$; **c** satanvā] VāP$_{\text{VeṅĀĀ}}$, satanvāc VāP$_{\text{IO}}$, satattvāc BḍP

*surāsurādi*sṛṣṭyarthaṃ
brahmatvaṃ punar āsthitā |
aṇḍasya bhedataḥ padme
*brahmaṇaḥ śaṃkar*ātmanaḥ |

purastā*d* brahmaloka*sya*
hy aṇḍād arvāk ca brahmaṇaḥ |
tayor madhye puraṃ *divyaṃ*
*mano*maya*m anāmayam* || 230

b hy aṇḍād] VāP$_{\text{Veṅ}}$ BḍP, aṇḍād VāP$_{\text{ĀĀ,IO}}$; **d** manomayam anāmayam] BḍP, sthānaṃ yasya manomayam VāP$_{\text{VeṅĀĀ}}$, – – – – manomayam VāP$_{\text{IO}}$ (lacuna indicated)

brahmalokapurastā*c ca*
puraṃ *tejo*maya*ṃ mahat* || 18

→ Folio containing vss. 18–40 lost in S$_1$

b] *conj.* SP$_{\text{Bh}}$, brahmatve punar āsthitāḥ S$_2$; **c** padme] *conj.*, padma S$_2$SP$_{\text{Bh}}$

tad vigrah*avataḥ* sthāna*m*
īśvarasy*āmitaujasaḥ* |
śiva*ṃ* nām*a* puraṃ *tatra*
śaraṇaṃ janmabhīruṇām || 231

d °bhīruṇām] VāP$_{\text{Veṅ}}$ BḍP, °bhīrūṇām VāP$_{\text{ĀĀ}}$

yat sthāna*ṃ* vigrah*eśasya*
īśvarasy*a parātmanaḥ* |
nām*nā* śivapuraṃ *vyāsa*
gatir īśvarayoginām || 19

sahasrāṇāṃ śataṃ *pūrṇaṃ*
yojanānāṃ *dvijottamāḥ* |
abhyantare tu vist*īrṇ*aṃ
mahīmaṇḍalasaṃsth*itam* || 232

śataṃ *śata*sahasrāṇāṃ
yojanānāṃ *tad ucyate* |
mahīmaṇḍalasaṃsth*ānaṃ*
tanmadhye vist*ṛ*taṃ *smṛtam* || 20

d vistṛtaṃ] *em.* SP$_{\text{Bh}}$, vistritaṃ S$_2$

madhyāhnārkaprakāśena
paratejobhimardinā |
śātakumbhena mahatā
prākāreṇ*ārkavarcasā* || 233

śāradādityarūpeṇa
vahner adhikatejasā |
mahatā *jātahaimena*
prākāreṇ*a suveṣṭitam* || 21

a śāradāditya°] S$_2$, sphuradāditya° SP$_{\text{Bh}}$ (*conj.*); **c** jātahaimena] S$_2$, haimajātena SP$_{\text{Bh}}$ (*conj.*)

dvārai*ś* caturbhi*ḥ sauvarṇair*
muktā*dāma*vibhūṣitaiḥ |

tapanīyanibhaiḥ śubhrair
gāḍhaṃ sukṛtaveṣṭanam || 234

d °veṣṭanam] BḍP VāP$_{\text{VeṅĀĀ}}$, °ceṣṭanaṃ VāP$_{\text{IO}}$

caturbhi*r hemajair* dvārai*r*
*maṇi*muktāvibhūṣitaiḥ |

ta*c cakāśe* puraṃ ramyaṃ
divyaṃ ghaṇṭādināditam |

→ VāP2.39.235–255 omitted in BḍP.

a cakāśe] *em.*, cākāśe VāP$_{\text{VeṅĀĀ}}$, cakośe VāP$_{\text{IO}}$

śobhitaṃ ta*t* puraṃ ramyaṃ
śuśubhe siddhasevitam || 22

na *tatra* krama*te* mṛtyu*r*
na tapo na jarā śram*āḥ* || 235
na hi tasya purasyānyair
upamāṃ kartum arhati |

235d] VāP$_{\text{VeṅĀĀ}}$, nātapo na jarāśrayāḥ VāP$_{\text{IO}}$; **236ab**] VāP$_{\text{Veṅ}}$, nadadanyair purācāraṃ rūpam āsautum arhati VāP$_{\text{ĀĀ}}$, nadadanyaiḥ purācāraṃ rūpam āsoḍhuṃ arhati VāP$_{\text{IO}}$

jarāmṛtyuśram*avyādhi-*
kopamohamadādayaḥ |
na krama*nty aśubhās tasmin*
bhāvāḥ śivapure mune || 23

c aśubhās] *em.* SP$_{\text{Bh}}$, aśubhā S$_2$

sahasrāṇāṃ śataṃ *pūrṇaṃ*
yojanānāṃ diś*o daśa* || 236
tat puraṃ *go*vṛṣāṅkasya
tejasā vyāp*ya tiṣṭhati* |

śataṃ *śata*sahasrāṇāṃ
yojanānāṃ *yathā*diś*am* |
tat puraṃ vṛṣ*abh*āṅkasya
*sarva*vyāp*i samṛddhimat* || 24

c tat puraṃ] *em.* SP$_{\text{Bh}}$, ⏝ tpuraṃ S$_2$

bhāvena manaso bhūmi*r*
vinyastā kanakāmayī || 237

a bhāvena manaso] VāP$_{\text{VeṅĀĀ}}$, bhavena manasā VāP$_{\text{IO}}$

divyā mārakatī bhūmi*ḥ*
sparśamātrasukhāvahā |

ratnavālukayā tatra
vinyastā śuśubhe 'dhikam |

śāradenduprakāśāni
bāl*asūryanibh*āni ca || 238

vai – – – – – yāni
bāl*ārkasadṛś*āni ca || 25

a mārakatī] *em.* SP$_{\text{Bh}}$, marakatī S$_2$; **c**] S$_2$, vaidūryamaṇikalpāni SP$_{\text{Bh}}$ (*conj.*)

*ardhaś*vetā*rdha*raktāni
sauvarṇāni tathaiva ca |
*rathacakra*pramāṇāni
nālair *marakatapra*bhaiḥ || 239

kvacid raktāni *padmāni*
*kvacic ch*vetā*ni rejire* |
*mahāhrada*pramāṇāni
nālair *vaidūryasaṃni*bhaiḥ || 26

saukumāreṇa rūpeṇa
gandh*ināpratimena ca* |

gandh*avanti mahārhāṇi*
vinyastāni mahītale |

tatra divyāni padmāni
vaneṣv upavaneṣu ca || 240

b gandhināpratimena] VāP$_{\text{VeṅIO}}$, gandhinā pratibhena VāP$_{\text{ĀĀ}}$

*bhṛṅgapatra*nikāśāni *tapanīyāni yāni* ca | *ardha*kṛṣṇārdharaktāni *sukumārāntarāṇi* ca || 241	*indranīla*nikāśāni *mahāmaṇinibhāni* ca || 27 *kvacit* kṛṣṇārdharaktāni *divyagandhavahāni* ca |
ātapatrapramāṇāni *paṅkajaiḥ saṃvṛtāni ca* |	– – – – – – *tatra* *utpalāni samantataḥ* || 28 **ab**] *conj.* SP$_{\text{Bh}}$, kvacit kṛṣṇārdha⏑ ⏑ (ni) (di)vyaga(ndhavahāni)⏑ S$_2$
bhūyaḥ sapta mahānady*as* *tāsāṃ nāmā*ni bodha*ta* || 242 nāmāni bodhata] VāP$_{\text{VeṅĀĀ}}$, nāma nibodhata VāP$_{\text{IO}}$	*pravahanti* mahānady*o* *yās tasminn amṛtodakam* |
	pure bhagavataḥ śambhoḥ *pārāśarya* nibodha *tāḥ* || 29 **d** tāḥ] *em.* SP$_{\text{Bh}}$, taḥ S$_2$
varā vareṇyā varadā var*ārhā* varavarṇinī | var*amā vara*bhadrā ca *ramyās tasmin purottame* || 243 varārhā] VāP$_{\text{VeṅĀĀ}}$, varahā VāP$_{\text{IO}}$	varadā *ca* vareṇyā *ca* var*eśā* varavarṇinī | var*āhī vārī*bhadrā ca *varā caiva mahāpagāḥ* || 30 **c** varāhī] S$_2$, vārāhī SP$_{\text{Bh}}$ (*conj.*)
padmotpaladalonmiśraṃ *phenādyāvarttavigraham* |	
jalaṃ maṇidalaprakhyaṃ tā vahanti *saridvarāḥ* || 244 tā vahanti] VāP$_{\text{IO}}$, āvahanti VāP$_{\text{VeṅĀĀ}}$	*nānākusumasaṃmiśraṃ* tā vahanti *jalāmṛtam* |
na *tu brahmarṣayo* devā nāsurāḥ pitar*as tathā* | na *khalv a*nye *'prameyasya* *vidur ī*śasya tat puram || 245 **ab**] VāP$_{\text{VeṅĀĀ}}$, na brahmarṣayo na devā nāma surāḥ pitaras tathā VāP$_{\text{IO}}$	na devā *na munīndrāś ca* nāsurāḥ pitar*o na ca* || 31 na *caivā*nye *mahe*śasya *jñātuṃ* tat puram *adbhutam* |

tatra ye dhyānam avyagrāḥ
suyuktā vijitendriyāḥ |
paśyantīha mahātmānaḥ
puraṃ tad govṛṣātmanaḥ || 246

antarmanasi buddhā ye
sarvato bhaktibhāvitāḥ |
śivaikamanaso vyāsa
tasmin modanti te narāḥ || 32

a maheśasya] S$_2$, samarthāḥ syur SP$_{\text{Bh}}$ (*conj.*.)

madhye pur*avar*endrasya
tasy*āpratimatejasaḥ* |
sumahān meru*saṃ*kāśo
di*vyo* bhadra*śriyā vṛtaḥ* || 247

d] VāP$_{\text{VeṅĀĀ}}$, diśā bhadraśriyānvitaḥ VāP$_{\text{IO}}$

tasya madhye purendrasya
sūryajvalanavarcasaḥ |
meru*śṛṅgapratī*kāśo |
di*g*bhadras *tapanaprabhaḥ* || 33

*sahasra*pād*aḥ* prāsād*as*
*tapanīya*mayaḥ *śubhaḥ* |
anupameyai ratnai*ś ca*
*sarvataḥ sa vibhūṣ*itaḥ || 248

→ With VāP 2.39.248–249 compare VāP 2.39.307–308 (= BḍP 3.4.2.244–245).

c] VāP$_{\text{VeṅĀĀ}}$, anūpamyamayai ratnai VāP$_{\text{IO}}$

prāsād*o lakṣa*pād*as tu*
*kāmagaḥ kanakā*mayaḥ |
*anirīkṣyair mahā*ratnai*ḥ*
*samantāt pariśobh*itaḥ || 34

c anirīkṣyair] *em.* SP$_{\text{Bh}}$, anirīkṣair S$_2$; **d** pariśobhitaḥ] S$_2$, pariśobhitam SP$_{\text{Bh}}$ (*typo*?)

sph*a*ṭikaiś candrasaṃkāśai*r*
vaidūryai*ḥ soma*saprabhaiḥ |
bālasūryaprabhaiś caiva
sauvarṇaiś cāgnisaprabhaiḥ || 249

b somasaprabhaiḥ] *em.*, somasaṃprabhaiḥ VāP$_{\text{VeṅĀĀ}}$, somasuprabhaiḥ VāP$_{\text{IO}}$; **d** cāgnisaprabhaiḥ] VāP$_{\text{IO}}$, cāgnisaṃprabhaiḥ VāP$_{\text{VeṅĀĀ}}$

vaidūryai*r vyoma*saṃkāśai*ḥ*
sph*ā*ṭikaiś candrasaprabhaiḥ |
prabālair arkasaṃkāśair
indranīlamayaiḥ paraiḥ || 35

b candra°] *em.* SP$_{\text{Bh}}$, cendra° S$_2$; **d** paraiḥ] *em.* SP$_{\text{Bh}}$, puraiḥ S$_2$

rājataiś cāpi śuśubhe
indranīlamayaiḥ śubhaiḥ |
dṛḍhair vajramayaiś caiva
ity evaṃ susamāhitaiḥ || 250

ab] VāP$_{\text{VeṅĀĀ}}$, rājataiś cāpi śuśubhair iṃdranīlair anekaśaḥ VāP$_{\text{IO}}$; **d** susamāhitaiḥ] VāP$_{\text{IO}}$, sumahāhitaiḥ VāP$_{\text{VeṅĀĀ}}$

jālaiś ca vividhākārair *dīpyadbhir adhivāsitam* |	
*candra*raśmiprakāśābhiḥ *patākābhir alaṃkṛtam* || 251 **a** jālaiś] *em.*, jalaiś VāP	*śaśi*raśmiprakāśābhiḥ *kvacit arkāṃśurūpibhiḥ* |
	śobhitaṃ tat patākābhir *virarāja sukhānilam* || 36
rukmaghaṇṭāninādaiś ca *nityapramuditotsavaḥ* | *kiṃnarāṇām adhīvāsaiḥ* *sandhyābhrākārarājitaiḥ* || 252 **b** °tsavaḥ] VāP$_{\text{VeṅĀĀ}}$, °tsavaṃ VāP$_{\text{IO}}$	*sarvartukusumaiś citrair* *icchāratnaphalair api* | *śuśubhe tat puraṃ kīrṇaṃ* *pādapair girisaṃnibhaiḥ* || 37
parivārasamantāt tu *hemapuṣpopagair drumaiḥ* | **b**] VāP$_{\text{IO}}$, hemapuṣpodakaprabhaiḥ VāP$_{\text{VeṅĀĀ}}$	
yathā *hi* meru*śailendro* *hemaśṛṅgair virājate* || 253 *cāmīkaramayībhis tu* *patākābhis* tath*ā* pura*m* |	*mahīdhrāṇāṃ* yathā meruḥ *sarveṣāṃ pravaro mahān* | tath*aiva tat* pura*ṃ reje* *sarvalokopari sthitam* || 38
evaṃ prāsādarājo 'sau *bhūmikābhir virājate* || 254 *ramanty apratimā yatra* *tryambakasya niveśane* | **255a** ramanty apratimā] VāP$_{\text{IO}}$, vasantapratimā VāP$_{\text{VeṅĀĀ}}$	*tatra viśveśvaraḥ sākṣān* *mahābhūtapatir haraḥ* | *sadāste sahitaḥ patnyā* *ṣaḍviṃśaḥ parameśvaraḥ* || 39 **c** sadāste] *em.* SP$_{\text{Bh}}$, sa⌣ ste S$_2$
lakṣmī*ḥ* śrī*ś ca vapur māyā* kīrtiḥ *śobhā* sarasvatī || 255 *devyā vai* sahitā *hy etā* *rūpagandhasamanvitāḥ* | **256a** devyā] VāP$_{\text{VeṅĀĀ}}$, devyo VāP$_{\text{IO}}$	lakṣmī*r medhā dhṛtiś caiva* *hrīḥ* śrī*ḥ* kīrtiḥ sarasvatī | *umayā* sahitā*s tatra* *modante lokamātaras* || 40 **b**] *em.*, hrī śrī kīrtiḥ S$_2$, hrīḥ śrīḥ kirttiḥ SP$_{\text{Bh}}$ (*typo*)

Manuscripts Consulted

SKANDAPURĀṆA

(S_1) National Archives, Kathmandu, MS 2–229. Rotographs Bodleian Library Oxford, MS Max Müller 22. Microfilm NGMPP Reel No. B 11/4. Palm-leaf, early Nepalese 'Licchavi' script. Dated [Mānadeva Saṃvat] 234 = 810 AD. Cf. SP I: 32–33.

(S_2) National Archives, Kathmandu, MS 1–831. Microfilm NGMPP Reel No. B 12/3. Palm-leaf, early Nepalese 'Licchavi' script. Cf. SP I: 33.

VĀYUPURĀṆA

($VāP_{IO}$) British Library, London, Sanskrit MS I.O. 2102–03. Paper, Devanāgarī script. Dated Saṃvat 1540 = ca. 1483 AD.

NIŚVĀSATATTVASAṂHITĀ

Transcription of the Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā, from the palm-leaf Nepalese MS No. 1–227, NGMPP A 41/14 supplemented with readings from its Kathmandu apograph MS No. 5-2406, NGMPP A 159/18, by Dominic Goodall. [Includes the *Niśvāsamukha*, *Niśvāsamūla*, *Niśvāsottara*, *Niśvāsanaya* and *Niśvāsaguhya*].

People of the festival

Richard H. Davis and Leslie C. Orr

Introduction

Along with her unparalleled translation work on the textual corpus of Śaiva Āgamas, Hélène Brunner has always maintained a lively concern with the historical and practical significance of this literature. To what extent can the ritual guidelines and teachings embodied in the Āgamas provide us with useful information about the society and religious culture of medieval and modern India? To what degree were the prescriptions of Somaśambhu or other medieval preceptors actually put into practice by pious worshipers of Śiva? Or, to put it as broadly as Brunner did in an article title, what is the importance of the Āgama literature for the study of the living religions of India (Brunner 1976)?

One of Brunner's more basic questions has been: who are the people who perform or participate in the various ritual actions spelled out in the Āgamas? From her early article on the Vedic social categories (Brunner 1964), through her study of the Śaiva adept or *sādhaka* (Brunner 1975), to her discussion of Śaiva priests (Brunner 1988b), she has repeatedly sought in her scholarship to identify and locate the various human agents and groups who appear in the literature of the Āgama tradition. In this essay we have tried to follow Brunner's path in identifying ritual actors, through the juxtaposition of two types of sources: Śaiva Āgamas and medieval inscriptions. To limit our topic we begin with one Sanskrit Āgamic text that has an accepted date, the *Mahotsavavidhi* completed by Aghoraśiva in 1157 CE.[1] The *Mahotsavavidhi* sets

[1] The *Mahotsavavidhi* (MV) of Aghoraśiva has been published twice. In 1910 the first edition, edited by M. Alagappa Mudaliyar, was printed in Grantha script by the Sivajnanabodha Press in Chintadripet, Chennai; the second was published in 1974, also in Grantha, by the South Indian Archakar Association also in Chennai, edited by C. Swaminatha Sivacarya. The 1974 edition follows the 1910 one quite closely. In both editions Aghoraśiva's original text takes up the first 60 or so pages, ending with a colophon identifying it as the *Mahotsavavidhi*, a portion of the author's larger *Kriyākramadyotikā*. Both editions supplement the MV with a lengthy digest that includes copious quotations from other Āgamas. This digest, identified as

out general recommendations for a nine day Śaiva temple festival (*mahotsava*), and in the course of his exposition Aghoraśiva refers to various persons who contribute to the performance of the festival. Aghoraśiva also briefly discusses weekly, fortnightly, monthly, and seasonal festivals, but does not include any detail pertaining to personnel for these smaller *utsavas*. We attempt to correlate these with the various types of persons who are mentioned in association with festivals in the Tamil temple inscriptions of the tenth through thirteenth centuries.

Of course, neither Āgamas nor inscriptions offer a transparent window on the Tamil past. In neither case did these types of texts intend to provide descriptive representations of their world, and those who seek to find such a record will inevitably be disappointed.[2] However, we hope that the systematic juxtaposition of these two types of sources, around the shared topic of festival personnel, can help towards a more complete reconstruction of the temple festival as an important cultural performance of early medieval South India. We hope also that the juxtaposition will provide some insight into the character of the sources themselves, their strengths as well as their respective weaknesses and omissions as forms of historical evidence.

Who are the people of the festival? Neither *Mahotsavavidhi* nor temple inscriptions list or directly address the varied human resources needed to conduct a *mahotsava*. Aghoraśiva focuses on the ritual actions that priests ought to perform for the proper unfolding of a festival. Most inscriptions are more concerned with the arrangements for material resources needed for the festival, such as the land needed to grow flowers for garlands or the provision of food for offerings on a grand festival scale. However, both sources do provide valuable

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the *Mahotsavavidhikrama Āgamaśekhara* (MĀŚ), is of uncertain authorship. Some scholars appear to have assumed that this portion of the published editions is also the work of Aghoraśiva, but this is extremely unlikely. The introductory verses of the MĀŚ, however, refer to the author's preceptor Sadāśiva of Kanchipuram. The same two verses appear in the commentary to an earlier portion of Aghoraśiva's *Kriyākramadyotikā* composed by Kacchapeśvara. We do not know exactly when Kacchapeśvara lived, but Dominic Goodall suggests the range between the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries. (We are grateful to T. Ganesan for first pointing us to these verses, and to Dominic Goodall for further correspondence on Kacchapeśvara.) All page references in this article refer to the 1974 edition of Aghoraśiva's MV. One of us (Richard Davis) has completed a translation of Aghoraśiva's *Mahotsavavidhi*, annotated with information from the MĀŚ and other Āgama sources. It is currently under consideration for publication.

[2]See Orr 2006 for a more detailed consideration of the roles and rhetoric of medieval South Indian inscriptions

and intriguing glances at some of the people involved in of the medieval South Indian festival. Our aim here is to collect and compare that evidence from ritual and inscriptional sources. For each category of person, we begin with the *Mahotsavavidhi* and other Āgama texts, and then go on to inscriptional references.

Śaiva Priests

In *Mahotsavavidhi*, Aghoraśiva sets out the procedures he considers ideal for the conduct of a nine-day *mahotsava* in a Śaiva temple. The *mahotsava* is a large and complex ceremonial activity and requires the contributions of many ritual actors. However, in Aghoraśiva's view, initiated Śaiva priests act as the primary agents in conducting the festival. In particular, Aghoraśiva addresses his advice to a single person, the chief priest who acts as master of ceremonies throughout the festival.

In contrast to the *Mahotsavavidhi*'s focus on priests as the central actors, the inscriptions recording arrangements for festival observances mention these figures only rarely. Inscriptions referring to the roles of priests in daily worship are more commonly met with, but nowhere are we informed of the qualifications of priests, and in fact a variety of different types of people are charged with the performance of *pūcai*, *ārātaṇai*, *ārāti*, and *arccaṇai* in the temple (Orr *2004a). When they are referred to in the festival context — in inscriptions that date for the most part to the eleventh century — priests are ordinarily one group among many whose services are mobilized to carry out various duties in connection with the festival celebration.

A. Chief Priest

Aghoraśiva refers to the chief priest as the *ācārya* (master), and also as *guru* (preceptor) and *deśika* (guide), always in the singular. While Aghoraśiva uses the three terms interchangably, some Āgama texts suggest that they may point to different aspects of the priest's role (ŚAM 150–2; SP3:xxvii–xxix). The chief priest is necessarily a male Śaiva brahmin or Ādiśaiva by birth, and he must have undergone the sequence of ritual initiations (*dīkṣā*) and priestly consecration (*ācāryābhiṣeka*) that cumulatively confer upon the recipient the ritual competence (*adhikāra*) to perform Śaiva ritual on behalf of others (*parārtha*) (Brunner 1988b). Some Āgamas provide additional qualifications to consider

in choosing an *ācārya* for a public ritual. Says *Rauravāgama* (57.12–14), one should select as *ācārya* "one born in an Ādiśaiva lineage, learned in the meanings of the Āgamas, calm, patient, with all his anger subdued, a householder, healthy, conversant with the words of the Vedas and Śāstras, and wise in the ways of the world." In *Mahotsavavidhi*, Aghoraśiva views the chief priest as the implicit agent of all festival activities, much as Śiva is the underlying agent of all cosmic action.

During the course of the festival the chief priest is called upon to observe a special regimen. He should eat only one meal per day, sleep on the ground, abstain from sexual intercourse, and maintain in general an ascetic lifestyle. Moreoever, within the festival the chief priest repeatedly performs the common rite of self-purification (*ātmaśuddhi*), which reiterates his state of ritual readiness or Śiva-ness (*śivatva*) (Davis 1991:47–60). Throughout the festival the chief priest officiates, either directly or indirectly, at all the principal rites. Aghoraśiva often uses causitive verb forms to indicate that the chief priest directs actions even when he does not personally carry them out. His principal role is acknowledged at the conclusion of the festival, in the form of an honorarium (*dakṣiṇā*) and even more in the special "festival of the priest" (*ācāryotsava*), where the chief priest is placed on a palanquin, just as Śiva has been throughout the festival, and carried in procession around the city (MV pp. 37–8).

It is particularly striking that the *ācārya* does not appear as the director and main ritual specialist in the inscriptions' accounts of festival services. If such a person did bear primary responsibility for the conduct of festivals, he did not appear to have received any special remuneration or recognition. Only in the case of a single twelth-century inscription (from Siddhalingamadam) do we find a reference to *ācārya dakṣiṇai* in connection with the celebration of festivals in a Śiva temple (SII 19.250).[3] Here the priest who is the recipient of payment for his services remains anonymous, and this is the case for all of the priests involved in festival activities — in contrast, as we shall see, to other participants who may be named in the inscriptions. At Dadapuram, an eleventh-century inscription (ARE 14 of 1919) employs the term *pañcācārya*, in the plural, possibly to refer

[3]Cf. ARE 501 of 1921 from nearby Tiruvennainallur, which makes a similar provision in the context of Vaiṣṇava festival observances. In a damaged twelfth-century inscription from Elvanasur (SII 22.140), again in the same area, which lists the requirements for an annual festival, we can make out the word *caivācāryar*, but the role of this person is unknown; in any case, he is not particularly prominent, appearing somewhere between the provisions for four thousand garlands and those for food offerings.

to priests in the festival context, but these figures bear little if any resemblance to the *ācārya* of the Āgamas: they, together with the drummers, singers and dancers of the Śiva temple built by the princess Kuntavai (the sister of Rajaraja I), are required to participate in the festivals of the Viṣṇu temple in the same village, in addition to serving Lord Śiva.

B. Other Śaiva Priests

For a multifaceted ceremony such as the *mahotsava*, the chief priest requires ritual assistance. Aghoraśiva refers to the assisting priests in the festival collectively as the *ṛtvijs*, always in the plural. The term *ṛtvij* derives from the Vedic system, where it is used as the general category of sacrificial priests, subdivided into four subdivisions according to Vedic training and ritual function. In *Mahotsavavidhi* and Āgama usage, *ṛtvij* is a general term for assisting priests who are, like the chief priests, initiated and consecrated Śaiva brahmin *ācāryas*, and who act within the festival as extensions of the chief priest. They too should observe an ascetic regimen over the course of the festival, and they also receive an honorarium at the festival's close, though it may be less than that of the chief priest.

Aghoraśiva does single out one special category of assisting priests, the *mūrtipas* or "image-protectors". The image-protectors carry out several distinct functions: they assist in the ceremonial raising and lowering of the flag that mark the beginning and conclusion of the festival, and they perform the fire-oblations in the sacrificial pavilion (*yāgaśālā*) throughout the festival. Aghoraśiva does not specify the number of image-protectors nor their special significance in the *mahotsava*. However, the image-protectors play an important role in another major Śaiva ritual, the establishment of the liṅga (*liṅgapratiṣṭhā*), where eight *mūrtipas* incarnate the eight forms of Śiva disposed around the liṅga (SP4: ix–x).

In several inscriptions, we find priests performing *tiruvārātaṇai* for annual, monthly or weekly festivals (SII 14.192; ARE 234 of 1962; ARE 137 of 1912; ARE 128 of 1912), in all but one case as members of groups of two or more. In another inscription (ARE 608 of 1920), from Udaiyargudi, the Śiva brahmins (Ta. *civappirāmaṇar*) offered worship during the annual festival in Vaikāci month. Elsewhere, at Tirunaraiyur, provision is made for a brahmin to perform *ārāti* as part of the festival observances on *saṃkrānti* days, and another brahmin is charged with carrying out *puṇyākam*, a Vedic or purificatory observance (SII

3.149). Two other inscriptions (SII 19.380 and SII 22.140) refer to brahmin performers of *puṇyākam*, one again in the context of the ritual bath of the deity on *saṃkrānti* days and the other providing for five brahmins to do the sacrifice during the festival in the month of Pankuṉi.

Reciters

A Śaiva temple festival necessarily draws upon the specialized skills and contributions of many actors. One dramatic illustration of this lies in the multiplicity of sounds that accompany the processions and other principal rites of the *mahotsava*. In addition to instrumental music, Aghoraśiva refers to three different types of recitations that may also surround the processions of the gods: recitations of Śaiva mantras (*japa*), Vedic recitations (*vedaghoṣa*, *brahmaghoṣa*), and devotional hymns (*bhaktastotra*). In *Mahotsavavidhi* Aghoraśiva does not discuss the identities of those who do the reciting.

The inscriptions also clearly indicate the importance of recitation and singing as part of the conduct of festivals, and particularly the singing of devotional hymns in Tamil.

A. Reciters of Śaiva and Vedic Mantras

Within the Āgama system, the recitation of Śaiva mantras is considered the most efficacious form of verbal activity, and in festivals the continuous recitation of certain mantras serves important ritual ends (SP1: xxx–xxxvi). According to Aghoraśiva, the chief priest himself recites key mantras continuously as he accompanies the principal deities during processions. In other ritual contexts, a priest referred to as the mantra-reciter (*jāpin*) may recite the protective "weapon" mantra, *astra* (SP4: x). The recitation of Śaiva mantras within the setting of a public ritual such as *mahotsava* requires an initiated Śaiva brahmin.

The sounds of the Vedas likewise form part of the aural surrounding of processions and other festival activities, though the Śaiva Āgamas consider them to be auspicious adjuncts, rather than ritually efficacious. Aghoraśiva does not specify what Vedic texts are to be recited, nor does he say anything about the identity of the Veda-reciters. Presumably this was the special province of Vedic brahmins, who had undergone their own procedures of ritual training and qualification, and who contributed their own specialized knowledge to the overarching festival program.

We find only a single inscriptional reference to the recitation of mantras in the festival context, and this is in an eleventh-century inscription from Tiruvorriyur in Chingleput district (ARE 128 of 1912), which records the order of the Chola king Virarajendra. Among the various provisions made is the assignment to a particular individual of a certain amount of gold and paddy as *kāṇi*, for the recitation or singing of mantras at the time of the awakening service (which is named after the king) during the annual festival in the month of Vaikāci.[4]

Having participated in the awakening of the Lord, it is probable that this mantra reciter would have accompanied the moveable image of the deity in His procession from the temple "bedchamber" to His main abode in the central shrine. Other examples of Vedic recitation on festival occasions seem similarly to have been associated with processions. For example, two thirteenth-century inscriptions from the great Śaiva temple at Chidambaram (SII 8.43, SII 12.245) record a land grant to the brahmins of the *agaram* who do Vedic recitation (*adhyayaṉam*) next to the Lord's sacred parasol, who say auspicious words (*svasti colli*) when the Lord enters the flower-garden on festival days including the spring festival, and who do Vedic recitation in this garden as the Lord takes his sacred bath. It seems likely that the *bhaṭṭar* at nearby Udaiyargudi who, over two hundred and fifty years earlier, were charged with "various services" in the festival chariot (*tirutter*) were responsible for Vedic recitation in this context (ARE 608 of 1920). The term *tiruvāykeḷvi* is most often translated as "royal order", but there are two inscriptions where it almost certainly refers to the recitation of the Veda — these are the inscription of 1046 from Tiruvorriyur (ARE 137 of 1912) and the inscription from Sivapuram (ARE 234 of 1961–62) of the preceding year. In the case of both of these records, the one responsible for *tiruvāykeḷvi* finds his place among numerous other festival participants who are provided for — to serve at a festival in the month of Pankuṉi at Tiruvorriyur and for a weekly procession at Sivapuram.

[4]On *kāṇi* — a term that connotes position, pay, and perquisites — see Orr 2000:127–8. The person who was to recite mantras (*mantra geyam viṇṇappañ ceyyum*) was Tillaiviṭankaṉ, a name that provides no clues about his caste or initiation status. It seems very likely that the mantras involved in this case are Vedic utterances rather than Śaiva mantras.

B. Singers of Devotional Hymns

Less frequently Aghoraśiva calls for devotional hymns. For the regular processions Aghoraśiva speaks simply of "the sounds of the Vedas, etc." (*vedaghoṣādi*), and other Āgama texts indicate that the *ādi* here may well be filled out with the sounds of *bhaktastotra*. As the teachings of Śiva himself, the Āgamas do not generally cite specific human works, but *Kāmikāgama* does suggest that "songs in the Dravidian languages or in pure Sanskrit" be performed to please Śiva as part of daily temple worship (PKĀ 4.438–9). The most unambiguous reference to devotional hymns in *Mahotsavavidhi*, however, comes in the "festival of the devotees" (*bhaktotsava*), which takes place after the completion of the regular nine-day festival (MV pp. 46–7). In this ceremony, icons of the Devotees are honoured and praised with devotional hymns, though Aghoraśiva does not specify what those hymns are. Further, "those who know the Śaiva songs" receive cloth and other special gifts at this festival event. Perhaps Aghoraśiva has in mind specialist singers of the Tamil Śaiva hymns of the *Tēvāram*.

At both Tiruvorriyur and Sivapuram, there are provisions for singers of devotional hymns: just one man at Sivapuram, but a number of singers — referred to as *kāntarvar* and as *tiruppatiyam pāṭuvār* at Tiruvorriyur. In fact, the Tiruvorriyur inscription of 1046 describes the arrangements made for a procession at the conclusion of the Pankuṉi annual festival in which the *bhaktas* (Ta. *pattarkaḷ*), including presumably the authors of the *tiruppatiyam* hymns, were honoured — resonating with Aghoraśiva's account of the *bhaktotsava*. An inscription from Chidambaram dated 1039 (SII 4.223) provides for the recitation or singing of "Tiruttoṇṭattokai", the poem by Cuntaramūrtti that praises the Tamil Śaiva saints, as part of the celebrations during the festival in the month of Māci. That the singing of the Tamil hymns was a regular part of daily temple worship is clear from the evidence of the inscriptions. When one looks specifically at festival observances it is interesting to note that one hymn comes in for particular mention in temples dedicated to Śiva — Māṇikkavācakar's "Tiruvempāvai", which was sung during festivals in Mārkaḻi month.[5] In thirteenth-century Madurai, ascetics (*kovaṇavar*) were charged with the performance of "Tiruvempāvai" (ARE 192 of 1943–44), but in several other cases — also of the thirteenth century — temple women (*tevaraṭiyār*) were given the responsi-

[5] In a twelfth-century inscription from Valuvur, arrangements are made for the singing of "Tiruvempāvai" before the image of Māṇikkavācakar (Vātavūrāḷi nāyaṉar) during the Mārkaḻi Tiruvātirai festival (ARE 421 of 1912).

bility of singing this hymn. These women, who are mentioned by name, seem either to have purchased this right from the temple authorities, as at Nallur (ARE 143, 144, 149, 160 and 161 of 1940–41), or to have been granted this privilege, among others, following a substantial donation to the temple, as at Tiruppampuram (NK 139). Apart from the special negotiations that individual women made with respect to this particular hymn, we find anonymous groups of temple women given the duty of festival hymn-singing in the eleventh century at Dadapuram (ARE 14 of 1919) and Tiruvorriyur (ARE 128 of 1912).

Dancers, Musicians, and Entertainers

In addition to those who carry out specific ritual activities and recitations, there are many more who perform during the temple festival. These performers include dancers, musicians, singers, and other entertainers. Each category of performer would contribute their own specialized skills and training to the overall celebration of the *mahotsava*. By and large Aghoraśiva does not provide detailed information about these festival performers. Often the *Mahotsavavidhi* simply gives formulaic recommendations that an activity should be "accompanied by song, music, and dance", or by the "triple symphony" (*tauryatrika*) of vocal music, instrumental music, and dance, without further specification (MV, p. 4). We need to refer to other Āgama texts to learn about the qualifications expected of these performers. *Uttarakāmikāgama* specifies that masters of music may be born in any of the four *varṇas* or in a mixed caste, and that they have dedicated themselves to the knowledge of dance. They should be knowledgeable about musical instruments, as well as composition, song, recitation, and the like, and they should know the nine moods of drama. Further, says Śiva, who is the speaker in this Āgama, they should be devoted to me, and be without moral failings.[6]

A. Dancers

In many contexts Aghoraśiva refers to dancers without indication of any special status or role, as *nṛttakis* and *nartakas*. Such dancers accompany every procession of the gods during the festival. However, there are several rites within the festival where the *Mahotsavavidhi* specifies a special group of dancers.

[6]UKĀ, quoted in ŚAM 5.180–185, p. 244–5.

Of all performers the ones who play the most prominent role in the festival, in the view of Aghoraśiva, are the Rudragaṇikās, "Śiva's female troops" or "Śiva's courtesans," the female temple dancers. The Rudragaṇikās occupy a position in Āgama texts parallel to that of the Devadāsīs in later South Indian temple culture, but the historical relation between the two categories of temple women remains uncertain (Kersenboom 1987, Orr 2000). *Pūrvakāmikāgama* (PKĀ 4.390) speaks of the Rudragaṇikās as "endowed with beauty and youth", and specifies that from ten up to 216 (PKĀ 4.397) may dance in the more elaborate temples, during daily services. *Rauravāgama* (19.2–3) adds that they should be pure, calm, beautiful, young, not covetous, and well-trained in dance. Specifically, they perform the form of dance known as *śuddhanṛtta*, the "pure dance" based on movements coordinated with rhythmic phrases but not mimetic gestures (Janaki 1988:52–5). According to *Mahotsavavidhi*, the Rudragaṇikās participate throughout the festival and often carry out key actions. They dance in front of the deity during the daily processions, they wave lamps before the deity in *nīrājana*, they grind substances for the powder festival (*cūrṇotsava*), and during the drum-beating ceremony (*bherītāḍana*, also called *navasandhinṛtta*) they perform distinct dance-patterns (*nṛtta*) in coordination with the drummer's rhythms at each of the eight directions. For this rite Aghoraśiva lists the dance patterns for each direction, but gives no further information on how they were to be performed (MV pp. 14–18).

The inscriptions describe the performers of festival dance in several ways. Sometimes a general provision is made for groups of "dancers and singers", as at the tenth-century Chola temple at Tondaimanad (SII 8.529), or for groups of temple women, as at eleventh-century Dadapuram and Tiruvorriyur (ARE 14 of 1919, ARE 128 of 1912). More often, however, the inscriptions record the appointment of specific individuals as performers of dance at festival times, and in many cases these seem not to be regular members of the temple's staff, but professionals drawn from the surrounding community. In the tenth and eleventh centuries, these are for the most part men — for example, those who were contracted to perform the *cākkai* dance at Tiruvidaimarudur (SII 3.202), at Kamarasavalli (ARE 65 of 1914), and at Kilappaluvur (SII 19.171), or performers of the *āriya kūttu* at Tiruvaduturai and at Tirunallaru (ARE 120 of 1925, PI 455 = ARE 437 of 1965–66).[7] Two twelfth-century inscriptions

[7]It is interesting to note that three of these five inscriptions specify that dances were to be performed at the annual festival in the month of Vaikāci; festivals in Māci, Mārkaḻi, Aippaci, and Puraṭṭāci are also mentioned. There is one relatively early (mid tenth century) inscrip-

from Tiruvengavasal, record that individual women were assigned the task of performing the *cānti kūttu* at the time of festivals in the months of Cittirai and Vaikāci (IPS 128, IPS 139).[8] And by the thirteenth century, women seem to have altogether displaced men as festival dancers, performing the *cākkai kūttu* at Nallur (ARE 160 of 1940–41) and at Dalapatisamudram (ARE 8 of 1929), and a dance form called *akamarkam* at Tiruvorriyur (SITI 520, ARE 196 of 1912).

B. Drummers and Musicians

The festival requires instrumental music, as well as vocal recitations and song. Aghoraśiva often refers to the musicians as a collectivity, as *vādyakas* or *suvādikāras*, and for processions and other festival activities specifies simply that "all the instruments" (*sarvavādya*) should be played. In some instances Aghoraśiva does name specific instruments, including the conch (*śaṅkha*), lute (*vīṇā*), flute (*veṇu*), and three kinds of drums (*bherī*, *mardala,* and *dundubhi*). Other Āgama texts provide longer lists of suitable instruments, and *Ajitāgama* (27.128–131) recommends that instruments of four categories be employed in the festival: skin-percussion drums, stringed instruments, metal percussion, and hollow wind instruments. According to *Ajitāgama* these four instrument types plus the human voice make up the "five great sounds" (*pañcamahāśabda*), and this totality of sound brings pleasure to Śiva.

Rhythms of the drum play a major role throughout the festival. They accompany all processions and tribute-offerings, as well as the raising and lowering of the festival banner. However, in one important rite at the commencement of the festival, the chief drummer (called *bherītāḍaka* or simply *vādyaka*) is singled out (MV pp. 14–18). During the drum-beating rite that follows the raising of the festival flag, the chief priest ritually consecrates the *bherī* drum and calls upon the chief drummer to play a series of distinct rhythms (*tāla*), as the Rudragaṇikās dance, at each of the eight directions. The *Mahotsavavidhi* gives the names of the individual rhythms for each location, but it required the drummer's special expertise to give musical form to these rhythms. During

tion recording the appointment of a woman as a festival dancer, from Siddhalingamadam (SII 26.391); there are no details given about either the type of dances she was to perform or the occasions for their performance.

[8]Although it has been suggested by Kersenboom (1987:29) that the *cānti kūttu* mentioned in the inscriptions is identical with the *navasandhi nṛtta* of the Āgamas (Janaki 1988:167–75), this does not seem likely. See the discussion in Orr 2000:104–7, 234–5.

this rite the chief drummer receives the sacrificial thread that marks him as a temporary brahmin, along with sandalpaste, garlands, and other adornments.

Drummers were among the most prominent participants in festivals, according to the evidence of the inscriptions. They seem to have been essential for the proper conduct of processions, whether these were carried out as part of the daily temple routine — especially in the case of the tribute-offering (*śrībali*) procession around the temple compound — or as part of weekly, monthly or annual observances. There are several inscriptions that indicate that temple services had to be suspended in the absence of drummers, including one of the eleventh or twelfth century from Sendalai which records the restoration of the daily *śrībali* procession as well as drumming at the time of the festivals in the months of Māci and Cittirai following the appointment of a drummer (*uvaccar*) for temple service (ARE 201 of 1926; cf. IPS 89, Orr 2004b). It seems that in some cases the drummers who performed at festivals were brought into town especially for these occasions — particularly when we find groups composed of as many as seventeen or twenty men — or that the several temples of a locality shared the services of these performers, as in the case of the *uṭukkai* player of Dadapuram, who, together with other personnel belonging to the Śiva temple, was required to participate in the festivals at the Viṣṇu temple of the village (ARE 14 of 1919). In addition to the *uṭukkai* (hour-glass drum), other percussion instruments such as the *taṭṭali* are specifically mentioned in the context of festival performances; very occasionally one finds references to wind and string instruments — the trumpet (*kāḷam*) and the *vīṇā* (ARE 353 of 1972–73; ARE 234 of 1961–62). One inscription, from the great temple at Tanjavur, records arrangements to support five drummers (*kaṭikaiyār*) who were to sound the sacred drum (*tiruppaṟai*) at the time when the festival flag was raised (SII 2.25); this seems to resonate with Aghoraśiva's account of festival proceedings, although there is no mention in the inscription of the consecration of the drum or the chief drummer, nor of special rhythms for the eight directions or the involvement of dancers.

C. Entertainers

At several points during the *mahotsava*, including the festival of dancing Śiva and the festival of the goddess, Aghoraśiva recommends that entertainment (*vinoda*) be provided for an audience that would include Śiva and the Goddess (in image forms) along with select human invitees (MV p. 41). He does not

specify what these entertaining performances might be, but other Āgama texts suggest they be concerts of dance, music, and anything pleasing to the gods. We might postulate that this is the context within which drama performances might be incorporated into the *mahotsava*, as they seem to have been in later South Indian practice.

In an eleventh-century inscription from the Tanjavur temple (SII 2.67H), provision is made for a male dancer (a *cānti kūttaṉ*) to perform the *Rājarājeśvara nāṭakam* during the annual festival in the month of Vaikāci. This was presumably a drama in honour of the deity enshrined in the temple. The only other two inscriptional references to dramatic performances in the festival context come from thirteenth-century Tirunelveli district; in both cases, a temple woman is assigned the duty of performing the "sacred drama" (*tirunāṭakam*) at the time of the festival (ARE 557 of 1916, ARE 444 of 1929–30).

Other Specialists

Still other specialists are required to insure the proper conduct of the festival. Among these Aghoraśiva refers to an artisan and an astrologer.

A. Artisans

During the festival the work of artisans (*śilpin*) is crucial. They must select and prepare the wooden flagpole, they design and create the festival banner, they construct the altars and firepits of the sacrificial pavilion, and they prepare the many vehicles and especially the great wooden chariot for processions. The *śilpins* have their own textualized bodies of specialist knowledge in the form of Śilpaśāstras, such as the Chola-period *Mayamata*, which also set forth qualifications for the various categories of artisans.[9] Aghoraśiva refers to the Śilpin in the singular, no doubt referring to a head artisan who acts as supervisor of his own ranked group of artisans, assistants, and labourers. Important as the Śilpin would be to the proper conduct of the festival, Aghoraśiva's prescriptions insure that the master artisan is ritually subordinate to the chief priest, during such rites as the opening of the eyes (*netronmīlana*) of the Nandi banner (MV p. 8).

[9] *Mayamata* 5.13–25 distinguishes four categories of artisans (*śilpin*), starting with the architect (*sthapati*). Other artisans are explicitly subordinated to the *sthapati*.

The inscriptions of medieval Tamil Nadu have surprisingly little to say about the skilled craftsmen whose skills and labours were responsible for the permanent and temporary constructions that constituted the ritual space of the temple. In the context of preparations for festivals, there are only two inscriptions that provide a glimpse of the personnel involved in such work. These are both tenth-century inscriptions that refer to the support of a carpenter (*taccaṉ*), who is in one case to build an archway or bower (*toraṇam*) for the bathing ritual on *saṃkrānti* days (SII 19.380) and in the other to contribute in some way to the celebration of a festival dedicated to Indra, at the Śiva temple of Tondaimanad (SII 8.529). Although there are a few inscriptional references to festival chariots (Ta. *tēr*), these vehicles seem to have been less common a feature of temple processions in medieval times than they were later to become, and the inscriptions are completely silent about their fabrication (see Orr 2004b).

B. Astronomer

Aghoraśiva speaks of a *kartṛ* (literally, "agent") who is assigned to fix the proper time for the festival, based on a calculation of *nakṣatras*. The term could refer to the chief priest as *kartṛ* of the entire festival, but it seems more likely that Aghoraśiva here denotes a specialist known elsewhere in the Āgamas as the *daivajña*, "astronomer" or prognosticator. According to Brunner (SP4: x–xi), the *daivajña* is necessary to all occasional and optional Śaiva rituals for determining favorable times to conduct important actions. During the festival, this person must reckon a variety of timings, such as the "auspicious moment" (*muhūrta*) for commencing the chariot procession (MV pp. 40–1). Trained astronomers brought to their ritual task a large body of specialized knowledge, in the form of Jyotiḥśāstras.

The inscriptions rarely mention the figure of the astronomer (Ta. *tiru*). When he is referred to — for example, in two inscriptions of the late tenth and early eleventh century (SII 3.151, SII 2.66) — it is outside the festival context, and he is simply listed as a regular member of the temple staff. It is very likely that in the usual situation where the corps of temple personnel was relatively small, the calculations for fixing the auspicious date and time for festivals were made by local specialists who were not necessarily attached to the temple.

Festival Workers

A. Labourers, Cooks, and Cleaners

Beyond the ritual labour requiring specialized knowledge and skill, there are countless additional tasks that need to be accomplished in preparation for and during a nine-day temple festival. Before the festival, says Aghoraśiva, "one should renovate all the festival conveyances . . . , one should decorate all festival locations,starting with the homes of the deities and ending with the roads, with stalks of banana and areca trees, with seasonal fruits, sprouts, and flower garlands gathered from the coconut, lime, and other trees, and with mirrors, gateways, canopies, banners, garlands, and the like (MV p. 4)." During the festival, someone must fetch provisions and clean paraphernalia, cook food offerings, prepare flower garlands and unguents, carry poles and pots in processions, transport icons from place to place and lift them onto vehicles and into palanquins, pull and push and carry all sorts of things. For the most part Aghoraśiva does not mention the categories of menial labourers necessary to the conduct of a festival, since he directs his comments to a chief priest and largely confines his recommendations to those tasks he considers ritually significant.

By contrast, there is frequent mention in the inscriptions of the personnel required to carry out menial labour in connection with festivals. This is particularly so for the tasks associated with feeding the brahmins, ascetics, and devotees who attend the festival. These food workers are referred to particularly in inscriptions of the tenth and eleventh centuries and typically include a potter (*kucuvaṉ*), a man to bring firewood (*virakiṭuvaṉ*), and a person to cleanse the floor where food was served (*meḻukiṭuvaṉ*); occasionally mention is also made of a man to bring water or of a cook. Another important type of festival worker is the weaver of garlands (*tiruppaḷḷittāmam*), who had special duties at the time of weekly, monthly, and annual festivals (ARE 234 of 1961–62, SII 14.192). And while most of those who took part in festival processions were regarded as having a certain ritual status or receiving the right to particate as a special privilege, as we shall soon see, there is at least one case, at Chidambaram, where the task of dragging of the temple chariot was assigned to temple labourers (*koyiṟ kuṭimai*) (SII 12.245).

B. Paricārakas, Attendants, and Bearers

The *Mahotsavavidhi* and other Āgama texts do specify one group of temple workers: the *paricārakas* or temple "attendants". The *paricārakas* directly assist the priests throughout the festival, through such physical actions as transporting pots, raising images onto vehicles, and carrying tribute offerings during *balidāna*. They play an especially important role during the raising of the festival banner. During this rite the *paricārakas* wear the turban (*uṣṇīṣa*) and upper cloth (*uttarīya*) that signify ritual status, and they pull the ropes that hoist the flag high onto the pole (MV p. 11). However, they are never called upon to recite mantras or perform any ritual action that requires full priestly competence. Aghoraśiva says nothing about the qualifications or initiatory status of the *paricārakas* in *Mahotsavavidhi*, but other Āgamas indicate that they should have received the first level of common Śaiva initiation (*samayadīkṣā*) (UKĀ 24.53–5, SP3: 418).

We find in the inscriptions the exact equivalents to the *paricārakas* described by Aghoraśiva, who serve as assistants to the priests; these temple servants are often identified as *māṇis* (Skt. *brahmacārins*). They are present in a number of cases in the festival context, although their precise duties are not clear (ARE 137 of 1912; ARE 234 of 1962; SII 7.525); in inscriptions providing for daily worship, however, we find them assigned such tasks as bringing water for the sacred bath, assisting in the anointing of the deity, and holding the canopy over the image of the deity (SII 13.386). Inscriptions concerned with festival observances frequently mention the performers of such services without referring to them as *paricārakas* or *māṇis*, and in some cases they list them in addition to the priestly assistants. So, for example, at Tiruvorriyur the arrangements for the annual Pankuṉi festival made in the mid eleventh century involved not only a *paricāraka māṇi*, but a man to bring bath water and men to serve as palanquin carriers (*tiruppaḷḷicivikaiyār*) and bearers of garlands (*tiruppaḷḷittoṅkaḷ iṭuvār*) (ARE 137 of 1912).[10] That carrying the god's image was regarded as a relatively prestigious function, rather than a menial one, is indicated by an inscription from Tiruvadavur, where this task was carried out by eight specially designated devotees (*āṇṭarkaḷ*) (ARE 483 of 1962–63).[11] Bearers of garlands in festival

[10] Other references to people assisting in the sacred bath on festival occasions include a ninth-century inscription from Tiruccennampundi (SII 7.525) and an eleventh-century inscription from Tiruvannamalai (TAM 47).

[11] This inscription dates from the late thirteenth century, and may reflect the trend toward assigning such ritual roles as privileges; there is even an indication in this inscription that the

processions are frequently mentioned, and are clearly distinguished from those responsible for cultivating the flower-gardens or weaving the garlands.[12] There are also several inscriptional references to those who bear lamps in the procession and one case where a man is assigned the task of bringing the consecrated offerings (*niṟmāniyam pokam*) (SII 19.380). A number of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century inscriptions provide an indication that participating in processions could be a purely honorary role, with no real functional dimension: from different parts of the Tamil country, all of these involve temple women who were granted the right of proximity to the deity and precedence in the procession as a result of a gift they had made to the temple, or the outright purchase of this privilege.[13] Finally there is at least one reference to the men who assisted in the raising of the festival flag — again corresponding, perhaps, to the *paricārakas* of *Mahotsavavidhi* — from thirteenth-century Chidambaram (ARE 325 of 1959).

VIPs

A. Yajamāna

Every festival requires provisions and it needs people to supply those special resources. As in the Vedic sacrificial system, so in Śaiva public rituals one person is designated as *yajamāna*, literally the "sacrificer" or the patron, in the singular. However, while the *yajamāna* plays a key ritual role in Vedic sacrifice, Aghoraśiva does not grant this figure a great deal of ceremonial prominence in his prescriptions for the *mahotsava*.[14] The *yajamāna* does appear in processions and assemblies, and carries out a few special ritual tasks. During the *astrayāga*,

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actual labour involved in carrying the festival image was the responsibility of a group of twelve or sixteen — unnamed — workmen (*āḷ*). Perhaps there was a similar division of labour between honoured devotees and lower status workers in the case of an inscription of about the same time from Tirukkalakkudi (ARE 108 of 1916), where the residents of the region are given the privilege of precedence in the holding of the ropes of the temple car and the receipt of sacred ash.

[12] The one case where this distinction is not so obvious is in a twelfth-century inscription from Tiruvarur (SII 7.485), where the four people given the task of carrying garlands in the procession are also charged with taking care of the garden.

[13] ARE 143 and 144 of 1940–41 from Nallur; ARE 29 of 1941 from Sakkaramallur; NK 134 from Tiruppampuram; ARE 210 of 1923 from Tiruppulivanam. In the last case, the temple woman carries the flywhisk (*cāmara*) as the Lord's attendant.

[14] On the Vedic *yajamāna*, see Malamoud 1976:156–7.

for example, he should perform a set of daily rites along with the priests (MV p. 20). His most important ritual role, however, comes at the end of the festival, when he honours the chief priest and other officiants by presenting them with honoraria (*dakṣiṇā*). In the Vedic system the *yajamāna* receives the full benefits of the ritual performance, but Aghoraśiva makes no mention of this. When Aghoraśiva does include statements about the fruits of festival actions, these generally speak of benefits to the entire community, not just to the patron (MV p. 14).

The inscriptions scarcely ever identify particular persons as the primary sponsors of festivals, but typically describe donations allowing for the institution of new services, in perpetuity, within the framework of existing festival arrangements — which may be supported by earlier gifts from various individuals or other temple resources earmarked for this purpose. The inscription from Siddhalingamadam that mentions *ācārya dakṣiṇai* specifies that it is to be provided for from a gift of land donated by a local chief, who has also given gold so that the sacred bath and food offerings can be made on the days of Uttirāyaṉa, Dakṣiṇāyaṉa, eclipses, and in the month of Aippaci (SII 19.250). This arrangement, however, seems very different from the ceremonial presentation of *dakṣiṇā* at the conclusion of the festival described by Aghoraśiva. Here and in other inscriptions that describe the direct patronage of festival celebrations — as in the case of two royal gifts for festivals at Uyyakontan Tirumalai (ARE 462 of 1908, ARE 383 of 1939–40) or the establishment of a ten-day festival in the temple at Kattarimangalam by a local chief (ARE 373 of 1929–30) — donors appear to have had no ritual functions. As for the temple women whose donations resulted in their receiving special privileges in attending the Lord in procession, their gifts were not ones which supported the festival itself.

B. Ruler

Another shadowy presence in Aghoraśiva's festival guide is the ruler, referred to as *rājan*, *nṛpa*, and *bhūpa*. Aghoraśiva does not qualify this term any further, so it could refer to the highest level of imperial lordship, such as the Chola king during Aghoraśiva's time, or to some intermediate political authority or local chief. The ruler is distinct from the *yajamāna*; there is no sense here that the ruler need be the festival patron either directly or symbolically. The king does not appear to have any ritual responsibility in the festival, as far as Aghoraśiva is concerned. However, in processions the ruler should march with his entourage

of attendants (*bhṛtya*) on the left side of the deity, while the chief priest walks with his underlings on the god's right side (MV p. 27). In the procession of the priest, likewise, both *yajamāna* and ruler acknowledge his preeminence, in the domain of this ritual, by walking behind the palanquin in which the priest is carried.

Kings and chiefs had roles to play as temple builders and temple patrons, but during the Chola period they shared these roles with many other kinds of people — including royal women, merchants, and local landlords — and with local corporate groups referred to in the inscriptions as *sabhaiyār*, *ūrār*, *nakarattār*, and *nāṭṭār*. All of these types of people had a hand in shaping temple festivals, as well, although, as we have just seen, their contributions in this connection may not have received ritual acknowledgement in the course of the festival. There is no correspondence between Aghoraśiva's provision for a place for the ruler in festival processions and what the inscriptions have to tell us.

There is, however, another way in which the persona of the king enters into festival arrangements, and this is in connection with the timing of the celebration to coincide with the birthday or natal asterism (*nakṣatra*) of the ruler. Aghoraśiva mentions this as an alternative possibility in calculating the time to perform a nine-day festival (MV p. 3). An early inscriptional example of this pattern comes from tenth-century Tondaimanad, where a seven-day annual festival was scheduled so that its last day was the birth star of the Chola king Aditya I, at the temple which had been built as a memorial (*paḷḷippaṭai*) to him (SII 8.529). In some cases, the king himself sponsored such festivals — for example, Rajendra I made a gift for a seven-day festival for the goddess at Singalantapuram, coordinated with his own *nakṣatra* (ARE 233 of 1943–44) — but at other temples where the Chola king's birthday was celebrated, the temple officials or non-royal donors were responsible for instituting these observances (ARE 464 of 1908, ARE 285 of 1912). The kings of the Pandya dynasty, on the other hand, were very much implicated in the establishment of festivals on the occasion of their own or their relatives' birthdays — for example, at Tiruvanaikkaval (ARE 28 and 201 of 1937–38) and at Madurai (ARE 326 of 1961–62).[15]

[15]At Chidambaram, in 1258, a local official seems to have been responsible for donating land to support a number of services named for King Jatavarman Sundara Pandya I, including monthly and annual processions and bathing ceremonies at the time of the king's natal star. This king is extraordinarily active as a temple patron throughout the Tamil country, beginning

Other Participants

All those who attend the *mahotsava* become participants in a temporary Śaiva world that is enacted and extended throughout the community during festival time. Some, we have seen, are ritual agents and performers who help through their actions to create that world. Others participate simply by being there. Some festival events are relatively restrictive, but the most important ceremonies of the festival—the raising and lowering of the banner, the daily processions, the final bath—are intended to be open affairs accommodating large congregations of people.

Aghoraśiva often signals the comprehensive openness of festival events with terms like *sarvajana* (all people). Just as the priests summon all deities to take part in the festival, so the high-raised festival banner and the resounding clamor of drums and conches broadcast an invitation to all humans in the surrounding area. Elsewhere Aghoraśiva refers broadly to *sarvabhakta* (all devotees) or *bhaktajana* (the devotees). Here *bhakta* refers to an open-ended group, with no limits based on initiation, training, gender, or class status. All devotees, he says, may march along with the deities in procession, or bathe at the *tīrtha*, or receive gifts.

Participation in the festival world is sometimes graded or ranked. Throughout the ceremonies Aghoraśiva calls for actions that single out some participants. For example, at the onset he instructs important festival participants to tie on a special *rakṣasūtra*, a protective wristlet. First the priest ties a cord around the central Śiva-liṅga, around the ceremonial Trident, and on the wrists of all the processional icons. After protecting the deities, Aghoraśiva continues, the priest ties wristlets on himself, on the assisting priests, on the tribute-carrier (*balivāhaka*), and on the chief drummer (MV p. 24). In effect, the rite of *rakṣabandhana* articulates an inner group of deities and important ritual actors at the center of the festival.

Likewise processions have their own spatial hierarchies, in Aghoraśiva's view. While it encourages all devotees to join the festival processions, the *Mahotsavavidhi* also sets out a spatial organization for the processors. The deities march in a definite order, of course, with the central Somāskanda icon (Śiva with Umā and Skanda) both preceded and followed by Śiva's family and closest relations: Nandin, Gaṇeśa, Skanda, Devī, and Caṇḍeśa. Humans should also arrange themselves around the deities in a definite order. Closest to Śiva

with his accession in 1251 (see Orr *2005).

on the right hand side is the officiating priest. On Śiva's left is the *rājan*, the ruler, along with his entourage. In front of the deity are musicians, dancers, and singers. Rudragaṇikās dance along both sides of the processing deities. Mahāśaivas should march in front of the parade, and behind come brahmins who recite the Vedas. After them come Māheśvaras (MV p. 27). The processional party constitutes a mobile assembly, with proximity to the central Śiva an index of festival status.

In *Mahotsavavidhi* Aghoraśiva mentions several special categories of persons who do not carry out any definite ritual action, but who may march in processions, receive things, or simply be present. Aghoraśiva assigns a special place at the front of processions to those he calls Mahāśaivas. Other Āgama texts identify Mahāśaivas as brahmins not of the five Ādiśaiva *gotras*, but who have undergone Śaiva initiation. Because they are not Śaiva brahmins, they are not eligible to undergo *ācāryābhiṣeka* and become temple priests performing services on behalf of others. However, at least in the processions they are worthy of some distinction within the Śaiva community. Māheśvaras also march in processions, but behind the Mahāśaivas and Vedic brahmins. In Āgama usage Māheśvara refers to members of any *varṇa* who have undergone at least the first level of Śaiva initiation, *samayadīkṣā* (SP3, p. 416, fn. 457). In the *Mahotsavavidhi* they are assigned one optional ritual task: in the gathering of earth (*mṛtsaṅgrahaṇa*) they may carry the pots of earth after it has been collected for the sprouting rite of *aṅkurārpaṇa* (MV p. 6).

Within the Śaiva system, the Sādhakas constitute a special category of religious virtuosi who practice a renunciatory discipline centered on mantra recitation. To become a Sādhaka, one must undergo the sequence of Śaiva initiations, and then a special consecration, the *sādhakābhiṣeka*, that confers that status (Brunner 1975). They are not qualified to perform Śaiva ritual on behalf of others, and Aghoraśiva gives them no ritual assignment during the *mahotsava*. However, Sādhakas apparently do attend temple festivals, and at several moments they receive powder or paste to smear on themselves, as do other participants. For example, in the festival of Dancing Śiva, the priest prepares a black balm and smears it on the images of the deities, then on himself. The black balm is then distributed to the *mūrtipas*, to the Sādhakas, and to all devotees present (MV p. 44).

Aghoraśiva assigns at least one ritual task, optionally, to those he calls *suvāsinīs*, married women of good homes, in the plural. During the rite of illumination (*nīrājana*), either married women or Rudragaṇikās may wave the lamp

in front of the deity. Other Āgamas sometimes give these virtuous women additional festival roles. For example, in the wedding festival (which Aghoraśiva merely mentions without giving any procedural details), married women prepare the image of the goddess and honour her before she is taken to the wedding pavilion.

Finally, some groups are mentioned in *Mahotsavavidhi* only as recipients of festival largess. So at several points Aghoraśiva directs that gifts of gold, food, and other valuables be given to brahmins, without specifying which brahmins. I presume here that all brahmins, regardless of *gotra* or initiatory status, could partake of these presentations. At the conclusion of the Gaṇeśa festival, which precedes the main nine-day Śiva *mahotsava*, gifts should be given to the wretched (*dīna*), the poor (*kṛpaṇa*), and the blind (*andha*) (MV p. 4). Giving to these worthy and needy recipients is an inherently auspicious action, appropriate to the world of the festival.

In the medieval Tamil inscriptions, by far the most commonly encountered people of the festival are those honoured devotees who are provided with meals at the temple during the festival. Sometimes they are said to have come to the temple to serve or worship the god — or in one instance to participate in the raising of the festival flag (ARE 430 of 1961–62) — but these are not people who are assigned ritual roles. The food they receive has not been offered to the deity, but is prepared especially for them, although occasionally they are fed at the same time or immediately following the time that the Lord receives food offerings.[16] Providing for such festival feeding seems to have been an attractive option for donors who wished to contribute to the auspiciousness of the festival occasion, perhaps because their gift could have an impact even if it were relatively modest. For example, in the eleventh century a man donated gold, for the merit of himself and his mother, to provide for a perpetual lamp and for the feeding of five brahmins during the seven days of the festival in the month

[16]There are a few references to the distribution of consecrated food as a temple honour beginning in the thirteenth century, including in temples dedicated to Siva (cf. Brunner 1969a, Davis *1986:234–39), but none of these occur in the festival context. The only form of festival *prasādam* that we encounter in Chola period inscriptions is the *parivaṭṭam*, the cloth that has been worn by the images of the deities which is given to certain worshipers to wear on their heads, and only in one case is the recipient mentioned — a temple woman who had set up an image of the goddess and provided for its worship (TAS 6.15 = KK 256, translated in Orr 2000, see pp. 75–6 and 228 n. 24). As we have already seen, temple women also received precedence in festival processions as a consequence of having made donations or having purchased the rights to this privilege.

of Pankuṉi, at the Śiva temple of Kudumiyamalai (SII 17.349). In other cases, the number of devotees receiving food was huge: a thousand people fed during the seven-day festival at Tondaimanad (SII 8.529), a thousand pots of rice prepared for feeding the Māheśvaras in the month of Āṇi at Chidambaram (SII 4.223), a thousand devotees fed at the Pankuṉi festival at Tirumananjeri (ARE 2 of 1914), and a thousand pilgrim ascetics (*deśāntri tavasiyar*) fed in the course of the ten-day festival of Āvaṇi at Madurai (ARE 278 of 1941–42). These arrangements, however, were not meant to provide for the requirements of all the people who attended the festival nor as charity for the needy. Although of various identities, all of the recipients of food were particularly worthy, and providing them with food was a meritorious act. Among them there were brahmins, *śivayogis*, Māheśvaras, and ascetics (*tapasvis*) — some of whom were also identified as devotees (*aṭiyār*) or pilgrims (*deśāntri*, *apūrvi*).

From the tenth to the thirteenth centuries, there is a shift in the types of recipients who were most often provided for. In the tenth century, the majority of inscriptions recording arrangements for festival feeding mention brahmins, while in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, brahmins had altogether disappeared from this context. Meanwhile, *śivayogis* were quite prominent in the eleventh century but faded from view by the thirteenth century, and Māheśvaras and ascetics became increasingly dominant. The term *māheśvara* in the inscriptions most often designates Śiva devotees in a very general sense, so it is difficult to determine whether the Māheśvaras who received food at the times of festivals are a special category of Śaivas, corresponding to the Āgama definition. In any case, neither they nor any other actors referred to in the inscriptions (such as the *śivayogi*s) who might be identified with the Mahāśaivas or Sādhakas mentioned by Aghoraśiva have particular roles to play in the context of the festival.

Conclusion

Together these two types of sources provide a fuller approximation of what a Śaiva temple festival of the late Chola period might have involved. We see a mobilization of many resources, and many human actors, to perform an extended community act of devotion. This event involves not just ritual specialists, but also musicians (especially drummers) and reciters, dancers, and many assistants to carry out the great variety of tasks needed to complete the *mahotsava*. It is also an event that attracts masses of people to participate, and one that therefore

requires feeding on a grand scale.

Yet the differences in orientation of the two types of texts, and the perspectives they offer on the medieval temple festival, also become clearer in this juxtaposition. Aghoraśiva's concern with providing guidelines for priests' activities grants us one kind of insider view of the festival. We see in the *Mahotsavavidhi* the importance of priestly recitation of Sanskrit mantras, especially Śaiva ones, and other core ritual acts, as essential to the activation of the festival. In the view of the *Mahotsavavidhi*, the priest is the agent of transformation in the temple festival. Yet the centrality of the priest does not appear in the inscriptions.

Inscriptions as legal-like texts recording arrangements made for the performance of the festival provide a different insider view. We see the detailed records of various categories of individual persons who sponsor many of the activities of the festival, or become recipients of festival largess. These individuals may have no particular ritual role or ongoing association with the temple, yet within the festival they are transformed into participants in the world of the Śiva temple, and their actions come to have ritual significance within it.

Both perspectives recognize a hierarchy among those who participate, but they articulate their ranking through different means. Aghoraśiva envisions a scale of involvement and capacity based on ritual status, as calculated principally by birth and initiatory level. Yet he also admits implicitly the value of other forms of specialist knowledge, such as that of Śilpin or chief drummer, and other grounds of status or authority, in figures such as the ruler or patron. In the *Mahotsavavidhi* we see the hierarchy of festival people expressed most directly in the spatial organization of persons during processions and other congregational groupings. In the inscriptions ritual recognition is primarily expressed through the feeding of persons whose status results from their identities as brahmins, ascetics, or devotees of Śiva.

Finally, the two types of texts seem to reflect two distinct but overlapping worlds of value, which roughly correspond to the terms *kriyā* (ritual) and *bhakti* (devotion). The Āgama ethos of Aghoraśiva is one of ritual, similar to (but certainly not based on) the Vedic sacrificial ethos. From the Śaiva priestly perspective the powers of ritual action grounded in the recitation of mantras is fundamental, though devotion to Śiva may also be an important secondary value. The ethos of the inscriptions appears closer to the devotional world of values as articulated in the hymns of the Tamil Śaiva saints. While these hymns emphasize the superior efficacy of emotional attachment to Śiva, they also rec-

ognize and value the role of properly directed ritual action. In the festival these two worlds of value join together.

Inscriptional Sources

ARE *Annual Reports on Indian Epigraphy*. 1905–. Delhi: Manager of Publications. Transcripts of the inscriptions abstracted in the ARE were graciously made available to Leslie Orr at the Office of the Chief Epigraphist, Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore.

EI *Epigraphia Indica*. 1892–. Calcutta/ Delhi: Director General, Archaeological Survey of India.

IPS *Inscriptions (Texts) of the Pudukkottai State arranged according to Dynasties*. 1929. Pudukkottai.

KK *Kanniyakumari kalvettukal*. 1972. Ed. N. Kacinatan. Madras: Tamil Nadu State Department of Archaeology.

NK *Nannilam kalvettukal*. 1979-80. 3 volumes. Ed. A. Patmavati. Madras: Tamil Nadu State Department of Archaeology.

PI *Pondicherry Inscriptions. Putuccēri Māṉilak Kalvēṭṭukkaḷ. Part I: Introduction and texts with notes*, compiled by Bahour S. Kuppusamy, ed. G. Vijayavenugopal. Collection Indologie 83.1 Pondicherry: IFP/EFEO.

SII *South Indian Inscriptions*. 1891–1990. volumes 2–26. Delhi: Director-General, Archaeological Survey of India.

SITI *South Indian Temple Inscriptions*. 1953–57. Ed. T. N. Subrahmaniam. Madras: Government Oriental Manuscripts Library.

TAM *Tiruvannamalai: A Saiva Sacred Complex of South India, volumes 1.1 and 1.2: Inscriptions*, introduction, edition, translation by P. R. Srinivasan. Publications de l'Institut Français d'Indologie 75. Pondicherry: IFP, 1990.

TAS *Travancore Archaeological Series*. 1910–1938. Volumes 1–8. Trivandrum.

Note sur les modes de représentation de Sadāśiva dans l'ordonnance iconographique et architecturale du temple

Pierre-Sylvain Filliozat

Gopinath Rao en son temps avait jugé bon de faire un exposé de la philosophie du *śaivasiddhānta* pour introduire la section qu'il consacrait aux images de Sadāśiva dans ses *Elements of Hindu Iconography*[1]. Il avait pressenti que les représentations plastiques qui peuplent les temples hindous peuvent, le cas échéant, représenter des concepts théologiques de la plus haute abstraction. Il avait extrait du *Vātulaśuddhāgama* la matière de son exposé sur cette doctrine. Cette démarche de pionnier peut être poursuivie aujourd'hui où un plus grand nombre de textes, mieux édités, nous sont accessibles, où les travaux d'Hélène Brunner ont apporté beaucoup de clarté, où ce qui à l'époque héroïque des années 50 a été une spécialité rare, est devenu en ce début de siècle un domaine de recherche international promettant de prendre une place de choix dans l'indianisme du XXI[e] siècle. Le but de cet article est d'examiner comment les grands imagiers et architectes des temples de Śiva ont cherché à lier des concepts aussi abstraits que le *bindu*, les *brahma-mantra* ou visages de Sadāśiva, les trente-six *tattva* ou essences composant l'univers, etc., aux monuments et éléments plastiques qu'ils avaient charge de créer. Un premier lien est la représentation plastique directe. Ce n'est pas ce que l'on observe le plus souvent dans les temples de Śiva. Il existe des images de Sadāśiva. Mais elles sont très peu nombreuses. D'ailleurs les textes descriptifs des traits de Sadāśiva, eux-mêmes, visent le plus souvent la représentation mentale et non pas directement visuelle. Cependant le temple est le lieu de la présence de cette entité. Il est probable que les maîtres d'œuvre l'ont conçu comme tel, non pas comme un support neutre sans rapport avec l'essence de l'être destiné à y résider, mais comme un véritable corps de cet être, qui procure à l'officiant l'outil nécessaire du rituel et donne à voir aux fidèles ce qu'est l'essence profonde de l'être suprême qu'ils viennent vénérer.

[1]Gopinatha Rao T. A., *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, 1e édition, Madras, 1914 ; réimpression, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1997. Voir Volume Two Part II, p. 361 sqq.

Comprendre Sadāśiva et comprendre le temple, c'est comprendre le fonds de la doctrine śivaïte. Le concept qui commande toute la théologie śivaïte est celui de Pati, « Seigneur ». Etant donné sa transcendance qui le place au-delà des capacités humaines de conception et d'expression par la parole, il ne supporterait ni définition de son essence, ni analyse de caractères, ni représentation plastique, s'il ne se donnait la faculté de prendre plusieurs états dans lesquels il se rend accessible à ses fidèles, sinon d'emblée, du moins par des hypostases intermédiaires à de multiples niveaux. Le *vidyāpāda* du *Mataṅgapārameśvara* commence sa description de l'univers śivaïte par cette catégorie en lui reconnaissant trois états. Nous le traduisons en suivant la *Mataṅgavṛtti* de Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha[2] :

> *layabhogādhikārāhvas tritattvoktinidarśanāt*
> *padārthaḥ patināmāsau prathamaḥ parikīrtitaḥ 2.14*

« La première catégorie, Pati de nom, est bien connue comme ayant cette appellation par l'état de la résorption, l'état de l'expérience, l'état de l'action, parce qu'elle montre sous forme verbale cette triple essence. »

Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha explicite la distinction intéressante faite ici entre des noms comme Vyomavyāpin et autres issus d'attributs (*upādhi*), qui sont à la fois des qualifications et des noms personnels, et le nom propre qui révèle l'essence profonde de son porteur. En l'occurrence Pati est un nom propre fondé sur un ensemble de trois tattva « essences ». Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha développe donc ce que sont ces trois essences ou « états » (*avasthā*) de l'essence fondamentale.

Le *laya* est l'état dans lequel Pati est ce en quoi tous les objets d'action sont résorbés ; c'est Śiva *niṣkala* « sans *kalā* ». Le *bhoga* est l'état adopté en quittant le précédent, où Pati est simplement disposé à agir vis-à-vis des objets d'action (*kāryaṃ praty udyuktatāmātrā*), état où il y a relation avec la matière pure appelée Bindu ; c'est Śiva *sakalaniṣkala* « avec et sans *kalā* ». L'*adhikāra* est l'état adopté en quittant le précédent, dans lequel Pati a un corps et accomplit les objets d'action (*kāryasaṃpattiśarīratā*) ; c'est Sadāśiva *sakala* ; en lui sont incluses les puissances (*śakti*) et les Vidyeśvara « Seigneurs des Mantra ».

Cette triade d'essences est le sujet principal des troisième et quatrième *paṭala*. L'on a tout d'abord un développement relatif aux deux premiers *tattva*, *laya* et *bhoga*. L'*adhikāra*, beaucoup plus diversifié, est réservé pour le qua-

[2] *Mataṅgapārameśvarāgama (Vidyāpāda) avec le commentaire de Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha*, édition critique pqr N. R. Bhatt, PIFI 56, Pondichéry, IFI, 1977.

trième *paṭala*. Le *laya* par son caractère transcendant est présenté dans une seule strophe :

> *tasmād eva paraṃ tattvam acalaṃ sarvatomukham 20*
> *yasmin prāptasya na punarjanmehāsti kadācana (21a)*

« Donc il y a une essence suprême, non changeante, faisant face à tout. Pour celui qui l'a atteinte, il n'y a jamais plus de renaissance ici-bas. »

Cette srophe évoque la nature de *cit*, « conscience » qui fait que le sujet est capable de connaissance et d'action (*dṛkkriyā*), du principe suprême et sa propriété fondamentale de ne pas être sujet à transformation. La transformation est, en effet, le critère principal distinguant la matière *acit* « inconsciente et inanimée » du sujet fait de *cit*. La qualification *sarvatomukha* fait entendre la présence, la nature de témoin, universelles et perpétuelles du principe suprême. Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha insiste sur l'idée de sa présence sans l'intermédiaire d'un support, corps ou autre. Le principe suprême se distingue ainsi du *yogin* qui se rend omniprésent en habitant divers supports, mais n'est pas éternellement, universellement présent, sans aucun obstacle à sa puissance.

L'hypostase en la deuxième essence du *bhoga* qui est en relation avec des supports (*adhiṣṭheya*) différenciant, conduit à traiter des premières formes de matière.

> *itthaṃguṇavatas tasmāt tattvāt tattvam aninditam 21*
> *sphuradraśmisahasrāḍhyam adhastād vyāpakaṃ mahat*
> *paribhāṣitam ity etannāmnā bindur ihocyate 22*
> *caturdhāvasthitaṃ vedyaṃ prerakaṃ jagato 'vyayam (23a)*

« De cette essence douée de telles propriétés dérive, à un niveau en-dessous, une essence irréprochable, riche de milliers de rayons brillants, présente [en toute transformation], puissante, sujette à dénominations ; on en parle donc ici sous le nom de *bindu*. Elle doit être connue comme établie en quatre parties, incitatrice de l'univers, sans déclin. »

Le *bhogatattva* est en fait défini non pas par des propriétés ou fonctions, mais par ce en quoi il réside (*adhiṣṭheya*). Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha souligne que de nature il ne diffère pas du *layatattva* et que la différence qui le sépare de l'essence d'origine vient de ce qu'il réside dans une matière, à la définition de laquelle sont consacrées les deux strophes. Il ajoute que c'est cette matière qui peut donner prise à la vénération du fidèle, car elle donne une forme au

principe qui l'habite (*adhiṣṭhātṛ*). Sous le nom de *bindu* est donc présentée une matière qualifiée par son irréprochabilité en raison de son caractère toujours bénéfique (*śubhatva*), de nature lumineuse, sujette à transformations en restant présente dans la totalité du produit issu d'elle, potentialité de multiples produits. Le *bindu* se divise en quatre parties, donnant chaque fois une forme différente à son résident : *[bhagavān] prati sthānam adhiṣṭhātṛtayā bhinnākāra evopāsyas tattatpadaprāptikāmair iti* (p. 71, dern. l.) « [le Seigneur] pour chaque résidence, en sa qualité de résident, sous une forme différente est objet de culte par ceux qui désirent atteindre tel ou tel de ces domaines ». Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha en parle ici comme objet d'*upāsana*, plus loin comme objet de *dhyāna* « représentation mentale ». C'est donc une mise en relation du principe divin avec l'acte rituel ou mystique : *tac ca na kevalaṃ bindvātmanaiva yāvacchāntyādibhedena caturdhāvasthitamapi dhyeyaṃ śāntyādipadaprāptikāmaiḥ* (p. 72) « et ce [*tattva*] n'est pas seulement objet de méditation en son corps de *bindu*, pour autant qu'il est établi en quatre parties par sa division en *śānti* etc., par ceux qui désirent atteindre le domaine de *śānti* etc. » Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha conclut sur cette idée d'une matière du *bhogatattva* donnant une forme accessible à l'action du fidèle, à la différence du *layatattva* qui reste inaccessible : *evaṃ bindvātmakādhiṣṭheyabhedataḥ saṃyojanopāsanābhedasiddher layatattvād bhedena bhogākhyaṃ tattvaṃ pratipāditam* (p. 72) « ainsi a été exposée l'essence appelée 'expérience' par différenciation d'avec l'essence de résorption, d'après la différenciation de ce en quoi elle réside, à savoir le *bindu*, par la réalisation [par cela] de différents [actes], imposition et culte] ». Ici est introduite la mention d'un autre rite de grande importance dans le śivaïsme, le *saṃyojana*, plus communément appelé *nyāsa*, imposition d'un principe sur le corps du fidèle, sur un objet du culte, la cordelette de la *dīkṣā* et autre support du rituel.

L'*Āgama* explicite ensuite quelles sont ces quatre parties du *bindu*, dont la première est *śānti*. Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha l'introduit comme la première dans l'ordre de la création. Ces parties se succèdent donc comme transformations de la matière *bindu* dans un ordre consacré. Cela suggère une première hiérarchie, la précédence dans le temps donnant une supériorité en qualité. D'autre part Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha les présente comme constituant des *bhuvana* « mondes ». Elles apparaissent ainsi encore comme une matière, celle des mondes dont on connait par ailleurs le concept, le nombre élevé et la classification sous le chef des cinq entités, les quatre *kalā* englobantes, *śānti* etc. avec leur dépassement *śāntyatīta*.

> *śāntibhedaḥ sthitaḥ pūrvaṃ yatrāsau parameśvaraḥ 23*

śāntamūrtir iti khyāto vṛtaḥ śāntair mahātmabhiḥ
sahasrādityasaṃkāśair visphuradbhiḥ samantataḥ 24
koṭiśatasahasrais tu svavīryaguṇaśālibhiḥ (25a)

« La variété *śānti* est établie en premier, dans laquelle le Seigneur suprême est connu comme Śāntamūrti 'au corps *śānta*', entouré de grandes âmes *śānta*, à l'éclat de mille soleils, rayonnantes de toutes parts, au nombre de dix millions cent mille (?), douées de qualités de puissance qui leur sont propres ».

Le nom *śānti*, que nous ne traduisons pas en raison de son caractère technique, signifie « paix », ce qui est déjà une caractérisation. La définition du texte porte plus sur les entités résidentes que sur la nature de la résidence. Ces entités apparaissent en nombre élevé, le Seigneur suprême et une catégorie d'âmes délivrées, de qualité égale. Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha situe la *śānti* dans le cadre de l'activité rituelle, comme objet de *dhyāna* en la mettant en relation avec un visage de Sadāśiva, Tatpuruṣa isolé : *yatrāsau bhogatattvābhidhānaḥ śāntamūrtitayā kevalatatpuruṣākāratvena tatpadadhyāyinām khyātaḥ* « [la variété *śānti*] dans laquelle ce [Seigneur suprême] dénommé par son essence d'expérience, est connu de ceux qui méditent sur son domaine, comme ayant pour forme Tatpuruṣa isolé par sa propriété d'avoir un corps *śanta* … ». Ceci est important comme établissant un lien entre la conception théologique et le rituel, car l'on sait que Sadāśiva est le destinataire fondamental du culte du Liṅga. C'est lui dont l'*Ajitāgama* prescrit l'évocation mentale et l'invitation sur le trône préparé pour le culte (*Ajitamahātantra* XX.158–165). Sadāśiva est une figure complexe, constituée des cinq principaux *mantra* du rituel. Chaque destinataire de l'hommage formulé dans le *mantra* est l'objet d'une représentation mentale, éventuellement visuelle, d'un visage sur une face du Liṅga. Chaque visage a une caractérisation distinctive. Les variétés du *bindu* ici évoquées sont les matières du corps de chacune de ces entités, prise isolée des autres. La nature de chaque variété définit le caractère de la forme de chaque visage. Le « corps *śānta* » du Seigneur ici défini indique la forme apaisée, sereine, majestueuse de Tatpuruṣa.

La partie, essence ou monde, suivante du *bindu* est appelée *vidyā*.

vidyākhyam aparaṃ tasmāt tejomūrter mahātmanaḥ 25
sthānaṃ tattejasā dīptaṃ kotyagreṇa samantataḥ
vyāptaṃ bhuvanapālānāṃ viśvarūpakṛtātmanām 26

« Après, il y a l'entité appelée *vidyā*, établissement de l'âme suprême au corps de lumière, illuminé par cette lumière de toutes parts, pénétré par plus de dix millions de protecteurs de mondes au corps fait de toute forme. »

Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha précise que c'est cette même essence d'expérience du Seigneur « qui est objet de méditation en tant que résident sous la forme d'Aghora isolé par sa propriété d'avoir un corps de lumière, de la part des *sādhaka* qui désirent atteindre ce domaine » (*tattvaṃ tejomūrtitayā kevalāghorākāreṇādhiṣṭhātṛtayā dhyeyaṃ tatpadaprāptikāmaiḥ sādhakaiḥ*). Les notions de *vidyā* « connaissance » et de *tejas* « lumière » sont ici associées, la première dénommant le type de matière, la seconde le caractère du corps du Seigneur. *Tejas* réfère à la fois à l'éclat de la lumière et l'ardeur de la chaleur. Cela fait une caractérisation de cette entité. Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha en développe la présentation dans la même ligne. S'y rattache le visage d'Aghora qui a en partage cette nature éclatante. Les êtres faits de cette matière sont des « protecteurs des mondes » en nombre élevé, une conception royale sur le plan théologique. La qualification qui leur est donnée, *viśvarūpakṛtātman*, fait ressortir leur égalité de nature avec cet aspect du Seigneur suprême. Si elle apparaît peu précise, Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha comble l'attente en glosant *viśva* « tout » par *vicitra* « varié, étonnant » et *vicitra* par *bhairavākāra* « de forme terrifiante », glissement de sens par lequel il conduit à un caractère frappant de l'aspect Aghora de Sadāśiva. Enfin il met la méditation sur cette figure dans le personnage du *sādhaka* qui est un fidèle visant l'entrée dans un domaine supérieur, distingué de ce fait de l'aspirant à la délivrance des liens du monde.

L'entité suivante est la *pratiṣṭhā*.

> *tato 'dhastāt pratiṣṭhākhyaṃ sthānam atyadbhutodayam*
> *tatrāpy amṛtamūrtes tu parivāro 'mṛtātmakaḥ 27*
> *lakṣāyutasahasrāṇi yatrāmṛtavapuṣmatām*
> *śivānāṃ śivamārge 'smin vyākhyātaṃ paramārthataḥ 28*

« En-dessous de cette entité il y a celle appelée *pratiṣṭhā*, établissement de la plus merveilleuse élévation ; [le Seigneur] au corps d'ambroisie y a un entourage fait d'ambroisie, dans lequel il y a cent onze milliers de Śiva au corps d'ambroisie, est-il expliqué dans cette voie de Śiva au titre de la plus haute réalité ».

Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha reconnaît l'aspect Vāmadeva de Sadāśiva : *kevalavāmadevamūrtyātmakaṃ tatpadam abhidhyeyaṃ tatpadasādhakaiḥ* « ce domaine constitué en le corps de Vāmadeva, est l'objet de méditation par les aspirants à ce domaine ». L'ambroisie caractérise cet aspect. L'entourage (*parivāra*) est celui des *sādhaka* arrivés à leur but et qui ont acquis un corps de cette même matière.

Du point de vue de l'ordre d'apparition dans la création (*sṛṣṭi*) qui a été adopté jusqu'à présent, la dernière entité à apparaître dans la carrière du *bhogatattva* est la *nivṛtti*. L'*Āgama* à son propos adopte le point de vue de la résorption (*saṃhāra*) ce qui lui donne une priorité de résorption du *bhogatattva*, la fait donc succéder à l'action de résorption, terme de la carrière de l'*adhikāratattva* et la met sur le chemin de la marche du Seigneur vers son *layatattva* ultime.

> *vinivṛttādhikārasya pañcamantramahātanoḥ*
> *gacchataḥ paramāṃ kāṣṭhāṃ viśrāmo yatra dhīmataḥ 29*
> *tan nivṛttir iti khyātaṃ sthānaṃ sthānavatāṃ varam*
> *sthiramūrtir amoghātmā yatrāsau parameśvaraḥ 30*

« L'entité dans laquelle il y a latence de l'Être fait de conscience, qui a pour grand corps les cinq *mantra*, qui a déjà cessé toute action et va vers son état suprême, est appelée *nivṛtti* ; c'est l'établissement de choix des âmes qui y ont accédé, dans lequel le Seigneur suprême de nature infaillible a un corps stable ».

L'Être au corps de cinq *mantra* est Sadāśiva, ici nommé pour la première fois. Le terme *nivṛtti* signifie « arrêt ». Il désigne ici un monde (*bhuvana*) dernier des mondes créés. Son nom le caractérise, c'est un lieu de repos (*viśrāma*). Lors de la résorption, à la fin d'un cycle de vie de l'univers, ces mondes apparus dans le *bhogatattva* se résorbent les uns dans les autres dans l'ordre inverse de la création, donc à partir de *nivṛtti*. La cessation d'action est déjà accomplie dans l'état d'action (*adhikāra*) et il y a marche vers l'état de repos (*layatattva*). On voit ici une conception non pas d'un cycle dans lequel l'ordre « création, vie, dissolution » se renouvellerait, mais d'un retour sur soi par inversion de cet ordre. La résorption accomplie dans l'état d'action, conduit à un retour dans l'état d'expérience qui à son tour conduit à l'état de repos. L'aspect *nivṛtti* du *bindu* est ici présenté dans ce mouvement de retour sur soi du Seigneur. Dans ce mouvement il est un premier lieu d'étape. Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha glose *viśrāmaḥ* par *prathamaḥ vilambaḥ* « première latence ». Comme il l'a fait pour les autres variétés du *bindu*, il indique sa relation avec un visage de Sadāśiva : *yatrāsau bhogākhyatattvarūpaḥ parameśvaraḥ sthiramūrtiḥ kevalasadyojātākāro 'dhiṣṭhātṛtayābhidhyeyas tatpadaprāptikāmais tan nivṛttibhuvanam* « le monde *nivṛtti* est ce dans quoi le Seigneur suprême sous la forme de l'essence appelée expérience, étant de corps stable, a pour forme Sadyojāta isolé, est objet de méditation en tant que résident, par ceux qui désirent atteindre ce domaine ».

Dans les strophes suivantes le *Mataṅgapārameśvara* montre le retour successif aux mondes *pratiṣṭhā*, *vidyā* et *śānti*. Il aboutit à un cinquième monde au-delà de cette série :

> *śāntyatītaṃ paraṃ tattvam avināśy avyayātmakam 32*
> *yenonmīlitasadbhāvāḥ paśavaḥ śivatāṃ gatāḥ (33a)*

« L'entité suprême est *śāntyatīta*, indestructible, de nature éternelle ; les âmes liées chez qui la conscience pure est éveillée par elle acquièrent la qualité de Śiva. »

Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha glose *śāntyatīta* par *bindubhuvana* « monde de *bindu* » ; c'est l'aspect pur de la matière du *bindu* éternel, les quatre autres en étant des transformations. Il le marque bien comme le sommet et le terme de l'évolution en retour : *tadanupasaṃhāreṇa kevalaṃ tatkāryabhūtam īśānabhuvanaṃ saha tannivāsibhir upasaṃhṛtya paraṃ tattvaṃ layābhidhānaṃ yāti* « en raison de l'absence de résorption de cette entité, après résorption [des précédents mondes] dans le monde d'Īśāna qui est le produit [du même *śāntyatīta*], isolé, [le Seigneur] va dans l'essence suprême appelée *laya* ».

Ce texte intéresse la recherche du lien entre le concept de Sadāśiva et le concept du temple. Il traite non pas de l'essence spirituelle (*cit*) du dieu, mais d'une matière lui donnant le corps lui permettant de prendre ses états d'expérience et d'action (*bhogāvasthā*, *adhikārāvasthā*). Cette matière est le *bindu* doué de quatre aspects, que le texte qualifie principalement d'essence, réalité fondamentale (*tattva*), dont Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha rappelle l'identité spatiale de monde (*bhuvana*) et de corps (*mūrti*) de Sadāśiva. Les quatre corps sont en fait les corps de quatre des cinq parties de Sadāśiva. Une caractérisation plus détaillée de ces corps est faite dans de nombreux textes, notamment dans d'autres passages du *Mataṅgapārameśvara*, en rapport étroit avec le rituel, donc dans le *kriyāpāda* (par exemple l'imposition (*nyāsa*) dans les points cardinaux des visages de Sadāśiva dans le culte du cercle interne de la divinité (*garbhāvaraṇa*), 14.83b–91). Le texte le plus instructif en cette matière est certes le *Pañcāvaraṇastava* d'Aghoraśivācārya dont on possède dorénavant une édition critique fournissant non seulement un texte sûr, mais aussi une présentation détaillée des sources de l'auteur et de nombreux textes parallèles. Nous renvoyons à cette étude désormais fondamentale[3]. Nous nous contenterons ici de proposer une

[3] *the Pañcāvaraṇastava of Aghoraśivācārya: A twelfth-century South Indian prescription for the visualisation of Sadāśiva and his retinue. An annotated critical edition by:* Dominic GOODALL,

compréhension du temple comme représentant la matière *bindu* et ses quatre aspects, voire les corps correspondants des aspects de Sadāśiva.

Nous prenons comme base de comparaison les traits suivants, apparaissant dans le texte cité ici du *Mataṅgapārameśvara* à partir des noms des cinq mondes du *bindu* et dans le *Viṣṇudharmottara* 3.48, afin de suggérer le caractère unanime de cette classification dans un éventail de textes plus large que ceux de l'école du *śaivasiddhānta* :

nivṛtti	Sadyojāta	terre	blanc	ouest
pratiṣṭhā	Vāmadeva	eau	rouge	nord
vidyā	Aghora	feu	noir	sud
śānti	Tatpuruṣa	air	doré	est
śāntyatīta	Īśāna	vide	translucide	zénith

Nous montrons dans un tableau distinct les caractères que nous font entrevoir le *Mataṅgapārameśvara* d'une part pour les mondes *nivṛtti* etc. et le *Viṣṇudharmottara* pour les visages Sadyojāta etc.

Mataṅgapārameśvara		Viṣṇudharmottara	
nivṛtti	cessation d'action	Sadyojāta	Nandi, félicité
pratiṣṭhā	stabilité	Vāmadeva	Umā
vidyā	lumière, connaissance	Aghora	Bhairava, terrifiant
śānti	apaisement, majesté	Tatpuruṣa	Mahādeva
śāntyatīta	transcendance	Īśāna	Sadāśiva

Nous avons cru pouvoir montrer comment, dans le temple de Kaḍambeśvara à Raṭṭihaḷḷi au Karnāṭaka, objet d'une rénovation quasi-complète en 1238, sous le patronage d'un personnage considérable, Homnabommiseṭṭi, vice-roi de l'empereur Sevuṇa, sous la direction d'un religieux du nom de Mūṟujāvideva appartenant au mouvement Kālāmukha, un maître d'œuvre et sculpteur de génie a conçu et réalisé une série d'images de Śiva dont les traits sont les caractères distinctifs des visages de Sadāśiva, en les répartissant dans les directions qui leur sont assignées[4], figures de majesté à l'est, figures violentes au sud, figures de paix et félicité à l'ouest, figures féminines au nord. Ce cas est un exemple

Nibedita Rout, R. Sathyanarayanan, S. A. S. Sarma, T. Ganesan, S. Sambandhaśivācārya, Collection Indologie 102, Pondicherry : IFP/EFEO, 2005

[4]Pierre-Sylvain Filliozat, « Structures architecturales et iconographiques de temples de Śiva au Karnāṭaka du XI[e] au XIII[e] siècle », dans *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*, Paris, 2001.

ponctuel d'une recherche qui gagnerait à être conduite sur un grand nombre de temples où l'on observe une régularité de disposition des images. On retrouvera, par exemple, une semblable répartition des icônes entre les différentes façades, à Paṭṭadakkal dans les quatre temples aux murs couverts de sculptures, Lokeśvara, Trailokyeśvara, Saṃgameśvara, Pāpanātha. La diversité infinie de l'iconographie rend la tâche longue et difficile. Il y a aussi du côté des textes une certaine diversité des traits des différents visages selon les points cardinaux. L'examen du tableau d'iconographie tiré du *Pañcāvaraṇastava* laisse voir pour chaque point cardinal une caractérisation générale semblable à celle des visages de Sadāśiva. Ce texte nous révèle aussi quelques points particuliers. On y voit deux caractérisations d'Aghora l'une par des traits terrifiants, l'autre par des traits de douceur, comme une réponse à la lettre du nom antiphrastique Aghora « Non-terrible » de l'entité terrifiante par excellence. On peut voir sur certaines sculptures un sourire sur une bouche armée de crocs, par exemple un Bhairava dansant, dans le temple de Kaḍambeśvara à Raṭṭihaḷḷi, tour sud, façade sud, niveau 2 (Figure 1). La littérature évoque de temps à autre le rire éclatant de Śiva, appelé à l'aide d'une onomatopée *aṭṭahāsa*, rire qui laisse voir les dents blanches, d'autant plus frappant sur le visage noir aux cheveux rougeoyants d'Aghora. Ce rire est un concept grandiose du śivaïsme. Il semble être le propre des formes violentes du dieu, celle de l'acteur du *pralaya* par exemple, comme le glorifie cette épithète de *Kālabhairava* tirée d'un hymne populaire dans le mètre *tūṇaka*, *Kālabhairavāṣṭaka*, placé sous le nom de Śaṃkara[5] :

> *aṭṭahāsabhinnapadmajāṇḍakośasaṃtatim …*
> *kāśikāpurādhināthakālabhairavaṃ bhaje 7*

« Je vénère Kālabhairava, Seigneur de la ville de Kāśī, …, qui, avec un éclat de rire, brise la série des coques des œufs de Brahman. »

Bāṇabhaṭṭa nous laisse entendre que le rire est un trait du visage sud de Śiva. Dans sa longue description de Mahāśvetā engagée dans le *pāśupatavrata*, il se concentre sur la couleur blanche dont la personne de son héroïne est empreinte, à l'aide d'une fascinante série d'*utprekṣā*, cette figure où le poète déclare surimposer le produit de son imagination sur la réalité, *utprekṣā* parmi lesquelles[6] :

[5] *Śrīśāṃkaragranthāvaliḥ, saṃpuṭaḥ 11, Stotrāṇi, laghuprakaraṇāni ca*, Vanivilas Press, Shrirangam, s. d.

[6] Bāṇabhaṭṭa & Bhūṣaṇabhaṭṭa, *Kādambarī, avec le commentaire de Bhānucandra et Siddhacandra*, édité par Kashinath Pandurang Parab & révisé par Wasudeva Laxmana Shastri Pansikar, Nag Publishers, Delhi, 1985 (reprint), p. 278.

paśupatidakṣiṇamukhahāsacchavim iva bahir āgatya kṛtāvasthānām … « comme si la couleur du rire du visage sud de Paśupati, venue à l'extérieur, s'était établie en elle, … »

Le commentaire ajoute : *atra dakṣiṇagrahaṇaṃ prāyaśas tatra hāsa eveti tadartham* « il y a principalement le rire sur ce visage ; c'est pour cela que la mention du sud est faite ici ».

Les représentations de l'*aṭṭahāsa*, du rire laissant voir les dents, sont rares dans la sculpture. Nous proposons de le reconnaître dans une belle pièce du temple de Lokeśvara à Paṭṭadakkal, un Mahākāla occupant la niche axiale du mur sud du *vimāna*, face au sud (Figure 2).

Si pour comparer la structure iconographique du temple avec la matière théologique des *Āgama*, l'on se contentait de ces remarques sur la répartition des caractères généraux des entités, selon l'orientation, l'on prendrait le risque de tomber rapidement dans des approximations subjectives, lors de l'estimation de traits particuliers sur une sculpture. Tout au plus on conclura que la culture āgamique et purāṇique des maîtres d'œuvre pouvait influer sur leur choix. Et leur choix a quelquefois été pour une représentation directe des caractères de Sadāśiva. En fait ils devaient être surtout dépendants des besoins et désirs des praticiens du rituel et des fidèles. Plusieurs rites pouvaient établir un lien étroit entre la structure du temple et le système théologique. Nous avons vu ci-dessus Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha lier le concept des *mondes* du *bindu* à la méditation (*dhyāna*) et à l'imposition (*nyāsa*). On retrouve ces deux rites dans un rituel de consécration du temple.

La *Somaśambhupaddhati* achève son exposé de l'installation du Liṅga, par des rites d'installation de la même figure divine sur trois objets « mobiles » : le *cūlaka* à structure de Liṅga, le mât et l'étendard destinés à être placés au sommet du temple. Notons qu'il prescrit de placer les visages de Sadāśiva, en commençant par Sadyojāta, sur l'étendard en même temps que l'imposition du *śivatattva*. Hélène Brunner s'est étonnée de cette insertion de l'entité Sadāśiva dans ce rite pour seulement le cas du *dhvaja*. En fait cette insertion s'inscrit dans une imposition des trois *tattva* englobant, deux, *ātma-* puis *vidyā-*, sur le mât, et *śiva-* sur l'étendard même, ce qui place le cosmos entier sur cet élément sommital du temple et comprend donc le *sadāśivatattva*. Or l'étendard flottant n'est pas un support d'orientation fixe, ne comporte pas comme le monument des façades orientées. La seule imposition du *tattva* sur l'étendard ne situerait pas ces visages. La *paddhati* en prescrit donc un rappel. Ce rappel montre l'importance de l'orientation dans le concept du corps de Sadāśiva.

Après le rite d'installation du *dhvaja*, Somaśambhu décrit une *pratiṣṭhā* du *prāsāda*. Elle se fait par le *nyāsa* de l'ensemble des mêmes trois *tattva* englobant, des Seigneurs des *tattva*, des *mūrti* et de leurs seigneurs (BRUNNER n. 36), *jaṅghāvedītadūrdhveṣu* « sur le mur, la plate-forme du couronnement et au-dessus ». Vient ensuite un *homa* et rites afférents, une adoration de Śiva et *sarvatattvamayaṃ dhyātvā śivaṃ ca vyāpakaṃ nyaset* « [le *guru*] fera une représentation mentale [du temple] comme fait de tous les *tattva* et déposera Śiva l'occupant tout entier ». Ensuite le *guru* doit faire une nouvelle représentation mentale du monument comme fait de tous les composants du cosmos, un par un, sur chacun des principaux éléments architecturaux. Somaśambhu emploie une terminologie architecturale réunissant des termes courants dans le nord et des termes courants dans le sud. *Jaṅghā* désigne le mur au niveau des pilastres. La plate-forme qui supporte le tambour de soutien de l'élément de couronnement appelé *āmalaka* « emblique », sa forme imitant celle de ce fruit, est appelée couramment *vedī* dans les textes du sud, le tambour qui est toujours un étranglement dans le profil est appelé *kaṇṭha*. Nous pensons devoir illustrer ce texte de Somaśambhu par un monument qui lui soit contemporain ou plus ancien, ce qui restreint beaucoup la recherche, les éléments sommitaux ayant généralement disparu dans les monuments ruinés, surtout dans le nord du pays. Un des mieux conservés, bien qu'il ait perdu son *āmalaka* et une partie de sa *śukanāsī*, est le temple dit de Galagnath à Paṭṭadakkal dans un style proche du nord (FIGURE 3). Khajuraho offre des exemples de ce que Somaśambhu aurait pu voir fin XIe siècle et qui peuvent illustrer son exposé, avec cette restriction qu'on y voit mal la plate-forme supportant le tambour. Somaśambhu prescrit donc de se représenter dans les différentes parties de la disposition architecturale, successivement de bas en haut, les entités qui portent le cosmos, Ananta etc. *padāmbuje*, terme que l'on peut interpréter comme un seul élément, la première plinthe du temple, ou comme les deux premières moulures du soubassement, plinthe et lotus dans un *dvandva* singulier. Le *padma* est une moulure en forme de doucine conçue comme une assise du monument à l'instar du *padmāsana* pour le *yogin*. Sur le *pīṭha* ici partie moulurée supérieure du soubassement viennent les mondes souterrains et leurs seigneurs. Sur le corps du mur sont contemplés l'œuf de Brahman, les Cent Rudra etc. Ensuite, vraisemblablement sur la tour, *nāsāvadhi* « jusqu'au niveau de la *nāsā* [inclus] », on doit voir les *tattva* jusqu'à l'*ahaṃkāra* – en adoptant la correction proposée par Hélène BRUNNER, et jusqu'aux trois *guṇa*. On peut reconnaître ici la *śukanāsī*, projection axiale d'une ou plusieurs faces de la tour, le plus sou-

vent d'une seule au-dessus de la porte du sanctuaire, généralement surmontée de l'effigie d'un lion. Le niveau de ce lion est ensuite celui de la méditation sur le *rāgatattva*, la *vedī* est pour les quatre *kañcuka*, le *kaṇṭha* pour la *māyā*, l'*āmalaka* pour la *śuddhavidyā*. L'*āmalaka*, équivalent du *śikhara* des temples dans le style du sud, est en fait le support du motif sommital en forme d'un vase (*kalaśa*), dont le rituel nous fait voir toute l'importance. Sur ce vase le *guru* se représente le *bindu* avec Īśvara accompagné des Vidyeśvara. C'est ce niveau de l'*īśvaratattva* qui donne un corps à Sadāśiva dans son état d'action (*adhikārāvasthā*). L'on a vu Sadāśiva placé sur l'étendard et son mât. Le *guru* contemple ensuite sur le mât le *nāda*, en lequel on peut probablement reconnaître le corps encore plus subtil de la *bhogāvasthā* de Sadāśiva. Enfin il doit contempler la *kuṇḍalīśakti* sur l'étendard. On retrouve avec ce terme le concept de la *mahāmāyā*, en fait autre nom du *bindu* indifférencié et qui est le *śaktitattva*, l'avant-dernier en dessous du *śivatattva* inaccessible, non représentable. Vient ensuite une opération de jonction du temple avec la *jagatī* sur le modèle du rite d'union du *liṅga* à la *piṇḍikā*. Le terme *jagatī* dans les textes du sud désigne la plinthe la plus basse du soubassement. Ce terme peut peut-être s'étendre à l'ensemble du soubassement. Le rite final est une circumambulation du *cūlaka*, de l'étendard et son mât, conduite en grande pompe, puis leur fixation finale au sommet du monument.

Au terme de ce rite, le temple apparaît bien comme une représentation du corps de Śiva, l'être omniprésent dans le cosmos, et dont la pureté se fait une résidence privilégiée dans une matière pure, le *bindu*. La conception théologique que nous avons examinée en détail ci-dessus, est bien présente dans le monument. Toute la religion est présente dans le temple. Il offre plusieurs niveaux de lecture. La mythologie s'y lit dans des panneaux narratifs, sur les quatre faces des piliers, voire dans les grandes figures sculptées. Les entités à qui s'adressent les gestes du rituel ne sont pas pour la plupart visualisées. Le geste d'offrande fait par l'officiant, le *mantra* qu'il prononce sont accompagnés d'une représentation mentale de l'entité. Et cette représentation mentale est localisée matériellement à un endroit du temple. La multiplicité des édicules architecturés en miniature sur toutes les faces du temple, souvent vides de toute icône, s'explique par le fait que le but est d'offrir des points d'appui pour localiser les objets de représentation intérieure et de méditation. La doctrine se découvre par le rituel d'imposition, mais aussi par l'examen de l'ordonnance des éléments architecturaux et iconographiques, reflet en quelque mesure de l'ordonnance des concepts.

Figure 1. Bhairava dansant, temple de Kaḍambeśvara à Raṭṭihaḷḷi, tour sud, façade sud, niveau 2.

Figure 2. Temple de Lokeśvara à Paṭṭadakkal, Mahākāla, niche axiale du mur sud du vimāna, façade sud.

Figure 3. Temple dit de Galagnath à Paṭṭadakkal, vue depuis l'angle sud-est.

Analyses of the Vijayāgama and Svāyambhuvāgama

T. Ganesan

This is a continuation of my previous paper published in *Āgamasuṣamā*,[1] which focussed on the contents of five unpublished *Āgama*s (*Yogaja, Cintya, Sūkṣma*, *Sahasra* and *Aṃśumān*) belonging to the *śivabheda*.[2]

Here I would like to give a slightly detailed summary (which is not exhaustive) of two Śaivāgama texts belonging to the *rudrabheda* group.[3] My analysis is mainly based on the available transcripts belonging to the collections of the French Institute, Pondichery.

The Vijayāgama

To take up first the *Vijayāgama* (IFP T. 625, 320 and 124):

Almost all the available transcripts deal elaborately with the festival of *Durgā* (*Durgotsava*); from the description of the ritual sequences it is clear that the text speaks of a full-fledged temple with deities in the enclosures (*parivāradevatā*) and a flag-post (*dhvajastambha*). Further all the rituals beginning from the flag-hoisting (*dhvajārohaṇa*) are mostly modelled on those which are prescribed for Śiva.[4] At the outset (opening chapter of T. 625), the *Vijayāgama* divides *utsava* into three types: that which is celebrated for 9 days as the best (*uttama*); the one for 7 days is the medium (*madhyama*) and the lowest type (*adhama*) is celebrated for 5 days.[5] Also there are other benefits listed in the *Vijayāgama*

[1] Ganesan (2005).

[2] The fundamental *Āgama*s (*mūlāgama*) of the Śaivasiddhānta system, traditionally held to be 28 in number are broadly divided into two groups: the *śivabheda*, comprising 10 *Āgama*s, and the *rudrabheda*, comprising 18 of them.

[3] Analysis of the contents of other *Āgama*s that belong to this group, such as the *Vīrāgama*, will be the subject-matter of a future article.

[4] To cite a few examples of published ones: the grand festival (*mahotsava*) of Śiva is treated in a very detailed fashion in the 6th chapter of the *Kāmikāgama* (*uttara*) and in the 18th chapter of the *Rauravāgama*, vol. I.

[5] The *Vijayottarāgama*, one of the *upāgama*s of the *Vijayāgama*, classifies *utsava* into various kinds such as *śaiva*, *gauṇa*, *vibhūti*, *bhauvana*, *daivika*, *paitṛka*, *vijaya*, etc.

for different beings by the *utsava*.[6] As a general rule, the text prescribes the day with the star of the month as the last day of the festival (*tīrtha*); but other auspicious and important days of the month such as the birthday of the king, newmoon (*amāvāsyā*), *ṣaṣṭhī*, etc. can also fixed as the last day of the festival (*tīrtha*). As the *Vijayāgama* mentions collecting the right wood[7] for the flag-post (*dhvajastambha*), it may mean that it is newly prepared every year for the festival. The festival commences with the cleaning and decorating of the entire village. Corresponding to the 8 *mūrtipa*s who represent the eight forms of Śiva[8] and who help the main priest (*ācārya*) in the performance of fire-ritual that form part of the *utsava* rites, we have in the *Vijayāgama* 8 female *mūrtipa*s. They are:

dhārikā dīptimaty ugrā jyotsnā śvetā balotkaṭā |
dhātrī bailvīti vijñeyā mūrtipāś ca yathākramam ||

An important feature of the text of the *Vijayāgama* is that for every major rite, such as *dhvajārohaṇa*, fire-ritual (*agnikārya*), it gives a list of minor ritual sequences that constitute the major one.

Just as the figure of the bull (*vṛṣabha*) is drawn on the flag to be hoisted in the Śiva temple the figure of lion (*siṃha*) the vehicle of Durgā, is to be drawn on the flag; the text gives the details of the colours, the proportion of the limbs of the lion, etc. Then the *nyāsa* on the figure; here one comes across prescription of many Vedic *mantra*s to be recited for each one of them:

brahmajajñānamantreṇa tataḥ pādeṣu vinyaset |
idaṃ viṣṇviti mantreṇa siṃhasyodaramadhyataḥ |
triyambaketi mantreṇa . . . pṛṣṭhadeśataḥ | etc.

Then follows the *nyāsa* of the *tattva*s to be done on the body of the lion and the *dhyāna* of *siṃha*.[9] Interestingly the text also has *siṃhavidyeśvara*s numbering eight as in the case of Śiva. In the rite of beating the drums (*bherītāḍana*, T. 625, chapter 32), among other things the *ācārya* should mentally remember and recite the *praṇavamantra* and the *astramantra* while beating it for the first time. The person who beats the drum is supposed to have a good knowledge of music

[6] *navāhaṃ daivikaṃ jñeyaṃ devatāprītikārakam* | *saptāham utsavaṃ jñeyaṃ bhauvanaṃ jantupālanam* | *pañcāham utsavaṃ jñeyaṃ bhautikaṃ bhūtarakṣakam.*

[7] *candanaṃ khadiraṃ caiva karmakaṃ* [*kramukaṃ* em.] *vaiṇavaṃ tathā* | *madhūkaṃ devadāruṃ ca sālaṃ ca bakulaṃ tathā* ||

[8] *kṣmāgniyajamānārkavārīraṇaniśākarāḥ* | *vyomāntā mūrtayaś cāṣṭau…* |

[9] *pañcāsyaṃ ca mṛgādhīśaṃ daṃṣṭriṇaṃ gajamardanam* | *piṅgalākṣaṃ vajranakhaṃ tejiṣṭhaṃ ca mahābalam.*

as he is advised to begin the beating with the *gāndhārīsvara*. In this connection the *Vijayāgama* also gives a list of different types of musical instruments, such as *paṭahadhvaja*, *maddala*, *śaṅkha*, *tālavādya*, *ūrdhvakādhvani*, *tvaksāravādya*, *vīṇā*, *śṛṅgavādya*, etc. to be played during the festival. A detailed description of drawing the *maṇḍala* in the *yāgamaṇḍapa* is given in the chapter that follows the *aṃkurārpaṇa*. The chapter on the fire-ritual (*agnikārya*, chapter 35) is very elaborate and comprises 30 minor rites. The purification of the fire-pit (*kuṇḍa*) is also an elaborate one containing eighteen purificatory rites (*saṃskāra*). At many points, recitation of Vedic *mantra*s is prescribed. The offering of *bali* to various subsidiary deities (*balidāna*, chapter 36) consists, among other things, in making a *liṅga* of cooked rice (*annaliṅga*), worshipping it along with the *astrarāja* in the same manner as done in daily festival (*nityotsava*). The *bali* is to be offered to ten groups each consisting of eight goddesses for each direction; the text gives the names of each of them; then *bali* is to be offered to nine goddesses for each one of whom each day is allotted; eight *dhvajadevatā*s receive *bali* on all the nine days for three times a day.[10] Incidentally, we get a brief

[10]Here it may be interesting to note the definition given by the *Vijayottarāgama* (T. 63, pp. 38–74) for the word *utsava*:

> *ajñānamalasaṃlagnān jantūn uddhṛtya bandhanāt*
> *prasūtiṃ kurute teṣāṃ jñānasyety utsavo mataḥ*

'That is called *utsava* as it lifts up the selves submerged in the ocean of *mala*, which is ignorance, and produces [in them] the awakening of [true] knowledge.'

Another interesting fact concerning the history of Śaiva religious practices is given in this *āgama*: when the chariot comes round the town on the day of the car-festival, persons belonging to different religious systems, such as the *vaidika*, *vedānta* (*adhyātmavādī*), and to various Śaiva schools, such as the *bhairava*, *vāma*, *gāruḍa*, and even those belonging to the *kulamārga* follow the chariot singing the praise of Śiva according to their doctrinal systems (*svasvasiddhāntamārgeṇa*). The text, unfortunately corrupt, reads thus:

> *kvacit so 'ntimake śaive kvacid bhairavatāntrikaiḥ*
> *vāmasthaiḥ kulamārgasthaiḥ vitatantrārthavedibhiḥ*
> *gārusaiḥ … adhyātmavādibhiḥ*
> *vaidikair laukikair anyaiḥ paralokātmavādibhiḥ*
> *svasvasiddhāntamārgeṇa stavānaiś cānusevitam.*

That such a practice actually existed is mentioned by no less a person than Appar (Tirunāvukkaracar), the great seventh-century Śaiva devotee, in one of his decades sung at one of the greatest Śaiva holy places, Tiruvārūr:

> *arumaṇittaṭam pūṇ mulai arampaiyaroṭu aruḷippāṭiyar*

discourse on the pronunciation of different *mantra*s for different deities.

For the procession of the deity (chapter 37) a vehicle is prescribed for each day of the festival. They are: *śibikā*, *śikhī*, *ḍolāyāna*, *puṣpamaṇḍapa*, *vṛṣayāna*, *gajayāna*, *siṃhayāna*, *rathayāna*, *aśvayāna*. In the procession the decorated image of Durgā is accompanied by that of Śiva. After the procession the ritual called *pariveṣa*, which consists in offering large quantities of food, flowers and incense, etc., is performed. Procession of the deity kept in the chariot (*rathotsava*) is treated in a detailed way in the *Vijayāgama* (chapter 38). Detailed instructions for constructing the chariot and decorating it are given; then follows the worship of various deities that are said to be present in different parts of the chariot. Here also the Durga image is accompanied by that of Śiva during procession. For the rite of *tīrtha* on the last day of the festival the image of *cakra* is to be taken to the holy water – either a pond, river or sea – as the representative of Durgā. A special *abhiṣeka* with 108 pitchers (*aṣṭottarakalaśasnapana*) is to be performed for the Goddess the next day (chapter 40).

One text of the *Vijayāgama* (T. 124, pp. 1–14) interestingly deals with the festival of the god Gaṇeśa – *vighneśotsava*. As in the previous text, here also we find the ritual scheme mostly based on that for Śiva: the special worship of mouse (*ākhuyāga*), the vehicle of Vighneśvara, who is surrounded by 8 *vidyeśvara*s, drawing the figure of mouse on the flag and hoisting it, the rite of beating the drum (*bherītāḍana*), etc. The text also specifies different vehicles[11] for the procession of the deity during each day of the festival.

Another chapter in T. 124 (pp. 71–7) deals briefly with the special festival with a large quantity of offerings on the day of the star *ārdrā*. This star is said to be very auspicious and it the star of Śiva. But in this chapter of the *Vijayāgama* we find a special festival for the Goddess is prescribed on this day, consisting, among other things, of placing the decorated image of the Goddess along with that of Śiva on the swing (*ḍolā*) accompanied by music and dance.[12]

The daily obligatory rites for an initiated Śaiva are treated in another chapter

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urimaiyil toḻuvār uruttira palkaṇattār
viricaṭai viratikaḷ antaṇar caivar pācupatar kapālikaḷ
teruviṉil poliyum tiruvārūr ammāṉē. (*Tēvāram* 6:20.3.)

See Ganesan 2006 for a detailed survey of the treatment of festivals in many of the unpublished *śaivāgama*s.

[11] Eg. the *citramañca*, which seems to be rare, is the vehicle for procession on the last day.

[12] The text mentions different types and shapes of swing: *rathaḍolā*, *cakraḍolā*, *vājīḍolā*, *stambhaḍolā*, *mahāḍolā*, *yugmaḍolā*, etc.

of the *Vijayāgama* (T. 320, chapter 1). This begins with the act of defecation, cleaning, ritual bath, etc., and ends with the worship of the Sun, who is the visual representative of Goddess Durgā,[13] where the worshipper meditates upon his oneness with the Goddess[14] (*śaucasnānādisaurapūjāvidhi*). This seems to be a special feature of this *Āgama*.[15] Furthermore, the *Vijayāgama* also prescribes the worship of Durgā on the Liṅga (T. 320, chapter 2); in the worship many vedic *mantra*s such as the *pāvamānī* and the *durgāsūkta*, along with the *mūlamantra* of Durgā, are to be recited. Then follows (T. 320, chapter 3) the ritual of offering *bali* to various gods and goddesses such as Caṇḍikā and Dikpālakas who are invoked in diferent parts of the temple precincts; for this rite a separate image of the Goddess (*balimūrti*) is taken around on which is invoked the power and presence of Durgā from the *mūlaliṅga*. The text prescribes separate *mudrā*s to be shown to each deity during bali-offering.

The Svāyambhuvāgama

Coming next to the *Svāyambhuvāgama*, we see that it has a large section on rituals.[16] We find a detailed description of the rites of installation in the temple of the image of one of the arms (*astra*) of Śiva, the *aghorāstra* (T. 142, pp. 1–5). The chapter called *vighneśotsavavidhi* (T. 142, chapter 5–18) deals elaborately with the rites of the festival of Vighneśvara: the hoisting of the flag preceded by the rites of its worship, ritual beating of the drum to announce the festival (*bherītāḍana*), etc. The text also provides a list of various vehicles (*vāhana*) for each day of the festival. The *tantrāvatārapaṭala* (T. 39, chapter 1), as in many other *Āgama*s, briefly outlines the origin of the 28 *Āgama*s of the Śaivasiddhānta system:[17] the *mūlabheda*s as well as the *upabheda*s, which are said to be many.[18]

[13] *ācamya sakalīkṛtya devīm ādityamaṇḍale | dhyātvā tadaikyacittas tu raktapuṣpākṣatādibhiḥ | …bhāvayed bhāskarābhinnāṃ devīm āvaraṇānvitām | …anyonyakāntisaṃsargāt tayor aikyaṃ dhiyā smaran*. Even the deities that encircle the Sun are goddesses (*śakti*) here.

[14] *svayaṃ devyātmakaṃ dhyāyan bāhyapūjāmārabhet*.

[15] In almost all other *Āgama*s the Sun (Sūrya) is taken to be the visual representative of Śiva and its worship precedes that of all else in the obligatory section.

[16] Many of the transcripts of the *Svāyambhuvāgama* are highly corrupt. I refer here to IFP T. 39, 40 and 142. Four chapters of the section on doctrines – *vidyāpāda* – have been commented upon by Sadyojyoti, and this section of text, together with the commentary, has been published by P.-S. Filliozat (1994).

[17] *ekam eva śivajñānaṃ vibhinnaṃ daśadhā punaḥ |*

[18] The list of the *Āgama*s provided here (and reproduced in Goodall 1998:412–13) varies from that found in the introduction to volume 1 of the *Rauravāgama*.

The chapter that follows, called *mantroddhāra*, describes the ritual extraction of various *mantra*s such as the *aṅgamantra* and the *brahmamantra*. Different types of bath – *māhendra*, *vāyavya*, *māntra*, *bhasma* – are also briefly explained in the chapter on *snāna* rites. In the rite of worship of Śiva (*nityapūjā*) Śiva is to be meditated upon as accompanied by Manonmanī, His Śakti and all-pervasive at the centre of the heart-lotus; in this rite the *vyomavyāpimantra* is to be recited[19] and while offering various ingredients – water, sandal paste, cloth, jewels, food – the five *brahmamantra*s are to be recited. At the end of the worship the worshipper has to offer all the fruits of worship as well as that of the recitation of the *mantra*s at the lotus feet of Śiva with a humble prayer seeking His forgiveness for any lapse in these rituals.[20] Also one concludes by contemplating on the fact that it is Śiva who does everything and activates all by being their inner-controller, as well as on the oneness of Śiva and the self.[21]

The ritual of *snapana* – giving a ritual bath to the main deity, Śiva, with many pitchers – is treated in chapter 10.[22] The occasions for performing this rite are the coronation of the king, the beginning of a battle, the birthday of the king or the donor who spends money for this rite, etc., where the performance of this rite ensures victory and prosperity. Moreover, according to the *Svāyambhuvāgama*, performing *snapana* also brings forth final liberation.[23] The pitchers are to be placed on the surface of the ground, on which paddy, rice and other grains are spread (*sthaṇḍila*); each of the syllables (*mātṛkākṣara*) are written on each square on the *sthaṇḍila* and worshipped. Various ingredients, such as milk, curd, honey, fruits, precious jewels, perfumes and sand, taken from eight different holy places and flowers are placed on each square with due worship. At the end the *Śivaliṅga* is given a bath with each of the pitchers. In chapter12, which treats the lighting of many lamps on the day of the star *Kṛttikā* (*kṛttikādīpa*), the text prescribes that one may worship Śiva either in the form accompanied by Umā or Tripurāntaka or as the twilight dancer (*sandhyānṛtta*) or as Gaṅgādhara or Dakṣiṇāmūrti.[24] An interesting chapter (14) called *ṣaṭsamayabheda* briefly

[19] *daleṣu śaktayaḥ sthāpya sarvavyāpipadena ca | sthāpayed vyomarūpeṇa karṇikāyāṃ manonmanīm | tatra sarvagataṃ devaṃ śivaṃ praṇavasaṃsthitam | . . . śivam āvāhayet tataḥ |*

[20] *yat kiñcit karma he deva sadā sukṛtaduṣkṛtam | tan me śivapadasthasya bhuṅkṣva kṣapaya śaṃkara |*

[21] *śivo dātā śivo bhoktā śivaḥ sarvam idaṃ jagat | śivo yajati sarvatra yaḥ śivaḥ so'ham eva tu |*

[22] *Rauravāgama*, vol. I treats this ritual of *snapana* with 9, 25, 49, 108 and 1009 *kalaśa*s.

[23] *athānte mokṣasiddhyartham vakṣyate snapanaṃ mahat |*

[24] *caturbhujaṃ samabhyarcya umayā sahitaṃ tu vā | tripurāntakarūpaṃ vā sandhyānṛttākṛtiṃ tu vā | gaṅgādharākṛtiṃ caiva dakṣiṇāmūrtim eva vā |*

explains important concepts, the number of means of knowledge (*pramāṇa*), the number of *Āgama*s and the conducts (*ācāra*) held by six schools of philosophy: Bauddha, Ārhata, Kāpālika, Pāñcarātra, Śaiva and Pāśupata.

There is a brief discussion on the essential qualities of a spiritual preceptor (*ācārya*) in chapter 39, named *ācāryalakṣaṇa*.[25] Among other things, an ideal *ācārya* by his spiritual practices and aquiring of special powers – *siddhi*s – should be able to ward off fear from the minds of gods, humans and demons. Chapters 20, 22 and 23, devoted to description of the rite of initiation, deal elaborately with the *dīkṣādhivāsa* and with different types of *dīkṣā*, such as *ṣaḍadhvadīkṣā*. Also we get a description of drawing *maṇḍala*s, such as the *anantavijaya*, in this chapter. Another chapter (31), called *antyeṣṭividhi*, gives an idea of a procedure of leaving one's body through severe yogic practices and meditation; as the text is very corrupt, one is not clear as to the exact meaning of some passages. For example, at the beginning there is a verse advising against suicide under any circumstance in a general way,[26] but the subsequent passages seem to talk about self-mortification and the procedure of leaving the physical body by one who has developed intense non attachment towards worldly pleasures or by one who has had his fill of worldly pleasure. He should control all his sense-organs and be fully aware that his body completely belongs to Śiva. He is advised to maintain the *īśānadhāraṇā* (which seems to be a type of meditation and about which there is no further information, at least, in this text) and leave his vital airs through the centre of his head (*kapāla*). In all these crucial acts he should be fully aware of his identity with Śiva.[27] Then the chapter deals briefly with the ritual of *antyeṣṭi* for the departed self. Here also we find that the ritual is brief and the period of ritual impurity (*āśauca*) varies from the regular one.

In chapter 34, which deals with the doctrinal aspects of the Śaivasiddhānta, there is a brief description of the *jīvanmukta* and the liberated self. One may notice here that in the *Svāyambhuvāgama*, as in some other *Āgama*s, the chapters dealing with doctrines – *vidyāpāda* – is found in the midst of those treating the rituals.[28]

[25] *śraddadhānaḥ śucir dakṣaḥ tridīkṣādīkṣitaḥ sudhīḥ | devāsuramanusyāṇāṃ bhayābhayanirodhakaḥ |*

[26] *athātmano vadhaṃ mantrī na kuryāt phalavāñchayā | na ca duḥkhasamutpattau kāmato deham utsrjet |*

[27] This passage, among others relating to yogic suicide, are discussed by Vasudeva (2004:437–45).

[28] The unpublished *Cintyāgama* also contains a chapter dealing with the *tattva*s and another with the *nāḍī*s and various meditation techniques; for a detailed summary of this and four other

A comparatively large chapter (36) referred to as the *yogapāda* deals elaborately with some of the important yogic practices of the *śaiva* system such as various *dhāraṇās*[29] and other meditation techniques. In order to obtain various *siddhi*s one is advised to meditate on Śiva in different ways. The basic form in which Śiva appears to the meditator is as follows:

bindunādātmakatvena nirupākhyo'vyayaḥ śivaḥ |
ābhāti yogayuktānāṃ śaktyambukṣālitātmanām |

The *padārthapaṭala* (chapter 37) expounds the special logic of the *Svāyambhuvāgama*.[30] As the text is very corrupt, it is very difficult to identify correctly the seven basic categories that are special to this *Āgama*. A tentative list of them may be as follows: *bandha*, *avidyā*, *vidhi*, *jīva*, *avyaya*, *kāraṇa* and *śāśvata*.[31]

The 42nd chapter, called *mantrasādhanavidhi*, gives important directions for proper recitation of *mantra*s for attaining desired results. Again, another chapter called *yogapāda* (chapter 45), which is again quite long, discusses the

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unpublished *āgama*s – the *Yogaja*, *Sūkṣma* and *Aṃśumān*, see Ganesan 2004. As correctly remarked and well argued by Dominic Goodall (1998:xlix–li, fn. 111), the *Svāyambhuvasūtrasaṅgraha*, which is found mixed along with other chapters of the so-called *Svāyambhuvāgama*, thus forming a hybrid text, in transcripts T. 39 and 40, may be a redaction of a different, earlier and larger text of the *Svāyambhuva*. For the *Svāyambhuvasūtrasaṅgraha* (as printed in the Mysore edition) contains chapters pertaining to the *kriyāpāda* (*mudrā*, *dīkṣā*, *abhiṣeka*, etc.) and to the *yogapāda* (*dhāraṇā*, *samādhi*, etc.) and not just the four chapters pertaining to the *vidyāpāda* for which we have the commentary of Sadyojyoti. Whether one accepts this position or not, it has the merit of explaining why a number of the later chapters examined below contain material that occurs at the beginning of the text commented upon by Sadyojyoti. While T. 39 has 58 chapters and T. 40 has 47, the Mysore edition of the *Svāyambhuvasūtrasaṅgraha* contains 23 chapters. In fact, one is disappointed by the absence of a detailed review of the relationship between these different versions of the *Svāyambhuva* and the four chapters variously transmitted within them on which Sadyojyoti has commented in the introduction to the edition of that commentary (Filliozat 1994). As an aside, existence of these redactions (*saṃgraha*) such as the *Svāyambhuvasūtrasaṅgraha* and *Rauravasūtrasaṅgraha* strengthens the traditional view that there have been such redactions and abridgements of many of the *āgama* texts in the course of many centuries, deriving from orginals traditionally held to be very voluminous, containing thousands of verses.

[29] The text speaks about *āgneya-*, *vāruṇa-*, *saumyādhāraṇā*, etc., which confer on the practioner various attainments (*siddhi*).

[30] *tarkaṃ svāyambhuvaṃ vakṣye…*

[31] There is a popular verse cited by the great 16th-century Śaivasiddhānta philosopher of the south, Śivāgrayogin in his *Śaivaparibhāṣā*, 2nd chapter: *sapta svāyambhuve proktāḥ ṣaṭ pauṣkaramataṅgayoḥ | śrīmatparākhye pañcoktāḥ padārthā raurave trayaḥ |* Names of some of the *padārtha*s, such as *vidhi* and *kāraṇa*, resemble those of the Pañcārtha – five categories – of the Nakulīśa Pāśupata system, which is also known as Pāñcārthikanaya.

nature of Śiva, *mantra*, *vidyeśvara*, *kāraṇeśvara*, etc. It has a few verses that interestingly characterise the transmigratory as well as the world beyond.[32] A detailed procedure of mental worship of Śiva with all the paraphernalia is found in chapter 46, called *mānasayoga*.

A few chapters (49, 50 and 53) deal with the rituals concerning the temple: laying the foundation stone (*prathameṣṭakāvidhi*), different types of temple (*prāsādalakṣaṇa*), installation of the *śivaliṅga*, various types of *śivaliṅga* (*liṅgalakṣaṇa*) such as those made of precious stones, wood and metals and the fruits accrued by their worship etc. The text also gives procedures for the installation of the image of Durgā (chapter 53). Chapter 54, called *ayutasnapanavidhi*, deals with the rite of giving bath to the Śivaliṅga with 10,000 pitchers. Chapter 57, dealing with the procedure of the annual grand festival in the temple (*mahotsava*), is very elaborate and has more than 400 verses. A chapter by name *mahāvratavidhi* (T. 40, pp. 22–9) explains the rite in which twenty-one pitchers and various arms (*āyudha*s) are installed in a special pavilion (*maṇḍapa* or *prapā*), twenty-one brahmins[33] are invited and worshipped along with young maidens and dancing girls (*rudragaṇikā*); an elaborate fire-ritual follows and the pitchers are worshipped with recitation of different Vedic *mantra*s, about which the text is very specific. Each of the *āyudha*s is given a bath (*abhiṣeka*) and then worshipped with flowers and special *mantra*s.[34] At the end the brahmins and *rudragaṇikā*s are presented with new clothes, umbrella, etc.

Jayapūjā (T. 40, pp. 41–3) is a special worship that is performed for welfare and victory in battle of the king; *mṛtyuñjayavidhi* (pp. 29–33) is another one to ward off death at a young age. The *Svāyambhuvāgama* has a long chapter (pp. 82–105) on the daily worship of Śiva (*nityapūjā*).

Special worship in each of the 12 months (*māsapūjā*) beginning from the month of *mārgaśīrṣa* is treated in 12 chapters (pp. 131–61). In each of them the text specifies the musical tune (*rāga*), the *tāla* and the type of dance (*nṛtta*), etc. Offering of woollen cloth soaked in ghee (*ghṛtakambala*) is the special worship

[32] *dve koṭī jagatas tasya parā caivāparā matā | aparā vyavasāyena bhoktṛbhogyopapāditā | parā 'parārthasadbhāvād asadbhāvaprakāśikā | madhyā vedanarūpātmā tanmātraguṇavartinī |*

[33] These 21 brahmins repersent 21 forms with separate names of Śiva. They are: *śivaḥ paśupatiś caiva śambhur īśakapardinau | maheśaḥ śūlapāṇiś ca kirīṭo vikramas tathā | pinākī dhūrjaṭiś caiva triṇetro nīlalohitaḥ | śaṃkaraś caiva bhūteśo vṛṣavāhanavikramaḥ | kālahārī pramardaś ca vainateyaḥ khageśvaraḥ |*

[34] We have one such specific *bījamantra* in this text, which is ŚRĪṂ HRĪṂ KLĪṂ.

in the month of *māgha*; in the month of *phālguna* is offered a large quantity of curd kept in a special clay-pot; in the month of *vaiśākha* a large quantity of perfumes such as scented water and bakula flowers are offered, which is called *gandhapūjā*. *Annapūjā* in the month of *tulā* consists in decorating the *Liṅga* with a large quantity of cooked rice with vegetables. The treatment and the details of *māsapūjā* vary in different *Āgama* texts.[35] That worshipping Śiva in each month with special ingredient(s) is an ancient tradition is attested by references to it in the ancient Tamil devotional classic *Tēvāram*.[36]

A relatively long chapter (pp. 161–9), *prāyaścittavidhi*, deals with many rites of expiation; for each of the omissions committed in the conduct of daily worship or the annual festival and for other forms of transgressions of rules (for example, entry of untouchables or of persons of low caste inside the temple or in the kitchen) one finds an expiatory rite. Most of them are in the form of fire-rituals or recitation, for the most part, of one of the five *brahmamantra*s for

[35]The *Uttarakāraṇāgama* and the *Pūrvakāraṇāgama* describe the monthly festivals with slight differences. In the former, worship of honey in the month of *puṣya*, that of curd in the month of *phālguna*, offering of various perfumes in the month of *caitra*, offering of sandal paste in *vaiśākha* are prescribed, while the latter prescribes offering of sandal paste in the month of *puṣya*, offering of flowers in *phālguna*, celebrating the float festival in the month of *caitra*, celebrating the *pavitrotsava* and offering of cooked rice from newly harvested paddy in the month of *āṣāḍha*, offering of sesame in the month of *śrāvaṇa* and the offering of ghee in the month of *āśvayuja*.

[36]Tiruñāṉacampantar in his decade (*patikam*) on the Mayilai (modern Mylapore, a part of Chennai city) Śiva temple called in his time Kapālīccaram, mentions the monthly festivals celebrated there: 1. He begins with the special worship and festival (*utsava*) on the *tiruvōṇam* star in the Tamil month of *aippaci*. 2. Then the very popular *kārttikai utsava* with the lighting of the lamps in the temple as well as in the houses (*kārttikai tīpam*), which is nothing but the *kṛttikādīpārohaṇa* described in many *Āgama* texts. 3. The *tiruvātirai utsava* in the Tamil month of *mārkaḻi* is mentioned, which is the same as the *ārdrotsava* specially pleasing to Nṛttamūrti, that is, Naṭarāja. 4. *Taippūcam* as it is even now celebrated in the Tamil month of *tai* is the *puṣyotsava*, when some of the temples celebrate the annual festival (*mahotsava*). 5. Bathing in the sea in the month of *māci* on the day of the full moon by taking the decorated image of Śiva to the sea is mentioned. 6. In the month of *paṅkuṉi* on the full moon day and asterism *uttara* there is celebration in the temple. 7. Tiruñāṉacampantar then mentions the *aṭṭami utsava* in the month of *cittirai*. 8. Keeping the decorated image of Śiva along with the Goddess on the swing (*ḍolā*) accompanied by music and dance in the month of *vaikāci*, which is the spring festival (*vasantotsava*) is referred to as *poṉtāppu*, gold swing, in the *Tēvāram* and in the *Āgama*s. 9. Saint Appar refers to the great festival of *ārdrotsava* celebrated with pomp in the holy city of Tiruvārūr. 10. Finally there is the great worship for pacifying the gods (*perum cānti*) which is of the form of *snapana* – giving bath to the deity – with many pitchers (*kalaśa*), numbering 25 or 1000, which are described in the *Āgama*s.

1000 or 10,000 times.[37] *Aruṇapūjāvidhi* (pp. 33–7) is the chapter that deals with the special worship of Śiva approximately one hour before sunrise in the temple; along with various offerings, there is a small hymn to be recited before the God which form part of this worship. There is a chapter (pp. 192–8) exclusively dealing with the special festivals for the Goddess[38] and another, *vaivāhyavidhi* (pp. 199–205), treating the celebration of the marriage festival of Śiva and the Goddess in the temple. The *mudrālakṣaṇavidhi* (pp. 212–14) deals with the forms and methods of showing various *mudrā*s in daily worship.

To conclude, this brief survey of the contents of two unpublished *Āgama* texts of the Śaivasiddhānta tradition gives an insight into the rich variety of rituals, mostly in the context of the temple. It also strengthens the view that, although one finds a general form of the ritual that is common to the *Śaivāgama*, they are not monotonously and uninterestingly uniform. Comparing these theoretical presentations of the rituals as ordained in the canonical texts with contemporary practice one finds substantial changes ranging from modification of the rituals to addition of new ones. Another fact to be noted about the rituals treated in these *Āgama*s is that, though belonging to the Śaivasiddhānta system, we have seen that the *Vijayāgama*, as it is available to us,[39] deals exclusively with the rituals and festivals connected with the Goddess Durgā and Ganeśa, and one does not find any rite, major or minor, concerning Śiva. As another example we have the *Kumāratantra*, which is exclusively devoted to the rites – daily worship, installation and festivals – of Kumāra and nothing else. This text is traditionally held to be the *upāgama* of the *Kāraṇāgama* or of the *Lalitāgama*.

[37] Other *Āgama* texts also have chapters devoted to expiatory rites. In almost all of them one finds expiations for the wrongs or for transgression of rules related to the temple. A medieval (circa 12th-century) compilation by one Trilocanaśiva called the *Prāyaścittasamuccaya* (the text is unpublished but is currently being edited by R. SATHYANARAYANAN (EFEO)) deals exclusively with the expiatory rites that an initiated individual has to perform at his personal level for various sins, pollutions and other transgressions of rules of conduct.

[38] In the *Sūkṣmāgama* also there is a separate chapter, the *śaktyutsavavidhi* (T. 38A, pp. 189–207), dealing with the festivals for the Goddess; there is a difference here (as in the *Vijayāgama*, which we have seen above) in that in the flag to be hoisted the image of the lion, the vehicle of the Goddess, is to be drawn in place of the bull (*vṛṣabha*).

[39] Perhaps the available text of the *Vijayāgama* on which our brief study is based, is the *upāgama* of that possessing the same name. For we find a *Vijayāgama* as an *upāgama* of the *mūlāgama Vijayāgama* in the traditional list.

A first edition of the [Śatika-]Kālajñāna, the shortest of the non-eclectic recensions of the Kālottara

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with particular help from
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In a richly detailed and wide-ranging section headed 'Scripture and Paddhati' (2004:353–377) in his recent monumental half-article on 'The Śaiva Religion among the Khmers', Sanderson makes the illuminating observation that surviving Saiddhāntika ritual manuals are based upon a small and still unedited tantra that has received little attention to date: the two-hundred-verse recension of the *Kālottara*. It therefore seemed to me appropriate, in a volume that honours the memory of one who devoted much of her life to elucidating one of the best known manuals of this tradition, to offer something that would throw light on this still shadowy corner of the Saiddhāntika scriptural canon. As is well-known, the *Kālottara* features in all lists of the 28 principal scriptures, usually at the bottom, and usually under one of its other names, such as *Āgneya*, *Vāthula* or *Vātula*. We also know, from different pieces of evidence (one of which is cited by Sanderson 2001:6, fn. 3), that a *Kālottara* existed from at least the ninth-century. But we now know of or find preserved several texts known by that name (see the table of Goodall 2004:xxv, which lists eight pre-twelfth-century recensions, and omits at least two: the *Sārdhaśatika* and the *Jñānatilaka*) and it is not clear which is the original or whether it still survives. It seems clear, however, that there is a group of recensions that contain a common core of material, which we may refer to as the non-eclectic recensions (thus Goodall 1998:xlv–xlvi, fn. 103, quoting Sanderson), and it seems reasonable to assume that these, even if none of them may with any confidence be

*Aside from these, I am grateful to Ralph Hodgson, who came to Pondicherry to read Śaiva texts in the summer of 2005 and for whose benefit I therefore attempted to expound the text. This effort revealed how many passages were only patchily comprehensible, and his questions, as well as those of the others who participated in those Śaiva Reading Group sessions, were an important stimulus. I should also like to thank the Institutions who allowed me to consult and take copies of their manuscripts, in this case particularly the NAK, the NGMPP and the Oriental Research Institute in Mysore.

said to be the earliest, contain the earliest *Kālottara* material.[1]

Most of these non-eclectic recensions were known to N. R. BHATT at the time when he produced his edition of the only fully published recension, the *Sārdhatriśatikālottara*, and his list of shared verses in that volume show how closely related the recensions are. He was not aware, however, of the shortest recensions, those in 50, 100 and 150 verses. One could argue at length without reaching certainties about their relative chronology. Even about the *Dviśatikālottara*, we can say no more than that it must be earlier than Brahmaśambhu, whose *Naimittikakriyānusandhāna* is dated to 937/8 AD (SANDERSON 2004:358, fn. 24). One certainty is that the *Sārdhaśatika* recension[2] is later than the *Dviśatikālottara*, to which it refers in its 4th verse (N_2, f. 1^v of 2nd foliation):

> *aṣṭabhedaṃ tvayā deva pūrvaṃ hi kathitaṃ mama*
> *sūcanāt sūtramātreṇa dviśate kālasaṃjñake*

This 150-verse recension is transmitted only in our Nepalese paper MS (for descriptions of the MSS see below) in what is perhaps slightly more regular Sanskrit than are the other recensions and it does not appear to share *Kālottara* formulae. We can be reasonably sure that it is earlier than the eleventh century, for it is almost certainly this *Sārdhaśatika* that Somaśambhu drew on for his account of the *astrābhiṣeka*, for which BRUNNER was unable to find a scriptural source (SP3:526ff). *Sārdhaśatika* 83–93 (N_2, f. 4^r) appear to have been adapted (notably by being purged of *aiśa* peculiarities of language) to become SP3 *astrābhiṣekavidhi* 3–13.

It seems to us probable that the 100-verse recension too is not among the earliest: it is unique among them in not teaching the distinctive *Kālottara yāga* of mantras, which is arguably both the hallmark and the heart of the *Kālottara* teaching. It's elevation of the *praṇava* to the level of supreme and only mantra has the air of a substitution that simplifies to the point beyond which reduction seems impossible the already simplified mantra-system of the *Kālottara*

[1] What of the others? The eclecticism and lateness of the *Bṛhatkālottara* is demonstrated by SANDERSON (2001:17 and 38–41). Some others indicate their relative lateness in their frame-stories by mentioning that they were composed after 'the' *Kālottara*: see, e.g., the opening of the *Sarvajñānottara* (quoted by GOODALL 1998:xlvi, fn. 105).

[2] This recension in 150 verses, though, as indicated above, unaccountably not included in the table of GOODALL 2004:xxv, is mentioned on p. xcvi, fn. 151.

tradition.[3]

Another recension that is not among the earliest is the *Jñānapañcāśikā*, which begins (see below) with what appears to be an allusion to the existence of many versions of the *Vāthulā* (sic). Indeed, this very short text, as it now seems to me, not only should not be included among the non-eclectic recensions, with which it appears not to share any verses,[4] it should not even be classified as strictly Saiddhāntika: Kārttikeya's opening question (N_1, f. 3^r), which is not entirely clear to me, implies that it claims to present teachings of the Bhairava- (*dakṣiṇa*) and Vāma- streams.[5]

> *ativistarayogena nātha jñātuṃ na śakyate*
> *vāthulāyāṃ mahādeva bahudhā samprakāśitam 1*
> *kevalaṃ hy ūrddhamārgastham avatāreṣu coditam*
> *gopitaṃ dakṣiṇaṃ mārgaṃ vāmamārgaṃ tathaiva ca 2*
> *saṃkṣepāt tattvasadbhāvaṃ yathārthe mokṣasādhanam*
> *bhūtipradaṃ siddhikaraṃ kathayasva maheśvara*

This claim is borne out by the practices enjoined towards the end of the text, in which *prasāda* is used as the name for mantras of other forms of Śiva (N_1, f. 5^v):

> *ekakhaṇḍaṃ kapālaṃ tu puruṣasya yathā bhavet 46*
> *gṛhītvā tu japet tasmin prasādaṃ bhairavātmakam*
> *ṣaṇmāsād utpated vatsa tasya yogaprabhāvataḥ 47*
> *rātrau paryaṭanaṃ kāryaṃ paṭahikāṃ tu haneta vai*
> *catuṣpathe nadītīre devasyāyatane śubhe 48*
> *hāhākāraṃ tu kartavyaṃ tatra vai devatānvitam*
> *darśanaṃ tu bhaved vatsa nātra kārya vicāraṇā 49*
> *madyaṃ māṃsaṃ tilāṃ kṛṣṇān* †⏓ *ktaṃ n*† *homayeta vai*
> *śmaśānākhyā tu vats' eṣā ākṛṣṭiḥ paramottamā 50*
> *atha vā tumburuṃ devaṃ caturvaktradharaṃ gurum*
> *aṣṭabāhuṃ mahāvīraṃ caturbhir yoginīr vṛtam 51*

3 For further details of the anomalous '*mantrayāga*' of the text, see 24–8 and our notes thereon.

4 I have not checked every half-line of every recension, but it certainly does not contain any of the common stock of *Kālottara* formulations.

5 As I have recently been informed by Diwakar Acharya (Goodall 2004:xxxviii, fn. 53), the discussion of the canon that I presented as belonging to the beginning of this text in Goodall (1998:412) does not in fact belong to it.

mātṛkāsanasaṃsthaṃ tu ṣoḍaśena tu veṣṭitam
madhye prasāda vinyastaṃ yaje tanmātrimaṇḍale 52
siddhyate māsamātreṇa yadi tattvaparo bhavet

• 46c ekakhaṇḍaṃ] N_1^{ac}; ekakhaṃḍaṃ N_1^{pc} • 47a gṛhītvā tu japet] N_1^{pc}; pragṛhīya yajet N_1^{ac} • 47c ° tpated] *conj.*; ° tpatted N_1 • 48b tu haneta] N_1^{ac}(*unmetrical*); haneta N_1^{pc} • 50c śmaśānākhyā tu vats' eṣā] *conj.*; smaśānākhye tu vatseśa N_1

Discussing all the problems of constitution and interpretation that this passage of text presents would take us too far from our subject, but I offer the following uncommented translation to suggest one way in which it might be understood.

> [Making sure] that it is such that it is in one piece (?), he should take the skull of a man and recite over it the *prasāda*-mantra, whose nature is Bhairava. After six months he will fly up because of the power of the yoga connected with this [skull]. He should wander at night, beating a little drum. At crossroads, at confluences, at pure temples he should wail 'Hā, Hā' and there, my child, he will see [Bhairava] accompanied by [other] deities—of this you need not doubt. He should perform oblation with alcohol, meat, sesamum †…†. This, my child, is the ultra-supreme rite of Attraction called 'Cremation-ground'. Or he should worship (*yaje*) the God Tumburu, who is the guru with four faces and eight arms, the great hero, surrounded by four Yoginīs, having placed [Him there as] the *prasāda*-mantra, seated upon a seat of seed-syllables (?), wrapped with the sixteenth (?), in the middle of His *maṇḍala* of Mothers. If he is focussed on Truth, he will obtain power in just a month.

Now I considered offering, as a contribution to this volume, an article just discussing these various shorter recensions of the *Kālottara*; but the need of the moment, as it seems to me, is more edited *Kālottara* material. This is therefore instead a rudimentary edition of one of the shortest recensions based on three manuscripts. A huge number of parallels with various *Kālottara*s could have been given, but we have stuck to attempting to give parallels from the one printed recension, with just occasional references to the others. Similarly, a huge amount of discursive annotation would have been possible, but for this we look forward to an edition of what may have been, and certainly became,

the central recension, the *Dviśatikālottara*, which is currently being prepared by Mei Yang. Our annotation therefore focusses on what is really particular to the *Kālottara* in 100 verses. We have also drawn attention in notes to peculiarities of its language, many of which are shared with other recensions of the *Kālottara*, including the *Sārdhatriśatikālottara* (also referred to as the *Adhyuṣṭaśata-*), although, as indicated elsewhere (Goodall 1998:lxvi ff, drawing on Sanderson), this fact is obscured in Bhatt's edition.

Sources

Three manuscript sources have been drawn on, all of which I have referred to in earlier works.

N_1 National Archives, Kathmandu, MS pra 1114, NGMPP Reel No. B 25/7. Palm-leaf, Nāgarī. This gives, in sequence, the recensions in 50, 100, 200, 350, 700 and 1300 verses. The recension in 150 verses found in N_2 is not transmitted, and N_1's foliation, which appears to be old, suggests that it was never included: the 100-verse recension ends on f. 12^r, the verso is left blank, and the *Dviśatikālottara* begins on f. 13^r. Of the known non-eclectic recensions, only this 150-verse recension and the 400-verse recension,[6] which may prove to be lost, is missing.

N_2 National Archives, Kathmandu, MS 5-4632, NGMPP Reel No. B 118/7. Paper, Devanāgarī. This gives the same texts in the same sequence, except that it inserts the text of the 150-verse recension between those of 100 and 200 verses. Fresh pagination is given for each text from the 150-verse recension onwards. N_2 appears to be largely an apograph of N_1, but its readings are worth recording, for it contains corrections and transmits variants that are probably intended as improvements, and some of these may derive from another source, as does, we assume, N_2's text of the 150-verse recension.

M^Y University of Mysore, Oriental Research Institute MS P 258. This is a palm-leaf manuscript in Nandināgarī script. For the most detailed acount of this extraordinary codex, the most important in South India for the reconstruction of the early Saiddhāntika canon, see Goodall

[6]Vaktraśambhu's opening verses to his *Mṛgendrapaddhatiṭīkā* (Goodall 2000:210, fn. 18) refer to Aghoraśiva having composed a commentary on this work.

2004:xcv–ci. Only a single side of a single damaged leaf, f. 22^{v}, provides testimony to our text. It covers verses 1–57.

Editing without producing a translation—and particularly editing this sort of text, in which one is conscious that not all the riddles can be solved and that the language is full of anomalies—there is a heightened risk that one will leave impossible things in the text, without taking the trouble to think through and beyond them to plausible solutions. When recollating, I often found myself rushing ahead with the feeling that the wording settled upon was as satisfactory (and as satisfactorily interpreted) as could reasonably be hoped, and then returning shortly afterwards to find that just a little more thought yielded a much more believable result. But for all the times that I did this, there were doubtless many others when I did not and should have.

Sanskrit Text

[Śatika-]Kālajñāna

īśvara uvāca
ataḥ paraṃ pravakṣyāmi imām[7] iṣṭim anuttamām
nāmnā kālottare tantre[8] dadhno ghṛtam ivoddhṛtam 1
madhuvac ca yathā puṣpāt sārāt sārataraṃ śubham[9]
nādākhyaṃ yat paraṃ bījaṃ sarvabhūteṣv avasthitam 2
taṃ viditvā mahāsena deśikaḥ pāśahā bhavet[10]
ālabdhās tena paśavas[11] śivaṃ yānti anāmayam[12] 3
kim anyair bahubhir bījaiś cittavyākulakārakaiḥ[13]
bījenaikena tat sarvaṃ bahūnāṃ prāpyate phalam[14] 4
prayogeṇa tu sūkṣmeṇa[15] yogadṛṣṭena mantravit

[7] ataḥ paraṃ pravakṣyāmi imām] N_1N_2; ---kṣyāmi i ⏑ m M^Y
[8] kālottare tantre] N_1N_2; cottaratamṭre tu M^Y
[9] sārataraṃ śubham] N_1N_2; sāram idaṃ śubhaṃ M^Y
[10] taṃ viditvā mahāsena deśikaḥ pāśahā bhavet] N_1N_2; *om.* M^Y
[11] ālabdhās tena paśavaḥ] M^Y; alabdhā pāśavas tena N_1^{ac}; ālabdhā pāśavas tena N_1^{pc}; alabdhā paśavas tena N_2
[12] yānti anāmayam] *conj.* Csaba Dezső; yātyamanāmayam N_1N_2; yāṃti nirāmayaṃ M^Y
[13] °vyākula°] M^Y; °vyāsaṅga° N_1N_2
[14] prāpyate phalam] N_1N_2; prā --- M^Y
[15] prayogeṇa tu sūkṣme°] N_1N_2; --- M^Y

mudrābījasamāyogāc cintayed bījam[16] uttamam 5
na tithir na[17] ca nakṣatraṃ nopavāso vidhīyate
devāgnigurubhaktāya mātsaryarahitāya ca 6
anugṛhṇāti tat tattvaṃ śivaṃ yaṣṭvā[18] vidhānataḥ
mānase sthaṇḍile vāpi yatra vā[19] rocate manaḥ 7
dviḥprakāraṃ[20] mayā proktam idaṃ saṃskāram uttamam[21]
sthaṇḍile upaśobhārthaṃ mānase[22] mokṣadaṃ param 8
haṃsabījaṃ kare nyasya mudrāṃ bandhed[23] vicakṣaṇaḥ
yogamudrāṃ tato baddhvā karaṇena[24] tu sādhakaḥ 9
hastābhyāṃ saṃspṛśet pādau dvau hastau yāvamastakam[25]
eṣā mudrā samākhyātā śivasya paramātmanaḥ 10
kārtikeya uvāca
kathayasva mahādeva yena mokṣo dhruvaṃ bhavet
sāpekṣaṃ[26] tyaja deveśa nirapekṣaṃ kathayasva me[27] 11
yena vijñātamātreṇa paśuṃ[28] mocayate kṣaṇāt
īśvara uvāca
śṛṇu ṣaṇmukha tattvena prayogaṃ tu sudurlabham 12
sakṛd uccārayed bījaṃ †parāparavyavasthitam†[29]
yathātmani tathā śiṣye yojayeta vidhānataḥ 13
paścād dhomaṃ prayuñjīta[30] prasādena tu buddhimān

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[16]°samāyogāc cintayed bījam] N_1N_2; °samākhyātā ccimtayetattvam M^Y

[17]tithir na] $N_2^{pc}M^Y$; tithi na N_1 (*unmetrical*); tīthir na N_2^{ac}

[18]yaṣṭvā] N_1N_2; paśvā° M^Y

[19]vā] N_1N_2; te M^Y

[20]dviḥprakāraṃ] N_2M^Y; dviḥprakāra N_1

[21]°mam] N_1N_2; ---M^Y

[22]sthaṇḍile upaśobhārthaṃ mā°] $N_1N_2^{pc}$; sthaṇḍile tu paśobhārthaṃ mā° N_2; ---ā M^Y

[23]bandhed] N_1N_2; baddhvā M^Y

[24]karaṇena] N_2M^Y; kareṇena N_1

[25]hastau yāvamastakam] *conj.*; hastau yāvanmastakaṃ N_1N_2 (*unmetrical*); hasto yāvanmastakaḥ M^Y (*unmetrical*)

[26]sāpekṣaṃ] N_1N_2; sādhakaṃ M^Y

[27]deveśa nirapekṣaṃ kathayasva me] N_1N_2 (*unmetrical*); ⊔M^Y

[28]paśuṃ] N_1N_2; paśur M^Y

[29]°vyavasthitam] M^Y; °mavasthitam N_1^{ac}?N_2; ⏝ vasthitam N_1^{pc}

[30]prayuñjīta] N_1N_2; prakurvīta M^Y

śatam aṣṭottaraṃ hutvā dadyāt[31] pūrṇāhutiṃ tataḥ[32] 14
sthaṇḍile tu vidhir hy eṣa[33] mānase mānasaṃ[34] bhavet
ajñātvā tu paraṃ tattvaṃ dīkṣāṃ kurvanti mānavāḥ 15
vṛthā pariśramas teṣāṃ naiva tatphalam āpnuyāt[35]
mārgatrayaṃ viditvā tu vibhāgena[36] vicakṣaṇaḥ 16
guruḥ sarvasya jagataḥ so 'nugṛhṇāti[37] mānavān
yaṃ yaṃ spṛśati hastena yaṃ yaṃ paśyati cakṣuṣā 17
śivībhavati tat sarvaṃ śivendukiraṇāhatam 18[38]

iti kālajñāne[39] prathamaḥ paṭalaḥ

īśvara uvāca[40]
ataḥ[41] paraṃ pravakṣyāmi prāsādasya tu lakṣaṇam
hrasvaṃ dīrghaṃ[42] plutaṃ caiva lakṣayen mantravit sadā 19
hrasvo dahati pāpāni dīrgho mokṣaprado bhavet
āpyāyane plutaḥ prokto mūrdhni bindusamanvitaḥ 20
jape dhyāne tathā home āyataṃ[43] cintayed budhaḥ
śāntikarmasu[44] sarveṣu vaśyārthe pauṣṭimāraṇe[45] 21
praṇavādiprayuktās tu [46]namaskārāntayojitāḥ [47]

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[31]dadyāt] $N_1^{ac}N_2$; datvā $N_1^{pc}M^Y$
[32]tataḥ] N_1N_2; ta--- M^Y
[33]sthaṇḍile tu vidhir hy eṣa] N_2; sthaṇḍile +tu+ vidhi X vaX hy eṣa N_1; --- M^Y
[34]mānase mānasaṃ] N_1N_2; mānaso mānaso M^Y
[35]teṣāṃ naiva tatphalam āpnuyāt] N_1N_2; teṣām āpnuvaṃti na tatphalaṃ M^Y
[36]vibhāgena] N_2M^Y; vibhāge+na+ N_1
[37]jagataḥ so'nu] M^Y; jagato'nu N_1N_2(*unmetrical*)
[38]°hatam] N_1N_2; --- M^Y
[39]iti kālajñāne] N_1N_2; --- re M^Y
[40]īśvara uvāca] N_1N_2; *om.* M^Y
[41]ataḥ] N_1N_2; atha M^Y
[42]hrasvaṃ dīrghaṃ] N_1N_2; hrasvadīrgha° M^Y
[43]āyataṃ] N_1N_2; cāyataṃ M^Y
[44]°karmasu] M^Y; °karmaṇi N_1N_2
[45]vaśyārthe pauṣṭimāraṇe] N_2^{pc}; vaśyārthe paurṣṭimāraṇe N_1^{ac}; vaśyārthe caiva yujyate N_1^{vl}; vaśyārthe caiva yojate N_1^{vl}; vaśyāścaiva - yujyate N_2^{ac}; vaśyā --- M^Y
[46]praṇavādiprayuktās tu] *conj.*; praṇavādiprayuktas tu $N_1^{pc}N_2^{pc}$; praṇavādiprayuktena N_1^{ac} N_2^{ac}; ---prayuktās tu M^Y
[47]°yojitāḥ] M^Y; °yojitaḥ N_1^{pc}; °yojitaṃ $N_1^{ac}N_2$

karmakāle prayoktavyā anyathā śāntirūpiṇaḥ[48] 22
siddhyanti[49] sarvakarmāṇi yatheṣṭaṃ sādhakasya tu
evaṃ vidhividhānajñaḥ siddhyate nātra saṃśayaḥ 23

iti kālajñāne[50] dvitīyaḥ paṭalaḥ

yajanaṃ saṃpravakṣyāmi yathāvad anupūrvaśaḥ
oṃkāraṃ karṇikā padmaṃ dharmajñānādim eva[51] ca 24
vairāgyaṃ caiva aiśvaryaṃ[52] kesaraiḥ śaktayas[53] tathā
aṣṭatriṃśatkalopetaṃ praṇavaṃ parikīrtitam[54] 25
āvāhayet tato[55] devaṃ praṇavena vicakṣaṇaḥ
sānnaidhyaṃ cārghapādyaṃ [56] ca snānaṃ ca praṇavena tu 26
gandhapuṣpākṣataṃ dhūpaṃ dīpaṃ ca praṇavena tu[57]
baliṃ caiva tu naivedyaṃ hemaṃ ca kaṭisūtrakam[58] 27
vastrālaṅkāradānaiś ca[59] praṇavena pradāpayet[60]
praṇavena tu sarvaṃ syād yat kiñcid vidhicoditam 28
evaṃ yaṣṭvā vidhānena sādhakas tu samāhitaḥ[61]
brahmaghno 'pi labhet siddhiṃ vidhim etat samārabhet[62] 29
prasādaṃ ye na budhyanti na te budhyanti śūlinam[63]
jñātamātreṇa bījena na punarjanmatāṃ vrajet 30

iti kālajñāne tṛtīyaḥ paṭalaḥ

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[48]śānti°] M^Y; santi N_2^{ac}; sāṃta° N_1^{ac}; sāṃti° $N_1^{pc}N_2^{pc}$; śānta° N_2^{vl}

[49]siddhyanti] $N_1^{ac}N_1^{vl}N_2M^Y$; sidhyaṃte N_1^{pc}

[50]kālajñāne] N_1N_2; śrīkālottare M^Y

[51]°kā padmaṃ dharmajñānādimeva] $N_1^{pc}N_2$; °kā padmaṃ dharmajña+ānādimeva N_1; --- M^Y

[52]caiva aiśvaryaṃ] M^Y; caiva caiśvaryaṃ N_1; caivamaiśvaryaṃ N_2

[53]kesaraiḥ śaktayas] M^Y; kesarai saktayas N_1; kesare saktayas N_2^{ac}; kesare śaktayas N_2^{pc}

[54]°petaṃ praṇavaṃ parikīrtitam] N_1N_2; °petaḥ praṇavaḥ parikīrtitaḥ M^Y

[55]tato] N_1N_2; tadā M^Y

[56]sānnaidhyaṃ cārgha°] N_1; sānnidhyaṃ cārgha° N_2; sāṃnaidhyamarghya° M^Y

[57]gandhapuṣpākṣataṃ dhūpaṃ dīpaṃ ca praṇavena tu] N_2; *om.* N_1^{ac}(eyeskip); gandhapupuṣpākṣataṃ dhūpaṃ dīpaṃ ca praṇavena tu N_1^{pc}; gandhaṃ puṣpaṃ ca dhūpaṃ ca praṇavena tu ⊔ M^Y

[58]hemaṃ ca kaṭisūtrakam] N_1; haimaṃ ca kaṭisūtrakam N_2; ho --- M^Y

[59]vastrālaṅkāradānaiś ca] N_1N_2; --- dānāni tu M^Y (*unmetrical*)

[60]pradāpayet] N_1N_2; tu dāpayet M^Y

[61]sādhakastu samāhitaḥ] N_1N_2; sādhakaḥ susamāhitaḥ M^Y

[62]samārabhet] N_1N_2; samācaret M^Y

[63]śūlinam] N_1M^Y; śūlinaḥ N_2

īśvara uvāca[64]
agnikāryaṃ pravakṣyāmi tan me nigadataḥ[65] śṛṇu
    ullikhyābhyukṣya kuṇḍaṃ tu[66] praṇavena vicakṣaṇaḥ 31
garbhādhānādikaṃ kṛtvā niṣkṛtiṃ[67] cāpy apaścimām
    praṇavena bhavet sarvaṃ yac cānyaṃ[68] vidhicoditam 32
paścāt padmavidhānaṃ tu prāg uktaṃ parikalpayet
    ya evaṃ juhuyān mantrī[69] sadākālaṃ[70] samāhitaḥ 33
labhate sarvakāmitvaṃ śivalokaṃ ca[71] gacchati
    japahomena saṃyuktāḥ siddhyante[72] nātra saṃśayaḥ 34

iti kālajñāne agnikāryapaṭalaś caturthaḥ[73]

ataḥ paraṃ mahābhūtadhāraṇālakṣaṇaṃ[74] param
    saṃpravakṣyāmi te skanda sarvakarmāvabhāsakam 35
pārthivārṇavasaṃyuktāṃ[75] parāparavibhāgaśaḥ[76]
    pañcodghātaprayuktāṃ tu[77] pārthivīṃ dhārayet sadā 36
vanopavanasaṃyuktāṃ[78] nagarāyatanasaṃkulām[79]
    deśakheṭapuragrāmatoraṇāṭṭālasaṃyutām[80] 37
kaṭhinām acalāṃ dhyāyed[81] vāyvagnyambhovivarjitām[82]

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[64]īśvara uvāca] N_1N_2; *om.* M^Y

[65]nigadataḥ] N_1M^Y; nigaditaḥ N_2

[66]°khyābhyukṣya kuṇḍaṃ tu] M^Y; °khyābhyukṣyata kuṃḍaṃ N_1; khyā---kuṇḍaṃ N_2

[67]niṣkṛtiṃ] N_2M^Y; niḥkṛtiṃ N_1

[68]yac cānyaṃ] $N_1N_2^{ac}$; yac cānyad $M^YN_2^{pc}$

[69]ya evaṃ juhuyān mantrī] N_1N_2; evaṃ kuryyāt tu maṃtrajñaḥ M^Y

[70]°kālaṃ] N_1N_2; °jālaṃ M^Y

[71]ca] M^Y; sa N_1N_2

[72]saṃyuktāḥ siddhyante] N_1N_2; saṃyuktaḥ sidhyate M^Y

[73]agnikāryapaṭalaś caturthaḥ] N_1N_2; caturthaḥ paṭalaḥ M^Y

[74]°bhūta°] $N_1^{ac}N_2M^Y$; °bhūtāṃ N_1^{pc}

[75]pārthivārṇavasaṃyuktāṃ] N_2^{pc}; pārthivārṇṇavasaṃbhūtāṃ N_1^{ac}; pārthivārṇṇavasaṃyuktā N_1^{pc}; pārthivāvarṇabhūtānāṃ N_1^{vl}; pārthivāvarṇasaṃyuktā N_1^{vl}; pārthivāvarṇasaṃyuktāṃ N_2^{ac}; pārthivāvarṇasaṃbhūtā M^Y

[76]°bhāgaśaḥ] $N_1^{pc}N_2M^Y$; °bhāgajaṃ N_1

[77]tu] $N_1^{pc}N_2$; $\asymp$ N_1^{ac}; tāṃ M^Y

[78]vanopavanasaṃyuktāṃ] N_1N_2; va ⊔ pathanasaṃyuktā M^Y

[79]nagarāyatana°] $N_1^{pc}N_2^{ac}$(*unmetrical*); nagāyatana° $N_1^{ac}N_2^{pc}$; nāgāyatana° M^Y

[80]deśakheṭapura°] M^Y; deśānvitapura° N_2; deśakṣetrapura° N_1^{pc}; deśakṣetrapurā° N_1^{ac}

[81]kaṭhinām acalāṃ dhyāyed] N_1N_2; kanomacalāddhyāyed M^Y (*unmetrical*)

[82]vāyvagnyambhovivarjitām] $N_2^{pc}M^Y$; vāyvagni+ma+bhovivarjjitāṃ N_1(*unmetrical*); vāyvagnimṃbhovivarjitam N_2^{ac}

nimnonnatāṃ samāṃ caiva vallibhiḥ saṃpraveṣṭitām[83] 38
sarvastambhaprayogeṣu pauṣṭikeṣu prayojayet
bhūtaśuddhiṃ ca kurute dīkṣākāle suniścitām[84] 39
āgarjitamahāmeghadhārāmuśalavarṣiṇī[85,86]
plāvitāmaralokāntā[87] vārijāmbarakhetalāt[88] 40
viṣānalamahājvālākālapāśāntanāśanī[89,90]
śāntikarmakarī hy eṣā vāruṇārṇavayojitā[91] 41
kālānalaśikhāṭopajvālitāśeṣakhetalam[92]
nirdagdhaṃ toyasaṃghātaṃ bhasmakūṭam iva sthitam[93] 42
āgneyākṣarabhūyiṣṭhā[94] dhāraṇā-m-agnisaṃjñitā[95]
nagoddhāre[96] ripūtsāde himapāpapraṇāśane[97] 43
pracaṇḍamārutoddhūtavighaṭṭitadigantaram[98,99]
rajasā cintaye[100] sarvam āpūritanabhastalam[101] 44
cintayet svabhāvaśūnyam ātmānaṃ tadvyavasthitam[102]

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[83]vallibhiḥ saṃpraveṣṭitām] N_1^{pc}; valibhiḥ saṃpraveṣṭitāṃ $N_1^{ac}N_2$; vallibhiḥ pariveṣṭitāṃ M^{Y}

[84]suniścitām] M^{Y}; suniścitam N_1N_2

[85]°meghadhāra°] M^{Yc}; °meghadhārāṃ N_1N_2; °meghadhārā° M^{Yac}

[86]°muśalavarṣiṇī] N_1^{pc}; °muśalavarṣiṇīm N_2; °muśalavarṣiṇaḥ N_1^{ac}; °musalavarṣiṇaḥ M^{Y}

[87]°lokāntā] *conj.*; °lokāntāṃ $N_1^{pc}N_2$; °lokāṃtaṃ $N_1^{ac}M^{Y}$

[88]vārijāmbarakhetalat] *conj.*; vāryaṃvaraXdāXkhetalaṃ N_1^{pc}; vā --- khetalaṃ N_1^{ac}; vāryaṃvara - khetalaṃ N_2; vārijā svarakhetalāt M^{Y}

[89]viṣānalamahājvālā°] N_1^{ac}; viṣānalamahājvāla° $N_1^{pc}N_2$; viṣānalaṃ mahājvālā M^{Y}

[90]°pāśāntanāśanī] N_1N_2; °pāśavināśanī M^{Y}

[91]vāruṇārṇavayojitā] N_1; varuṇārṇavayojitā M^{Y}; vāruṇārṇavayojitām N_2

[92]°jvālitāśeṣa°] N_1N_2; °jvalitā XkhaX śeṣa° M^{Y}

[93]°kūṭam iva sthitam] $N_1^{ac}N_2M^{Y}$; °kūṭavyavasthitam N_1^{pc}

[94]°yākṣara°] N_1N_2; °yākṣura° M^{Y}

[95]dhāraṇāmagnisaṃjñitā] $N_1^{pc}N_2$; dhāraṇāgni - saṃjñitā N_1^{ac}; dhāraṇām agnisaṃjñitāṃ M^{Y}

[96]nagoddhāre] *conj.*; nāgoddhāre $N_1^{ac}N_2M^{Y}$; nāmoddhāre N_1^{pc}

[97]himapāpapraṇāśane] *conj.*; himabādhāvināśinī N_1^{ac}; himapāpavināśinī N_1^{pc}; +hima+ XpāpaX +bādhā+ vināśinī N_2; himayāyapraṇāśane M^{Y}

[98]°ddhūta°] M^{Y}; °ddhūtaṃ N_1N_2

[99]°vighaṭṭitadigantaram] N_1N_2; °digaṃtaravighaṭṭitaṃ M^{Y}

[100]cintaye] N_1; cintayet N_2M^{Y}

[101]nabhastalam] N_1N_2; digaṃtaraṃ M^{Y}

[102]ātmānanaṃ tadvyavasthitam] $N_1^{pc}M^{Y}$; ātma ---vyavasthitam N_1^{ac}; ātmāntavyavasthitam N_2^{ac}; ātmā+ta+ntavyavasthitam N_2^{pc}

tatrasthaṃ bhagavaṃ devaṃ[103] tattvaṃ sakalaniṣkalam 45
varṣantaṃ tam abhidhyāyed amṛtaṃ[104] sādhakottamaḥ
āpūritaṃ tatas tena āyogakamalāntikam[105] 46
tadyogakamalāntastho[106] ātmānaṃ liṅgarūpiṇam
susūkṣmaṃ yat paraṃ dhāma[107] prasādasya mahātmanaḥ 47
eṣā mṛtyuṃjayā[108] nāma dhāraṇā yogināṃ sadā[109] 48

iti kālajñāne pañcamaḥ paṭalaḥ

īśvara uvāca
ataḥ pratilomaṃ vakṣye tan me nigadataḥ śṛṇu[110]
ahaṃkāreṇa kṣubdhānāṃ[111] tanmātrāṇāṃ pṛthak pṛthak 49
khaṃ vāyur agnir udakaṃ kṣitiś caiva hi jāyate[112]
kṣiteḥ kaṭhinadhāritvam[113] āpe tu dravasaṃgraham[114] 50
teje tu[115] pacanaṃ proktaṃ prakāśakaraṇaṃ param[116]
anile vyūhanaṃ[117] proktaṃ tathā caiva tu śoṣaṇam 51
vyomne[118] tathāvakāśitvam avikāritvam eva ca[119]

[103] tatrasthaṃ bhagavaṃ devaṃ] N_1N_2; tatra ⊔ vaddevaṃ M^Y

[104] varṣantaṃ tam abhidhyāyed amṛtaṃ] N_2; varṣantanabhidhāyeda ⊔ mṛtaṃ N_1^{ac}; varṣantam abhidhyāyeda +a+mṛtaṃ N_1^{pc}; pravarṣaṃ tam abhidhyāyed amṛtaṃ M^Y

[105] āyogakamalāntikam] $N_1^{pc}N_2$; āyoge kamalāṃtikaṃ N_1^{ac}; āyogakamalānvitaṃ M^Y

[106] °lāntastho] N_1N_2; °lāntastha M^Y

[107] dhāma] N_1N_2; vyoma M^Y

[108] eṣā mṛtyuñjayā] $N_1^{pc}M^Y$; eṣa mṛtyuñjayo N_1^{ac}; eṣo mṛtyuñjayo N_2

[109] dhāraṇā yogināṃ sadā] N_2; yogināṃ dhāraṇā sa XmāX dā M^Y

[110] nigadataḥ śṛṇu] $N_1^{ac}N_2^{pc}$; nigaditaḥ śṛṇu $N_1^{pc}N_2^{ac}$; nigadata śruṇu M^Y

[111] kṣubdhānāṃ] N_1N_2; lubdhānāṃ M^Y

[112] hi jāyate] N_1N_2; tu jāyate M^Y

[113] °dhāritvam] N_1N_2; °kāritvan M^Y

[114] āpe tu dravasaṃgraham] N_1^{ac}; āpe tu drava+tva+saṃgrahaṃ N_1^{pc}(*unmetrical*); apāṃ dravatvaṃ saṃgrahaḥ N_1^{vl}(*unmetrical*); apāṃ dravatvasaṃgrahaḥ N_2; āpe dravatvasaṃgrahaṃ M^Y

[115] teje tu] N_1N_2; tejasaḥ M^Y

[116] °karaṇaṃ param] N_1; °karaṇaparam N_2(*unmetrical*); °karaṇaṃ paraṃ ⊔ X bhekameṇaikaikaśaḥ punaḥ śadalakṣaṇamākāśaṃX M^Y

[117] anile vyūhanaṃ] $N_1^{pc}N_2^{pc}$; anile ⌣ hanaṃ N_1^{ac}; ani+le+ vyūhanaṃ N_2; ⊔ M^Y

[118] vyomne] M^Y; vyomni N_1N_2(*unmetrical*)

[119] avikāritvam] N_2^{pc}; adhikāritvam $N_1N_2^{ac}M^Y$

evaṃbhūtā pratiṣṭhā tu[120] ekaikaṃ pañcadhā punaḥ 52
śarīreṣv api[121] bhidyante prāṇināṃ dehasambhave[122]
medo māṃsas[123] tathāsthīni tvacaḥ[124] snāyūni caiva hi 53
pṛthivī pañcadhā bhinnā[125] śarīreṣu śarīriṇām
ahaṃkārād dhi jāyante[126] krameṇaikaikaśaḥ punaḥ 54
śabdalakṣaṇam ākāśaṃ śabdaṃ sparśaṃ[127] tathānile
śabdaḥ sparśaś ca[128] rūpaṃ ca †tejasyaite trayo guṇāḥ†[129] 55
śabdaḥ sparśaś ca rūpaṃ ca[130] rasaś ca salile guṇāḥ
śabdaḥ sparśaś ca rūpaṃ ca [131] raso gandhaś ca[132] pañcamaḥ 56
guṇaiś ca[133] pañcabhir yuktā pṛthivī paripaṭhyate
pṛthivyā dhāraṇaṃ karmam[134] oṣadhīnāṃ ca rakṣaṇam 57
āpyāyanaṃ śarīrāṇām amṛtīkaraṇaṃ param
svedaśoṇitamajjā ca[135] vasā śleṣmā tathaiva ca 58
salilaṃ pañcadhā bhinnaṃ śarīreṣu śarīriṇām
kāmaḥ krodhaś ca uṣmā ca[136] kṣudhā tejaś ca[137] pañcamaḥ 59
agnis tu pañcadhā bhinnaḥ śarīreṣu śarīriṇām

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[120]° bhūtā pratiṣṭhā tu] N_2^{pc}; ° bhūtāḥ pratiṣṭhās tu $N_1^{pc}N_2$; bhūtapratiṣṭhā ⌣ N_1^{ac}; bhūtapratiṣṭhā ca M^Y

[121]śarīreṣv api] $N_1^{pc}N_2M^Y$; śarīreṣv api XhiX N_1^{ac}

[122]prāṇināṃ dehasambhave] N_1^{pc}; prāṇināṃ dehasaṃbhavāt N_1^{ac}; prāṇinā dehasaṃbhave M^Y; prāṇino dehasaṃbhavā N_2

[123]māṃsas°] M^Y; māṃsaṃs° N_1N_2

[124]tvacaḥ] N_2^{pc}; tvaca $N_1N_2^{ac}$; tvacā M^Y

[125]bhinnā] $N_1N_2M^{Y\,ac}$; bhiṃna X āX M^Y

[126]°d dhi jāyante] N_1; °dvijāyante N_2; °di kāyaṃ te M^Y

[127]śabdaṃ sparśaṃ] N_2; śabdasparśa N_1; śabdasparśaṃ M^Y

[128]śabdaḥ sparśaś ca] N_2^{pc}; śabdasparśas ca N_1; śabdasparśaś ca N_2^{ac}; śabdasparśaṃ ca M^Y

[129]tejasyaite trayo guṇāḥ] N_2; tejaścaiva trayo guṇā N_1^{pc}; teja --- N_1^{ac}; taijasaṃ guṇa ucyate M^Y

[130]śabdaḥ sparśaś ca rūpaṃ ca] N_2^{pc}; śabdasparśaṃ ca rūpaṃ ca N_1^{pc}; śabdasparśaṃ ⌣ rūpaṃ ca N_1^{ac}; śabdasparśaś ca rūpaṃ ca N_2^{ac}; śabdasparśaṃ svarūpaṃ ca M^Y

[131]śabdaḥ sparśaśca rūpaṃ ca] N_2^{pc}; śabdaśparśaśca rūpaṃ ca $N_1N_2^{ac}$; śabdasparśaṃ ca rūpaṃ ca M^Y

[132]gandhaś ca] N_1N_2; gaṃdhas tu M^Y

[133]guṇaiś ca] M^Y; guṇais tu N_1N_2

[134]karmam] $N_1N_2^{ac}$; karma $N_2^{ac}M^Y$

[135]svedaśoṇitamajjā ca] N_2; śvedaśoṇi+ta+majjā X tuX +ca+ N_1

[136]uṣmā ca] N_1^{pc}; uṣmā ca ca N_1^{ac}; ūṣmā ca N_2

[137]kṣudhā tejaśca] $N_1^{pc}N_2$; cakṣudhā teja N_1^{ac}

prāṇo 'pānaḥ samānaś ca udāno vyāna eva ca[138] 60
anilaṃ pañcadhā bhinnaṃ śarīreṣu śarīriṇām[139]
mukhaṃ śrotraṃ ca nāsā ca hṛdayam udaraṃ tathā[140] 61
ākāśaṃ pañcadhā bhinnaṃ śarīreṣu śarīriṇāṃ[141]
etat sthūlaśarīraṃ[142] tu sūkṣmaṃ tanmātrasambhavam 62
tanmātrās tu ime jñeyā viṣayāś caiva kīrtitāḥ
jīvayonim abuddhvā[143] tu antaryāmī sa ucyate 63
sarvabhūtaprado bhūto jīvaḥ kṣetrajña ucyate
sa nandati sadā kṣetre viṣayānandalakṣaṇe 64
tadāvāsaḥ[144] smṛto yasmāt tadbhāvaguṇarañjitaḥ[145]
cchinnaṃ bhinnam api śastrair vyādhibhiś ca prapīḍitam 65
duḥkheṇa tyajate dehaṃ na virāgaṃ kathañcana
virāgaṃ ca punar gacchet jñānaśaktyā pracoditaḥ 66
dṛṣṭvā dehaṃ jugupse 'haṃ aho[146] māyāsumohitaḥ
yo 'ham asmin malākīrṇe ramāmi kṣaṇabhaṅgure 67
nānāvyādhisamākīrṇe viṣaye[147] rāgadūṣite
madonmādair vimuhyante viṣayoragataskaraiḥ 68
kāmakrodhamayais tāpair muhur muhuḥ sutāpite[148]
atyantakleśabahule[149] jarāmṛtyusamākule[150] 69
cintāśokasusaṃpūrṇe aho dehe suduḥkhite

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[138] prāṇo 'pānaḥ samānaś ca udāno vyāna eva ca] N_2^{pc}; *om.* N_1^{ac}; prāṇopānaśamānaś ca udāno vyānam eva ca N_1^{pc}; prāṇo pānaśamānaś ca dāno vyāna eva ca N_2^{ac}(*unmetrical*)

[139] anilaṃ pañcadhā bhinnaṃ śarīreṣu śarīriṇām] $N_1^{pc}N_2$; *om.* N_1^{ac}

[140] mukhaṃ śrotraṃ ca nāsā ca hṛdayam udaraṃ tathā] N_2^{pc}(*unmetrical*); *om.* N_1^{ac}; mukhaṃ srotraṃ ca nāsā ca hṛdayaṃ mudaraṃ tathā N_1^{pc}; mukhai srotraṃ nāsā ca hṛayamudraṃ tathā N_2^{ac}(*unmetrical*)

[141] ākāśaṃ pañcadhā bhinnaṃ śarīreṣu śarīriṇāṃ] $N_1^{pc}N_2$; *om.* N_1^{ac}

[142] etatsthūla°] N_2; etasthūla° N_1^{pc}; etasthūlaṃ(?) N_1^{ac}

[143] °yonim abuddhvā] *conj.*; °yonim abuddhā N_1N_2

[144] tadāvāsaḥ] N_2^{pc}; tadāvāsa $N_1^{pc}N_2^{ac}$; tadāvasa N_1^{ac}

[145] tadbhāva°] $N_1^{pc}N_2$; tadbhāve N_1^{ac}

[146] °haṃ aho] N_1; °haṃ maho N_2

[147] viṣaye] N_2^{pc}; viṣayo $N_1N_2^{ac}$

[148] °pair muhur muhuḥ sutāpite] N_2; °pai muhur muhuṃ sutāpite N_1^{pc}; °pai muhur muhuṃ sutāpitoḥ N_1^{ac}

[149] atyantakleśabahule] N_2^{pc}; atyaṃtaklesabahulair N_1^{ac}; atyaṃtaklesabahuler N_1^{pc}; atyaṃtakleśabahuler N_2^{ac}

[150] °kule] N_2; °kuleḥ N_1^{pc}; °kulaiḥ N_1^{ac}

carmabandhe[151] sudurgandhe śukraśoṇitasaṃbhave 70
viṇmūtraretaḥsaṃkīrṇe[152] kathaṃ nāma ramāmy aham
darpaṇeṣu yathā cchāyā citre rūpaṃ yathā sthitam 71
anarthāni manojñāni[153] tadvad etac charīrakam
evaṃ virāgam āpanno jñānasiddhiṃ samīhate 72
jñānasiddhir vimokṣāya vinayāya nayāya ca
ubhayārtham idaṃ śāstraṃ kālajñānaṃ śivodbhavam 73

iti kālottare ṣaṣṭhamaḥ paṭalaḥ

ataḥ paraṃ bhavet prāṇo daśadhā saṃvyavasthitaḥ
prāṇādyāḥ vāyavaḥ pañca nāgādyāś ca tathaiva ca 74
prāṇo 'pānaḥ[154] samānaś ca udāno vyāna eva ca
nāgaḥ kūrmo 'tha kṛkaro devadatto dhanaṃjayaḥ 75
mātṛjaṃ pitṛjaṃ caiva śarīraṃ dvividhaṃ smṛtam
śukraśoṇitasaṃyogāt[155] ṣaṭkauśikam udāhṛtam 76
romakoṭyo[156] bhavet tisraḥ ardhakoṭis[157] tathottarā
dvātriṃśad daśanāḥ proktā[158] nakhā viṃśat[159] prakīrtitāḥ 77
māṃsaṃ[160] palasahasraikaṃ raktaṃ palaśataṃ smṛtam
palāni daśa medasya tvacaṃ caiva tu tatsamam 78
majjā ca dvādaśapalā mahāraktaṃ[161] palatrayam
śukraṃ dvikuḍavaṃ jñeyaṃ pittasya kuḍavaṃ smṛtam 79
arddhāḍhakaṃ[162] ca śleṣmasya viṇmūtraṃ cāpramāṇataḥ
vāyavaḥ paṃca ye proktāḥ śṛṇu teṣāṃ pravistaram 80
prāṇas tu prathamo vāyur navānām api sa prabhuḥ

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[151]carmabandhe] N_2; carmmavadhe N_1
[152]viṇmūtra°] N_2; vinmūtra° N_1
[153]manonjñāni] N_2^{pc}; manodyāni $N_1 N_2^{ac}$
[154]prāṇo 'pānaḥ] N_2^{pc}; prāṇopāna $N_1 N_2^{ac}$
[155]°yogāt] N_2^{pc}; °yogā $N_1 N_2^{ac}$
[156]romakoṭyo] N_2; roma koṭyā N_1
[157]tisraḥ ardhakoṭi°] N_1; tisro 'rddhakoṭi° N_2(*unmetrical*)
[158]dvātriṃśad daśanāḥ proktā] *em.*; dvātṛṃśad daśanā proktāḥ N_1; dvātriṃśad daśanā+ḥ+ proktā N_2
[159]nakhā viṃśat] N_2; nakhāḥ viṃśa+t+ N_1
[160]māṃsaṃ] N_2; māṃsa° N_1
[161]mahāraktaṃ] N_2; mahārakta° N_1
[162]ardhāḍhakaṃ] N_1; arddhāṭakaṃ N_2

prāṇaḥ prāṇamayaḥ prāṇo visargāpūraṇaṃ [163] prati 81
nityam āpūrayaty eṣa prāṇinām urasi sthitaḥ
nicchvāsocchvāsakāsais tu [164] prāṇo jīvasamāśritaḥ[165] 82
prayāṇaṃ kurute yasmāt tasmāt prāṇaḥ prakīrtitaḥ
apānayaty[166] apānas tu āhāraṃ[167] manujām adhaḥ 83
śukramūtravaho vāyur apānas tena kīrtitaḥ
pītaṃ bhakṣitam āghrātaṃ [168] raktapittakaphānilam 84
samaṃ nayati gātreṣu samāno nāma mārutaḥ
spandayaty adharaṃ[169] vaktraṃ netragātraprakopanaḥ[170] 85
udvejayati marmāṇi[171] udāno nāma mārutaḥ
vyāno vināmayaty aṅgaṃ vyāno vyādhiprakopanaḥ 86
prīter vināśaḥ kathito[172] vārddhikyaṃ[173] vyāna ucyate
prāṇādyā vāyavaḥ proktā nāgādyāḥ procyate 'dhunā 87
udgāre nāga ity uktaḥ kūrmaś conmīlane sthitaḥ
kṛkaraḥ kṣudhite[174] caiva devadatto vijṛmbhake[175] 88
dhanañjayaḥ sthito ghoṣe mṛtasyāpi na muñcati
vāyuvṛṃdaṃ samākhyātaṃ samāsena tu ṣaṇmukha 89

iti kālottare saptamaḥ paṭalaḥ

dehacāraṃ pravakṣyāmi ahorātrāyanāni ca
saṃkrāntiṃ viṣuvaṃ[176] caiva ūnarātro[177] 'dhimāsakam 90
śaktisamarasaṃ jñeyam iḍāyāṃ dakṣiṇāyanam[178]

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[163] prāṇo visargāpūraṇaṃ] *conj.* Diwakar Acharya; prāṇaḥ visarggāḥ pūraṇaṃ N_1; prāṇa+ḥ+ visargāḥ pūraṇaṃ N_2

[164] °kāsais tu] $N_1^{pc}N_2$; °kāsaustu N_1^{ac}

[165] °samāśritaḥ] *em.*; °samāsṛtaḥ N_1N_1

[166] apānaya°] N_2; apāṃ naya° N_1

[167] āhāraṃ] *em.*; āhāra° N_1N_2

[168] bhakṣitam āgrhātaṃ] N_2^{pc}; bhaktitam āghrātaṃ N_1; bhaktiṃ tam āghrātaṃ N_2^{ac}

[169] spandayaty adharaṃ] N_2^{pc}; spaṃdayaty avaraṃ $N_1N_2^{ac}$

[170] °kopanaḥ] *conj.*; °kopanam N_1N_2

[171] marmāṇi] $N_1^{pc}N_2^{pc}$; gātrāṇi $N_1^{ac}N_2^{ac}$

[172] prīter vināśaḥ kathito] *conj.*; prītir vināśakathito N_1N_2

[173] vārddhikyaṃ] $N_1N_2^{ac}$; vārddhakyaṃ N_2^{pc}

[174] kṣudhite] N_2^{pc}; kṣubhite N_1^{ac}; kṣudite N_1^{pc}; kṣu X⏝ X te N_2^{ac}

[175] vijṛṃbhake] N_1^{ac}; vijṛmbhaṇe $N_1^{pc}N_2$

[176] saṃkrāntiṃ viṣuvaṃ] N_2^{pc}; saṃkrātiṃ viṣuvac N_1^{ac}; saṃkrātiṃ viṣuvaṃ N_1^{pc}; saṃkrāntiṃXrXviṣuvaṃ N_2

[177] ūna°] N_1; jana° N_2

[178] iḍāyāṃ] N_1^{pc}; iḍayāṃ N_1^{ac}; iḍāyā N_2

madhyadeśe yadā hy ātmā viṣuvaṃ taṃ vidur budhāḥ 91
calate gacchate caiva[179] madhyadeśe yadā pumān
uttare dakṣiṇe cāpi saṃkrāntiḥ[180] sā vidhīyate 92
kṣudhite ūnarātraṃ[181] tu adhimāso vijṛmbhake
ūrdhvaprāṇo ahaś caiva apāno rātrir eva ca 93
vyāpinī sarvabhūtānāṃ śaktiś caiva nibodha me
tṛtīye caiva āyāme dvipūrvaṃ ṣaṣṭhavindukam 94
śrūyate ca yadā śaktiḥ śrutvā budhvā ca mānavaḥ
līyate ca śive deve bhinne dehe śivaṃ vrajet[182] 95
na śaktirahitā mantrā dīkṣānugrahakāriṇaḥ
śaktihīnā na siddhyanti na te yānti parāṃ gatim 96
śivaḥ sarvagato jñeyo[183] nāmarūpavivarjitaḥ
cinmātrapuruṣo jñeyaḥ śivo vyāpya vyavasthitaḥ 97
bhāvaye[184] samarasatvena śivena saha saṃyutaḥ
evaṃ samaraso bhūtvā gacchate śivam avyayam 98
athavātra[185] nirālaṃbaṃ mūrdhnim ālambya yatnataḥ
yāgaṃ yogaṃ japaṃ dhyānaṃ sarvakarmāṇi kārayet 99
śivam ādhāya karmāṇi kurvann api na lipyate
yogasiddhim avāpnoti śivasāyojyatāṃ[186] vrajet 100
jñānayogaṃ mayā proktaṃ akleśāt[187] siddhimokṣadam
aparīkṣya na dātavyam abdatrayanivāsine 101
brāhmaṇe vṛttasampanne kṣatriye dharmaśīline
vaiśye caiva dayāyukte śūdre śuśrūṣatatpare 102
anyathā duṣṭamartyānāṃ nindātarkānuvartinām
na deyaṃ śivasadbhāvam anyāyapathavartinām 103
śivabhaktivihīnāya gurubhaktivivarjite
jijñāsākautukārthibhyo na deyaṃ tattvam uttamam 104

iti kālajñāne 'ṣṭamaḥ paṭalaḥ

[179]calate gacchate caiva] *conj.*; calito gacchate caiva $N_1^{pc}N_2$; calato gacchato(?) ⏑ va N_1^{ac}
[180]saṃkrāntiḥ] $N_1^{pc}N_2$; saṃkrānti N_1^{ac}
[181]kṣudhite ūna°] N_1^{ac}; kṣubhite ūna° N_1^{pc}; kṣudhite jana° N_2^{pc}; kṣudhite jana° N_2^{ac}
[182]bhinne dehe śivaṃ vrajet] $N_1^{pc}N_2$; bhitite N_1^{ac}
[183]śivaḥ sarvagato jñeyo] $N_1^{pc}N_2$; śiva sarvagato jñeye N_1^{ac}
[184]bhāvaye] N_1; bhāvayet N_2
[185]athavātra] $N_1^{pc}N_2^{pc}$; athavā tu N_1^{ac}; athavā ⏑ N_2^{ac}
[186]°sāyojyatām] N_1; °sāyujyatāṃ N_2
[187]akleśāt] $N_1^{pc}N_2$; ---t N_1^{ac}

īśvara uvāca
dehasthaḥ sakalo jñeyo niṣkalo dehavarjitaḥ
    āptopadeśagamyo 'sau sarvataḥ kim api sthitaḥ 105
prapañcarahitaṃ śāntaṃ nigūḍhaṃ ca paraṃ guha[188]
    kāryakāraṇabhāvena sarvatraiva vyavasthitam 106
sa eva bhagavān vyāpī tile tailam iva sthitam
    guruvaktrāt tu[189] labhyeta pratyakṣaṃ sarvatomukham 107
svayam uccarate yasmāt svadehāvasthitaḥ śivaḥ[190]
    tasmāt tattvavidāṃ puṃsāṃ tad eva japam ucyate 108
prāṇasyānte[191] viditvā tu tadantaṃ dvādaśāṃgulam
    tatrāntasthaṃ vijānīyāt sarvavyāpī niraṃjanam 109
nīyate śaktinā jīvas tasmin prāpya nivarttate
    gamāgamaṃ viditvā tu mucyate nātra saṃśayaḥ 110
evaṃ vyāpī sa bhagavān kariṣyati gamāgamam
    vyāpitvād gamanaṃ nāsti tatrastho vyāpayet prabhuḥ 111
haṃsahaṃseti yo brūyād dhaṃso devaḥ sadāśivaḥ
    mātṛmodakanyāyena gṛhītavyaṃ[192] vicakṣaṇaiḥ 112
devayānasya pūrve tu pitṛyānasya cottare
    madhye tu setubandhasya gatvā bhūyo na jāyate 113
mano 'py anyatra nikṣiptaṃ dṛṣṭir anyatra pātitā
    tathāpi yogināṃ[193] yogo avyucchinnaḥ pravartate 114
avicchinnena saṃyuktaṃ devaṃ taṃ viddhi tattvataḥ
    kathitaṃ tu mayā vatsa[194] niḥsaṃdigdham avistaram 115[195]
ataḥ parataraṃ nāsti śivāt parataraṃ śivam
    brahmahatyādikaiḥ pāpair na ca lipyati tattvavit 116
asiddhau[196] tattvavic caiva dehapāte śivāntikam 117

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188 nigūḍhaṃ ca paraṃ guha] $N_1^{pc}N_2$; saprapaṃcaṃ X⏑– X paraṃ guruṃ N_1^{ac}; --- N_1^{vl}

189 guruvaktrāt tu] N_2; guruvaktrā tu N_1

190 °sthitaḥ śivaḥ] $N_1^{pc}N_2^{pc}$; °sthitaṃ śivaṃ N_1^{ac}; °sthitaśivaḥ N_2^{ac}

191 prāṇasyānte] N_1^{ac}; prāṇasyāṃta N_1^{pc}; prāṇasyāṃtar N_2

192 gṛhītavyaṃ] N_1^{pc}; grahītavyaṃ $N_1^{ac}N_2$

193 yogināṃ] N_1; yogīnāṃ N_2

194 vatsa] N_2; vaccha N_1

195 In N_1 this is the last line in the old hand. The following 6 *pāda*s are written in a later hand in the margin.

196 asiddhau] *conj.*; asiddho N_1N_2

Notes

1 Cf. *Sārdhatriśatikālottara* 1.4:

> *athātaḥ sampravaksyāmi śāstraṃ paramadurlabham*
> *nāmnā tu vātulāt tantrād dadhno ghṛtam ivoddhṛtam*

The parallel reveals that we should understand the locative *kālottare* as having the same sense as an ablative would here. The last *pāda* is an old cliché to be found, for instance, in *Mahābhārata* 13.17.13, 12.306.32; *Vīṇāśikhātantra* 317.

2ab Cf. the Nepalese and South Indian texts of the opening of the *Sarvajñānottara* (Goodall 1998:lx and fns. 145 and 146). The hypermetrical South Indian opening verse reads:

> *vṛkṣāṇāṃ sāratamaṃ puspaṃ samudrāṇāṃ kṣīrasāgaram*
> *tathā ca sarvaśāstrāṇāṃ sārabhūtaṃ śivāgamam.*

The fifth verse in the Nepalese opening reads:

> *madhuvat sarvapuṣpeṣu sāram uddhṛtya nirmitam*
> *tac cedaṃ sarvaśāstreṣu sāram uddhṛtya śambhunā.*

2cd Identical to *Sārdhatriśatikālottara* 1.5ab.

3ab Identical to *Sārdhatriśatikālottara* 1.6ab, except that Bhatt's edition has *tad* for *taṃ*. The latter is perhaps intended as a neuter accusative.

3d M^{Y}'s text could have been preferred, but it seems more likely that the conjectured reading, with a problematic hiatus in the middle of the *pāda*, gave rise to the variants we find.

3c–5 These lines are closely paralleled in the *Brahmayāmala* (f. 326^{v}, new numeration 331, lines 3–4):

> *sakalo niṣkalaḥ prokto devadevo nadātmanaḥ*
> *etad bījaṃ samākhyātaṃ sarvvamantraprasādhakam*
> *mantram ekan tu nādākhyaṃ smaraṇāsmaraṇocyate*
> *kim anyair bahubhir devi vibhāgais tu malātmakaiḥ*
> *jñātvā nādeśvaran devaṃ tyajet sarvvaṃ palālavat*

> *etat te tantrasarvvasvaṃ jñānamuṣṭiṃ varānane*
> *ālabdhā tena paśavaḥ śivaṃ yānti anāmayaṃ*
> *kim anyair bahubhir bbījaiś cittavyākulakārakaiḥ*
> *bījenaikena tat sarvvaṃ bahudā phaladāyakam*
> *prayogena tu sūkṣmeṇa yogadṛṣṭena mantravit*
> *mudrāmantraprayogaiś ca svadhyānādīpitaṃ drutam*
> *prayacchati mahāsiddhiḥ vidhinā sādhakasya tu*

This shared passage—we are not sure of the direction of borrowing—has inclined us to accept the readings of M^{Y} in 3c and 4b.

6ab This is evidently an old tantric cliché, found in exactly the same form in, e.g., *Niśvāsa Guhyasūtra* 14.101, *Tantrāloka* 29.65ab, *Tantrasadbhāva* 15.56ab, *Kaulajñānanirṇaya* 21.10ab, *Atharvavedapariśiṣṭa* 2.5.5, 35.1.4, *Guhyasiddhi* 1.66ab, and with small differences in formulation in, e.g., *Bhairavamaṅgala* 252cd.

7b Does this mean: 'That reality bestows compassion if one venerates Śiva according to prescription.' ?

yaṣṭvā] We would expect *samprasāraṇa* here, yielding the form *iṣṭvā*. The same form is found in 29. It appears to be common in a range of tantric scripture from various periods. It is not recorded by Oberlies 2003 as occuring in the epics.

8 *dviḥprakāram*] *dviḥ* by itself would mean twice, as would *dviprakāram*. What we have may not be correct Sanskrit but it may be authorial: cf. *triḥprakāram* in *Kubjikāmata* 20.23.

Note that there is no mention of the *liṅga* as the primary substrate of worship. Since this is a Siddhāntatantra, such an assertion might be expected. Here, in keeping with the reductionist spirit of the text, 'mental' (i.e. internal) worship is presented as being superior to exterior worship.

9 *bandhet*] This is an *aiśa* optative for *badhnīyāt*.

The first half-line does not mention which *mudrā* is intended. It is possible that the second half-line is intended to expand on the first, and that the *mudrā* is the *yogamudrā*: 'The wise person should place the *haṃsa* in his hand and make the *mudrā*: holding then [this] *yogamudrā*, with a correct posture, the *sādhaka*…' For the interpretation 'correct posture',

see TAK II, s.v. *karaṇa*. But since what immediately follows is the *mudrā* widely known as the *mahāmudrā*, which cannot be performed in a static posture, perhaps the text rather means to refer to three separate *mudrā*s: 'The wise person should place the *haṃsa* in his hand and make its *mudrā*. Then, after making the *yogamudrā* by [adopting] a correct posture, the *sādhaka*…'

10 '…with his hands he should touch his legs and his arms [and all the way up the body] up to his head.' *yāvamastakam*] The sense here is of course that of *yāvan mastakam*, which would be unmetrical here, and furthermore it would be unmetrical in the cadence of the even-numbered *pāda*, the place in which we least expect an infringement of the metre. We have therefore emended away the final letter of *yāvat* against grammar and against the evidence of the manuscripts. Final *t* is relatively frequently omitted from the end of third person optatives in *-et* in early Śaiva literature: see note on 98a below. There are a few instances of *yāvat* whose final *t* has been jettisoned for the sake of the metre preserved in the printed text of the *Svacchanda*: 4.234d, 7.90d, 7.136c and 11.73b.

Bhatt's text of *Sārdhatriśatikālottara* 1.15–16b reads as follows:

> *asya mudrāṃ pravakṣyāmi sādhakānāṃ hitāya vai*
> *hastābhyāṃ saṃspṛśet pādād ūrdhvaṃ yāvat tu mastakam*
> *eṣā mudrā mahāmudrā sarvakāmārthasādhikā*.

11c–12b Cf. *Sārdhatriśatikālottara* 8.33c–34b, which in Bhatt's text reads as follows:

> *vistaraṃ tyaja deveśa saṃkṣepāt kathayasva me*
> *yena vijñānamātreṇa paśūn mocayate kṣaṇāt*

Our text is hypermetrical, but probably authorially so. We might interpret thus: 'Leave aside, o Lord of the gods, [methods] which depend on other factors and teach me [a method] which is independent—[a method] through which, as soon as it is known, [the guru] may liberate a bound soul [through initiation].'

13b *parāparavyavasthitam*] This expression may not actually be corrupt; it is not clear to me what it means.

14 *prasādena*] On the identity of the *prasāda*-mantra (or *prāsāda-*), see note on 30 below.

15c–16b The awkward syntax here is avoided in Bhatt's text of *Sārdhatriśatikālottara* 8.5:

> *ajñātvaitāni tattvāni yo dīkṣāṃ kartum icchati*
> *vṛthā pariśramas tasya naiva tatphalam āpnuyāt*.

16c *mārgatrayam*] The three paths are presumably the three tubes best known (see note on 113) by the names *iḍā*, *piṅgalā* and *suṣumnā*.

17ab *jagataḥ so 'nugṛhṇāti*] Instead of this reading of M^Y, one could adapt that of the Nepalese MSS either to yield a hiatus between the *pāda*s or a frozen sandhi: *jagato anugṛhṇāti*. (For such frozen sandhis, see Oberlies 2003:21–4 and cf. 47ab, 92c 113cd.)

17c–18b This is another mismatched relative sentence: the correlative of *yaṃ yaṃ* must be *tat sarvam*.

19–20 This pair of verses is the same as *Sārdhatriśatikālottara* 16.1–2, except for the last half-line, 16.2cd, which Bhatt prints thus: *āpyāyane plutaś caiva bindunā mūrdhni bhūṣitaḥ*.

22 What is the plural subject in this verse? Are plural instances of the *prāsāda* referred to? If the *prāsāda* is in this text the *praṇava* (see note on 30 below), then could one describe instances of it as *praṇavādiprayuktāḥ*?

23d *siddhyate*] The anomalous *ātmanepada* is required here to fill the metre (otherwise both the 2nd and the 3rd syllables of the *pāda* would be short); but cf. note on 34d.

24–25b This is how Bhatt prints *Sārdhatriśatikālottara* 5.1ab, 2c–3b:

> *yajanaṃ saṃpravaksyāmi yathāvidhy anupūrvaśaḥ…*
> *hṛdayaṃ karṇikā padmaṃ dharmaṃ jñānādim eva ca*
> *vairāgyaṃ ca tathaiśvaryam īśāntaṃ vahnito nyaset*
> *śaktibhiḥ kesaravyūhaṃ hṛdayena tu kalpayet.*

In that text, the heart-mantra is used to generate each part of the throne of worship. In ours it is simply oṃ. The legs in the SE, SW, NW and NE are, as usual, entities with the names of the four positive qualities of the *buddhi*. From the distribution of readings, it seems likely to us that the perplexingly nonsensical formulation *dharmajñānādi-m-eva ca* was original to whichever text was the source of the non-eclectic recensions. We guess that the element *ādi* was at first intended to stand in place of the other members of the familiar list, which the redactor then after all supplied. As for its apparently masculine accusative ending, it could be supposed to have been intended as a mistaken neuter ending, or it could be assumed to be a euphonic 'glide' consonant introduced to obviate hiatus.

The last half-line quoted could be interpreted to mean: 'He should produce the group of filaments, together with [the nine] powers [of Vāmā, etc.] using the heart-mantra'. Our text might be parallel: 'so too [one should produce with the mantra oṃ] the powers [of Vāmā, etc.(?)] together with the stamens [on which they are to be installed]'.

25c It is unusual for oṃ to be divided up into so many *kalā*s. The reason for doing so here is presumably that it is used as the *mūlamantra*, in other words as Sadāśiva himself, whose mantric body in other contexts is the five *brahmamantra*s, which are quite regularly subdivided into 38 units (see TAK 2, s.v. *kalā* 3 and 4).

26–28 *Sārdhatriśatikālottara* 5.4–5 in Bhatt's edition read:

> *āvāhayet tato devaṃ hṛdayena tu ṣaṇmukha*
> *sthāpanaṃ pādyam arghyaṃ ca tathācamanam eva ca*
> *snapanaṃ pūjanaṃ caiva hṛdayena tu kārayet*
> *uktānuktaṃ ca yat kiñcit tat sarvaṃ hṛdayena tu*

This insistence on the use of the heart-mantra for all manner of named contexts and whenever in doubt is also to be found in the *Dviśatikālottara*, and it should therefore be no surprise, since that text is the base for the surviving *paddhati*-literature, that we find hāṃ, the heart-syllable, to be a ubiquitous constituent of mantras given in the *paddhati*s' injunctions. In our text, it is the *praṇava* which is used for all purposes,

in fact for even more, since it appears to replace even the *mūlamantra* and the *aṅgamantra*s.

The distribution of variants suggests that the odd double-*vṛddhi* form *sānnaidhyam* is original. (It is found as a variant, which should probably be adopted, in 59.3d in the old *Skandapurāṇa* and it occurs in early manuscripts of other tantric works, but in passages which appear not to have been published: an exception is *Svāyambhuvasūtrasaṅgraha* 4.67.) The variation between *argha* and *arghya*, which is to be found in the transmission of many texts, appears to be regionally determined: the former is typical of Northern sources and the latter of Southern ones. We hesitated whether to emend 28a to *vastrālaṅkāradānāni*, but decided that the Nepalese text was construable. We could translate 27d–28b as follows: 'He should give ...a golden thread for the waist, together with the gifts of clothes and ornaments, using the *praṇava*.'

29 *yaṣṭvā*] See note on 7b. We would expect *samprasāraṇa* here, yielding the form *iṣṭvā*.

30 Cf. *Sārdhatriśatikālottara* 15.4cd: *prāsādaṃ ye na budhyanti te na budhyanti śaṅkaram* and 8.41b: *na punarjanmatāṃ vrajet* In our context, it is odd to find praise of the *prāsāda* (of which *prasāda* is a synonym) at the end of a chapter in which only *praṇava* has been used and in which *praṇava* even serves as the root-mantra, in other words as Śiva. Now it could be argued that this is an instance of clumsy scissors-and-paste editing: the redactor stuck in here a stock *Kālottara* half-line that didn't happen to fit. But it seems rather more likely that the term *prāsāda* refers here not to the usual root-mantra of the non-eclectic recensions of the *Kālottara*, but rather to the root-mantra of this text: in other words, *prāsāda/prasāda* must be a synonym for *praṇava* in our tantra.

32–33b 32ab and 33ab are identical to *Sārdhatriśatikālottara* 6.3ab and 6.4ab. The intervening line in the *Sārdhatriśatikālottara* is: *hṛdayenaiva mantrajñaḥ sarvakarmāṇi kārayet*. Cf. note on 26–28.

yac cānyam] Note the *aiśa* use of the non-pronominal neuter ending on a pronoun. While OBERLIES records of epic usage that *anya* and other pronouns 'sporadically do not inflect as pronominal adjectives', his examples of nominal inflections are of the oblique cases (2003:111).

34d Here the anomalous *ātmanepada* is not metrically required (cf. note on 23d), unless we assume that M^{Y}'s reading is original; but the phrase is an old and widespread cliché, both with *siddhyante* (e.g. *Mahābhārata* 5.35.34) and with *siddhyate* (e.g. *Mahābhārata* 13.109.35).

35d *sarvakarmāvabhāsakam*] Presumably the idea intended is that the practice of yogic *dhāraṇā*s (and not their *lakṣaṇa*) help to make all ritual actions work.

36 *pārthivārṇavasaṃyuktām*] In Śaiva works, the meditative exercise (*dhāraṇā*) that focusses on the element 'earth' is be practised with a mantra containing the semi-vowel *la* (cf., e.g., Goodall 2004:360ff), which is therefore the seed-syllable (*varṇa* or *arṇa*) belonging to earth (*pārthiva*). The redactor of our text appears to have intended the word *arṇava*, 'ocean', to mean 'seed-syllable', doubtless in part because of having confused the words *varṇa* and *arṇa*. The variant readings recorded at this point reflect various attempts to normalise this anomaly. That the anomaly is authorial is suggested by its repetition in 41d.

37 *nagarāyatanasaṃkulām*] Instead of this hypermetrical reading, we could have adopted *nagāyatanasaṃkulām*, 'full of mountains and dwelling places'; but it bears a feature shared by authorially hypermetrical readings in other works: it begins with two short syllables than can be read together rapidly (cf. Goodall [quoting Tokunaga] 1998:lvii, fn. 132 and 2004:lxxxvi).

40 I interpret this reconstructed verse thus: 'The water-[fixation] (*vārijā*) is one which rains down club-like floods from roaring great clouds, which floods, down from the surface of the sky, [everything] up to the world of the gods.'

I assume that the *-jā* in *vārijā* is loosely used to mean 'connected with' and without its original sense of 'born from' (cf. the prevalence of semantically diluted, one-syllable, adjective-forming tags in the *Parākhya*: Goodall 2004:lxxxi–lxxxii).

khetala is an anomalous form, but we may believe it to be intended because it is repeated in 42. (It also occurs in, e.g. *Kṛṣṇayamāritantra* 4.61d). We assume that it means 'the "surface" of the sky' and has been formed as a counterpart to *bhūtala* on the mistaken analogy of such

*aluk-samāsa*s as *khecara*, 'which moves *in* the sky'. Here it seems doubly awkard because it occurs in a tautologous compound with *ambara*.

41cd Perhaps interpret: 'which destroys [everything] up to the noose of death that is the great flame from the fire of the poison [that emerged from the milk-ocean]'.

41d *vāruṇārṇavayojitā*] See note on 36.

42ab Whether or not one emends to a feminine ending at the end of this compound, one is inclined to interpret this as a *bahuvrīhi* describing the fire-fixation: 'By which the whole extent of the sky is set ablaze in a turmoil of flames [like those] of the fire [at the end a cycle] of time.' Two considerations have prompted me not to emend to *-khetalā*. The first is that there appear to be other instances of such unmoored adjectives, e.g. in 44. The second is that there are neuter(?) endings in the following half-line, which intervenes between this compound and the mention of the fixation it should describe, and which makes the impression of being a prose analysis of a *bahuvrīhi* from which the relative pronoun has anomalously been dropped. For *khetala*, see note on 40.

42cd Perhaps interpret: '[by which] a mass of water [may be] burned and almost (*iva*) be reduced to a heap of ash.' *saṅghāta* has been treated as a neuter noun.

43b *dhāraṇā-m-agnisaṃjñitā*] Intended, presumably, are two nominatives: it is to be assumed then that the *m* at the end of *dhāraṇā* functions as a euphonic glide. (There are of course other possibilities: that an accusative was intended, as in M^Y, or that there was originally a hiatus.)

43cd *nagoddhāre ripūtsāde himapāpapraṇāśane*] '[it is good for] uprooting mountains, extirpating enemies, destroying the evil(?) of snow'. The reading *himabādhāvināśinī* is also possible: it would leave the preceding locatives seeming even more untethered. It is that reading which suggests that *pāpa* should be taken as an 'evil' or obstacle. We could, however, interpret 'destroying snow and evil creatures', for cf. the *bhūta*s, *rākṣasa*s and *piśāca*s that the fixation of *vāyu* sweeps away in *Parākhya* 14.46. Both the *Parākhya* and *Mālinīvijayottara* 13.37 to some extent support the emendation to *nagoddhāre*, but neither passage uses the verb

uddhṛ, and it is possible that *nāgoddhāre* should be left unchanged and interpreted to mean 'drawing up snake[-person]s' (or perhaps just conceivably 'attracting elephants'?). Would the heat draw snake-folk up from the underworld? Cf. *Svāyambhuvasūtrasaṅgraha* 20.14:

> *nirbījīkaraṇe caiva himasya ca vināśane*
> *nāgoddhāre ripūtsāde dhāraṇāṃ dhārayed imām*
>
> nirbījī°] *conj.*; nivījī° M^{Y}; nivīcī° Ed.

44 Perhaps interpret: 'The fierce-wind-fixation: he should visualise the universe as having the extent of the sky filled with dust, such that the directions are churned up and broken apart.' The second half of the verse appears to contain a *bahuvrīhi* that has been half dismantled and which should perhaps be understood as though it read *raja-āpūritanabhastalam*. (It seems conceivable, however, that *sarvam* was intended to qualify *nabhastalam*.) The first half-line I have taken as a *bahuvrīhi* adverb, but, in spite of its ending, it might have been intended as an adjective describing the *vāyudhāraṇā* (cf. 42ab). And it is possible that the ending is corrupt and should be emended to a feminine nominative. It is assumed that *pracaṇḍamārutā* is given as the name of the fixation.

cintaye] N_1's *cintaye* has been retained, but treated as a third singular optative (*cintayet*). The final *t* in such optative forms seems often to drop off in Nepalese sources for early Saiddhāntika texts. Of course in many cases we cannot know whether this is not just because the sound was softened or suppressed in the pronunciation of some Nepalese scribes, but we can be reasonably certain that this is at least in some places an authorial feature. Consider, for instance, *Niśvāsa Mūlasūtra* 4.5: *caturthe pūjaye 'strāṇi gandhapuṣpair yathākramam*, 'In the fourth [circuit] he should venerate the weapons in due order with incense and flowers.'

In our passage, however, we are not forced by the metre to accept the anomalous *cintaye*. Furthermore, it may be noted that N_1's graph for *tsa* is sometimes rather close to its graph for *sa*, which might have been so of other manuscripts of its period, and so *cintaye* here is perhaps as likely to be a graphic confusion as an authorial anomaly. Verse 97 below presents us with the same difficulty.

45 Perhaps interpret: 'He should contemplate [everything?] as essentially empty, and situated in that [he should see] his self, and in that [in turn] the Lord God, the reality which is both Formed and Formless.'

Here the accusative masculine *devam* is put in apposition to the neuter *tattvam* and also to *bhagavam*, which must be intended as an accusative masculine singular. The qualification *sakalaniṣkala* is presumably intended to convey that it is Sadāśiva who is to be visualised.

46–47 'The best of *sādhaka*s should meditate on Him as raining down nectar, and then [he should see everything] as filled with that [nectar], right up to the top of the yoga-lotus[-throne]. Then, seated on the top of the yoga-lotus[-throne], he should see himself as the image/*liṅga*, which is the extremely subtle supreme glory of the great *prasāda*[-mantra].'

The worshipper should, as is usual in tantric visualisation, see himself as God. The lotus is clearly the lotus-throne that is imagined in daily worship. This throne is sometimes referred to as the *yogapīṭha* (see Goodall et al., 2005:23), which probably explains its being referred to here as *yogakamala*. The sense of *liṅga* here is not certain, but it might indeed be the so-called aniconic (*avyakta*) *liṅga* that is intended. Cf. *Śivadharmottara* 10.85–86:

> *aṅguṣṭhamātram acalaṃ dhyāyed oṅkāram īśvaram*
> *kadambagolakākāraṃ tārārūpam iva sthitam*
> *dhyāyed vā raśmijālena dīpyamānaṃ samantataḥ*
> *dhyāyed vā satanuṃ śāntaṃ vakṣyamāṇakarūpakam*

The frozen sandhi transmitted in the Nepalese text has been adopted, but M^{Y}'s more correct *yogakamalāntastha* would also be possible.

48a Here one could defend N_1's pre-correction reading on the grounds that the redactor might sometimes be treating these *dhāraṇā*s as masculine and sometimes as feminine.

49a A *ma-vipulā*, but without the normal preamble. From context we may assume that *pratilomam* is intended to mean '[the sequence of *tattva*s given in] reverse order'.

50c–52b *āpe* appears to be intended to be a locative singular of a masculine or neuter noun, though the noun in question is usually treated as feminine

and plural. The variants attest to transmitters' attempts to improve this oddity away. Similarly *teje* is intended to mean the same as *tejasi*, and *vyomne* stands for *vyomni*. Adopting the grammatically correct Nepalese reading *vyomni* would entail assuming a *pāda* in which both the 2nd and the 3rd syllables were short; M^{Y}'s *vyomne* is more likely to be authorial. The functions assigned to the elements are unsurprising, with the exception of *adhikāritvam*, which we have accordingly corrected, following N_2^{pc}, to *avikāritvam*.

52cd *evaṃbhūtā pratiṣṭhā tu*] One could perhaps instead read with M^{Y} thus: *evaṃ bhūtapratiṣṭhā ca*, and accordingly understand the half-line to mean: 'The anchoring [in living beings] of these elements [takes place] accordingly, but with each being split five ways.' For this sense of *pratiṣṭhā*, cf. perhaps *Īśvarapratyabhijñākārikā* 1.4ab: *tathā hi jaḍabhūtānāṃ pratiṣṭhā jīvadāśrayā*.

55b One could defend N_1's reading here, assuming that the redactor sometimes used *prātipadika*s in place of inflected forms.

55d This seems to be a *pāda* whose formulation provoked the wish to alter it, but what that formulation was is difficult to determine. N_2^{pc}'s *tejasyaite* assumes an irregular genitive *tejasya*, which could easily have been altered to the correct *tejasy ete*, and so it is perhaps not convincing as the reading that has given rise to the others. But I am not sure what would be.

57c The final *m* of *karmam*, which the scribe of N_2 has copied and then corrected away, could be regarded either as a wrongly regularised ending, or as a euphonic glide sound that obviates hiatus (see note on 99b below).

60c–62b These lines were first omitted by N_1 and then added in its margin by a later hand. But there is no strong reason to suspect them of being secondary; in fact they seem required. The *pāda* 61d is metrically awkard because both its second and third syllables are short. Perhaps one is intended to read the final syllable of *hṛdayam* as a nasalised, and therefore slightly lengthened, vowel sound, such as might be considered by some to be notated with an *anusvāra*, in spite of the following vowel. It is possible, however, that the redactor was not disturbed by the metrical irregularity of having both second and third syllables short.

63 Apart from the hiatus within the *pāda*, the treatment of *tanmātra* as masculine plural is irregular. The verse may mean: 'These are to be understood to be the subtle elements, and they have been declared to be objects. Those who do not understand the [true] origin of the soul call this [subtle body made up of subtle elements] the "inner controler".'. *Antaryāmin* is not a typically Śaiva usage, and it is possible that Vedānta-influenced thinkers are the people alluded to here.

64 The first quarter of this verse is obscure to me. The attribute *viṣayānanda-lakṣaṇa* is a cliché usually applied to *rāga* (e.g. *Niśvāsa Guhyasūtra* 7.224, *Rauravasūtrasaṅgraha* 1.9ab, *Svacchanda* 11.98cd, *Tantrasadbhāva* 11.96); but cf. *Rauravasūtrasaṅgraha* 2.19cd: *so 'srjad bhagavān īśo viṣayānandabhūmayaḥ* (in which we must take *-bhūmayaḥ* as feminine accusative plural).

67b Also conceivable would be *māyāsu mohitaḥ*, but an allusion to the cosmic matter *māyā* seems more likely.

68c Context suggests that *vimuhyante* is to be understood as the locative singular of a perfect passive participle (*vimohite* would here have been unmetrical).

69b This *pāda* is metrically anomalous in being entirely iambic (cf. GOODALL 2004:lxxxvi).

72a If N_1's *manodyāni* is correct (instead of N_2's plausible restitution *manojñāni*), then perhaps it could be an *aiśa* form with the sense of *manaudyānāni*, 'the pleasure-gardens of the mind'.

73 For the use of *ubhayārtham*, cf. *Svacchanda* 5.52ab: *samayān pālayen nityam ubhayārthaphalepsayā*, which Kṣemarāja glosses as follows: *ubhayārtham aihikam āmuṣmikaṃ ca phalaṃ: bhogo mokṣaś ca.* We may interpret our verse to mean: 'The mastery of knowledge is [of use] for liberation and for good behaviour and prudent conduct: this teaching, the Kālajñāna, which emanates from Śiva is [thus] for [success in] both [this world and the next].'

Colophon after 73 The irregular ordinal *ṣaṣṭhama* is perhaps formed on the analogy of *aṣṭama*.

74 Identical to *Sārdhatriśatikālottara* 10.6.

76 *śarīraṃ…ṣaṭkauśikam*] The body is often said to be made up of six 'envelopes' (*kośa*) in both tantric sources (e.g. *Svacchanda* 4.159 and 7.5 and *Netratantra* 3.12) and non-tantric ones (e.g., by implication, *Haracaritacintāmaṇi* 6.15–16, quoted in Goodall et al. 2005:170–1).[197] These are not to be confused with the five upanishadic *kośa*s. Three of these envelopes come from the mother and three from the father, as is explained in the *Niśvāsa Guhyasūtra* 7.161c–163b (f. 65v):

> *snāyvasthiśukrasaṃghātaṃ paitṛkaṃ trikam ucyate*
> *tvaṅ māṃsāṃ caiva raktaṃ ca mātṛkaṃ tṛkam ucyate*
> *etad annena satataṃ pānena ca vivardhitam*
> *sarvayonyāṃ śarīraṃ tu ṣaṭkauśikam udāhṛtam.*

(A corrupt version of this passage is to be found as *Rauravasūtrasaṅgraha* 4.22–3. Cf. also *Suprabheda*, *yogapāda* 1.21–22c (= *Śaivāgamaparibhāṣāmañjarī* 6.41-42c).) As Bhattacharya remarks (1966:13), there are some variations in the list: 'These are skin (or, according to another tradition, hairs), blood, flesh, tendons (or, according to another tradition, fat), bones, and marrow.' What he does not mention is that *śukra* may replace *majjā*. Kṣemarāja, in his commentary on the above mentioned passages of the *Svacchanda*, gives two different lists: *ṣaṭ kośāni tvaṅmāṃsaraktamajjāsthiśukrāṇi* (thus ad 7.5 and also in his commentary on *Netratantra* 3.12); *asṛṅmāṃsalomamajjāsthisnāyvākhyāḥ ṣaṭ kośāḥ sūkṣmadehopari kośākāratayā sthitāḥ* (thus ad 4.159). According to the *Mitākṣarā* on *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* 3.84, which explains a different conception, each of these elements cooks itself in its own envelope (*kośa*), and the next element on the list is produced as a result. The last element, semen, is held to be the first *kośa*.[198]

[197] I am grateful to M. Gerdi Gerschheimer for stimulating reflection on this subject. We had once intended to produce together (as signalled in Griffiths 2005:19, fn. 29) a note on the use of *kośa* as a so-called *bhūtasaṃkhyā* with the meaning '6'. (This note was to have formed part of the annotation on the date given in the Sanskrit verse at the beginning of the pre-Angkorian inscription K. 1214.)

[198] Commenting on *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* 3.84a (*tasya ṣoḍhā śarīrāṇi*), Vijñāneśvara explains: *tasyātmano yāni jarāyujāṇḍajaśarīrāṇi tāni pratyekaṃ ṣaṭprakārāṇi raktādiṣaḍdhātuparipākahetubhūtaṣaḍagnisthānayogitvena; tathā hi—annaraso jāṭharāgninā pacyamāno raktatāṃ pratipadyate; raktaṃ ca svakośasthenāgninā pacyamānaṃ māṃsatvam; māṃsaṃ ca svakośānalaparipakvaṃ*

77**ab** The morphology (*kotyaḥ* for *koṭayaḥ*) and syntax (singular verb with plural subject) are irregular; we should probably translate: 'There is (*sic*) three crores of hairs, plus half a crore on top [of that number]'. But perhaps one could instead adopt N_1's *roma kotyā bhavet tisraḥ*: 'the hair, in terms of crores, is three…'. These thirty-five million hairs constitute the first of the three *kośa*s that are the father's legacy, the other two being those of the teeth and nails. Thirty-five million is probably the number intended in the embryological account in the *Sarvajñānottara*, but the formulation in the Tanjore edition is unclear (2.52): *tisro 'rdhaṃ romakoṭayaḥ*. In the old Nepalese manuscript of that text, this appears as *tisro romakotyāḥ*, which might be evidence for after all taking *romakotyāḥ* as a nominative plural in N_1's reading of our text. For some observations on the wildly different versions of this part of the *Sarvajñānottara*, see Goodall 2004:244–5) and see the note on 78 below.

77**b** The usual ordinal would be *viṃśati* rather than *viṃśat* (Oberlies 2003:113), which is formed on the analogy of the ordinals *triṃśat* and *catvāriṃśat*, and which may, if N_1's precorrection reading is correct, have been further reduced to *viṃśa* here.

78 *palasahasraikaṃ* is irregular usage for *ekaṃ palasahasraṃ*; *medas* and *tvac* are here treated as *a*-stem nouns, the first by cutting off the final consonant, the second by adding the final *a*. Whereas the numbers given above for hair, teeth and nails were the same as those of the old (prose) version of this part of the *Sarvajñānottara*, these other measurements are widely divergent, for see *Sarvajñānottara* 30.51–62 (thus the numeration of my complete transcription of the text; in the Tanjore edition [E_T] this unit is 2.50–60; T. 334, pp. 15–16):

trīṇy asthiśatāni 51
nava snāyuśatāni nava dvārāṇi 52
majjā pañcaprasthā medaḥ prasthadvayam 53
tisro 'rdhaṃ romakoṭayaḥ 54
ekādaśottaraṃ marmaśatam 55
dravasya palānyaṣṭau rudhirasyāḍhakadvayam 56

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medastvam; medo 'pi svakośavahninā pakvam asthitām; asthy api svakośaśikhiparipakvaṃ majjātvam; majjāpi svakośapāvakaparipacyamānaś caramadhātutayā pariṇamate. caramadhātos tu pariṇatir nāsti iti sa evātmanaḥ prathamaḥ kośaḥ.

dvādaśa palāni śiśnajihvā 57
vṛṣaṇaṃ sārdhapalapañcakam 58
śukrasya kuḍuvatrayam 59
pittasyāḍhakam, sapta śirāśatāni ca 60
aniyataṃ mūtrapurīṣam āhārasyāniyatabhāvād vijñeyam 61
evaṃvidho 'yaṃ bhūtātmā puruṣa iti 62

• 51 trīṇy asthiśatāni] E_T; strīṇy asthiśatāni N_1; trīṇy astiśatāni 334 • 53 pañcaprasthā medaḥ] *em.*; paṃcaprastho meda N_1; paṃcaprastā medaḥ 334; pañcaprasthā meda E_T • 54 tisro 'rdhaṃ romakoṭayaḥ] E_T; tisro romakoṭyāḥ N_1; tisrordhvaṃ romakoṭyaḥ 334 • 55 ekādaśottaraṃ marmaśatam] E_T; ekādaśottaramarmmaśataṃ N_1; ekādaśottaraṃ rmaśita 334 • 57 dvādaśa palāni śiśnajihvā] E_T; dvādaśapalā jihvā N_1; dvādaśapalānimṇajihvā 334 • 58 vṛṣaṇaṃ sārdhapalapañcakam] E_T; vṛṣaṇorddhapalaṃ palam N_1; vṛkṣaṇaṃ sārdhapalapañcakam 334 59 śukrasya kuḍu°] N_1; śuklasya kuḍa° 334; śuklasya kuḍu° E_T • 60 pittasyāḍhakam, sapta śirāśatāni ca] 334E_T; pittasyāḍhakasaptakam śirāśatāni N_1; sapta śināśatāni ca 334 • 61 aniyataṃ mūtrapurīṣam āhārasyāniyatabhāvād vijñeyam] E_T; aniyatam mūtrapurīṣasya// āhārasyānyonyakarmāṇi aniyatabhāt vijñeyatvād N_1; aniyatamūtrapurīṣam āhārasyānitabhāvād vijñeyam 334 • 62 iti] N_1; iti cocyate 334E_T

The measurements are rather closer to those given in the verse re-write printed in the Devakottai edition (E_D) of the *Sarvajñānottara* (and therefore copied into the Adyar edition (E_A)), which I have found transmitted in no manuscript to date (E_D, 3.58c–62; E_A 170–3):[199]

dvātriṃśad daśanāḥ proktāḥ viṃśatiś ca nakhāḥ smṛtāḥ 58
pittasya kuḍavaṃ jñeyaṃ kaphasyārdhāḍhakaṃ smṛtam
vasāyāś ca palaṃ triṃśat tadardhaṃ kalalasya ca 59
pañcārbudaḥ palā jñeyāḥ palāni daśa medasaḥ
palatrayaṃ mahāraktaṃ majjā syāt taccaturguṇam 60
ardhaṃ ca kuḍavaṃ śukraṃ tadvīryaṃ prāṇināṃ balam
māṃsasya caikapiṇḍena sahasrapalam ucyate 61

[199] For a discussion of the three editions of a small part of the *Sarvajñānottara* and their wide discrepancies, see Goodall 2006 and 2004:238, fn. 332.

raktaṃ palaśataṃ jñeyaṃ viṇmūtraṃ cāpramāṇataḥ
iti dehas tv abhihito nityasyānitya ātmanaḥ 62

• 59b ° ḍhakaṃ] E_A; ° ḍakaṃ E_D • 60c pañcārbudaḥ] *conj.*; pañcārbuda° $E_D E_A$ • 61a śukraṃ] *em.*; śuklaṃ $E_D E_A$ • 62b cāpramāṇataḥ] E_D; ca pramāṇataḥ E_A

We expect our text to give measurements just of the three maternal *kośa*s—flesh, blood and fat—but the list continues.

We apologise to readers interested in knowing what the units of measure correspond to in some current scale: we are unable to supply this information.

81–89c This unit is part of the common stock of the non-eclectic recensions of the *Kālottara*: a slightly cleaned up version is to be found as *Sārdhatriśatikālottara* 10.6c–13.

81–82b This is perhaps to be interpreted as follows: '*prāṇa* is the first wind; it is the overlord of all the [other] nine. It is [called] *prāṇa* because it is the breath (*prāṇaḥ*) which consists of the life-force (*prāṇamayaḥ*).[200] [It serves] to expel and to fill up.'

The unit 81c–82b is virtually identical to *Svacchanda* 7.25 (which has *āpūrayann eva*) and very close to *Tantrasadbhāva* 24.19:

prāṇaḥ prāṇamayaḥ prāṇo visargāpūraṇaṃ prati
nityam āpūrayaty eṣa tasmāt prāṇaḥ prakīrtitaḥ

• prāṇaḥ] *conj.*; prāṇa° Dyczkowski • eṣa] *em.*; eṣā Dyczkowski

82cd Perhaps interpret: '*prāṇa* is present in people in such phenomena as inhaling, exhaling [or perhaps 'sighing, panting] and coughing'. The word *nicchvāsa* is not standard Sanskrit and has been retained on the assumption that it is a back-formation calqued upon *ucchvāsa* (with the same senses as *niḥśvāsa*, which appears in Bhatt's text of *Sārdhatriśatikālottara* 10.8a).

[200] Cf. *Parākhya* 4.115c.

83ab Almost identical to *Svacchanda* 7.26ab, but there *prāṇanaṃ* appears instead of *prayāṇaṃ*. The latter is shared by Bhatt's text (*Sārdhatriśatikālottara* 10.8c) and is confirmed by Rāmakaṇṭha's commentary ad loc. Cf. the *nirvacana*s cited in Goodall 2004:266, fn. 419.

83d *manujām adhaḥ*] The correct form would be *manujānām* ('of men'), but this has been contracted to suit the metre (perhaps on the analogy of pronominal genitives, such as *teṣām*, or of those of consonantal nouns/adjectives, e.g. *yogayujām*). The cleaned up text that Bhatt prints obviates the 'problem' by reading *ca nṛṇām adhaḥ* (*Sārdhatriśatikālottara* 10.9b). For the *nirvacana*, cf. *Parākhya* 4.115d.

84 Bhatt's less satisfactory text reads *mūtraśuklamalān vāyur* (*Sārdhatriśatikālottara* 10.9c) and *raktapittakaphādikam* (10.10b).

85d One could perhaps retain °*prakopanam* and take it in apposition to *samānaḥ*, or treat it as an adjective to *samānaḥ* whose ending has become attracted to the neuter endings of the other words in the line, rather than emending it (following Bhatt's text) to make the compound more regularly adjectival.

87ab Bhatt's text here reads instead: *prīter vināśakaraṇo vyāpanād vyāna ucyate*, 'It is that which destroys pleasure; it is called *vyāna* because it fills.' Our text, if correctly constituted, means 'It is taught to be the destruction of pleasure; *vyāna* is said to be [the cause of] senility.' We assume that *vārddhikya* (also to be found in the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, e.g. in 24.92c) is an anomalous form of *vārddhakya*.

87cd This half-line, which has a singular verb for a plural subject, has been omitted from Bhatt's text. The anomaly probably belonged to the common source of the non-eclectic recensions: note that in N_2's version of the same passage of the *Sārdhatriśatikālottara* (f. 6^v), the half-line is retained, but *procyate 'dhunā* is there replaced by *kathayāmi te*, even though the preceding words remain in the nominative.

88cd Bhatt's text (of *Sārdhatriśatikālottara* 10.13ab) reads: *kṛkaras tu kṣute caiva devadatto vijṛmbhaṇe*. This makes *kṛkara* responsible for sneezing, whereas our text, as now consituted, appears to make it responsible for hunger. Of course, if one retained *kṣubhite*, one could strain to interpret

it to mean 'shaking [produced by sneezing]'. But it is even possible that *kṣudhite* is intended to mean 'sneezing' here, for the word recurs below in 92 (where again BHATT's text has *kṣuta*) as the first in a sequence of activities which continues with yawning, coughing and sighing. Sneezing would clearly fit better in such a sequence. It is, however, hunger with which *kṛkara* is associated in in *Gheraṇḍasaṃhitā* 5.65c (*…kṣuttṛṣaṃ kṛkaraś caiva*) and in some minor *upaniṣat*s: e.g. *Jābāladarśanopaniṣat* 4.34; *Śāṇḍilyopaniṣat*, *adhyāya* 1, prose section 4; *Yogacūḍāmaṇyupaniṣat* 25. Confusion on the point probably goes back some centuries, and we find that a few other texts do indeed make *kṛkara* responsible for sneezing: e.g. *Pādmasaṃhitā yogapāda* 2.37 and *Gheraṇḍasaṃhitā* 5.64c (*kṛkaraḥ kṣutkṛte jñeyaḥ*). The associations of these five breaths with bodily functions in *Svacchanda* 7.311ff do not appear to help with interpreting our text.

90cd Cf. *Sārdhatriśatikālottara* 11.3:

> *saṃkrāntiṃ viṣuvaṃ caiva ahorātrāyanāni ca*
> *adhimāsam ṛṇaṃ cāpi ūnarātraṃ dhanaṃ tathā*

91–104 This notion of *śaktisamarasa* does not occur in the *Sārdhatriśatikālottara*, but we find it in a damaged parallel passage in the *Niśvāsa Uttarasūtra* (f. 28ᵛ–29ʳ):

> *saṅkrānti viṣuvañ caiva śaktisamarasaṃ śṛṇu 5.36*
> *ūrdhvaprāṇo hy ahaś caiva apāno rātrir eva ca*
> *suṣumṇā uttaraṃ jñeyam iḍā vai dakṣiṇāyanam 5.37*
> *madhyadeśe yadā hy ātmā viṣu[[vaṃ]] taṃ vidur budhāḥ*
> *calate gacchate caiva madhyadeśe yadā pumān 5.38*
> *saṅkrāntir iti vikhyātā śaktiś caiva nibodha me*
> *tṛtīye caiva āyāme dvipūrvaṃ ṣaṣṭhabindukam 5.39*
> *śrūyate ca yadā śaktiḥ śrutvā budhvā ca mānavaḥ*
> *līyate ca śive devi bhinnadehe na saṃśayaḥ 5.40*
> *na śaktirahitā mantrā dīkṣānugrahakārakāḥ*
> *[[śakti]]hīnā na siddhyanti na ca yānti parāṅ gatim 5.41*
> *śivaṃ sarvagataṃ viddhi nāmarūpavivarjitam*
> *cinmātraḥ puruṣaś caiva śivo vyāpya vyavasthitaḥ 5.42*
> *vāsayet samarasaś cāhaṃ śivena saha saṃyutaḥ*

evaṃ samaraso bhūtvā gacchate śivam avyayam 5.43
athavā tu nirālambam mūrdhni-m-ālambya yatnataḥ
yāgaṃ yogaṃ japaṃ dhyānaṃ sarvakarmāṇi kārayet 5.44
śivam ādhāya karmmāṇi kurvann api na lipyate
yogasiddhim avāpnoti śivasāyojyatāṃ vrajet 5.45
jñānayogo mayā khyāta akleśāt siddhimokṣadaḥ
suparīkṣya pradātavyaṃ abdatrayanivāsine 5.46
brāhmaṇe vṛttisampanne kṣatriye dharmmaśīline
vaiśye caiva dayāyukte śūdre śuśrūṣatatpare 5.47
anyathā duṣṭamarttyānām niṃdātarkkānuvarttinām
na deyaṃ śivasadbhāvam anyāyapathavarttinām 5.48
śivabhaktivihīnā ye gurubhaktivivarjitāḥ
jijñāsākautukālīnā na deyan tattvam uttamam 5.49

• 38ab hy ātmā viṣuvaṃ] *em.*; hy --- ṃ N_1; hy ⊔ vaṃ K; ⊔ W • 41b mantrā dīkṣānugrahakārakāḥ] W; marttyā dīkṣā--- N_1; martyā dīkṣānugraha ⊔ K • 42c cinmātraḥ puruṣaś caiva] *conj.*; cimnātram puruṣañ caiva N_1; viśvāntaṃ puruṣaṃ caiva K^{pc}; viśvāntaṃ puruṣaṃ viddhi K^{ac}; vighnātram puruṣaṃ caiva W • 43a vāsayet] N_1W; vāsayan K • 44ab nirālambam mūrdhni-m-ālambya] *conj.*; nirālambam mūrdhnim ālabhya N_1; nirālamba ⊔ mālabhya K; nirālamba ⊔ vim ālabhya W • 44cd yāgaṃ yogaṃ japaṃ homaṃ sarvakarmāṇi] *conj.*; yogayoga --- ṇi N_1; yoge yoge ⊔ ṇi K; yogayogaṃ japahoma ⊔ ṇi W(*unmetrical*) • 46b °mokṣadaḥ] K; °mokṣadaṃ N_1W • 47d śuśrūṣatatpare] *em.*; --- re N_1; ⊔ K; su re W • 49c °līnā] K; °līnān N_1W

With the help of the above, we may translate part of our passage (90–98) as follows:

> I shall teach you of the movement [of the breath around] the body, of days, nights and the [Northern and Southern] turnings [of the sun], of transition [from one planetary house to another], of the equinox, of the suppression of calendrical nights and of intercalary months, of a equal mixture of power. The 'southward turning [of the sun]' is to be understood to be [when the life-breath is] in [the tube called] *iḍā*.

> When the [life-breath that in some sense carries and is therefore identified with the] 'soul' is in the centre, then the wise know this to be 'equinox'. When the 'soul' comes and goes into the centre, or also into the North or South [tubes], then this is taught to be 'transition'. The 'suppression of a night' [takes place] where one sneezes(?); when one yawns, [this is] an 'intercalary month'. The upward breath is 'day' and the downward breath is 'night'. Power pervades all beings: hear [about her] from me: in the third stretching [of the breath, viz. *recaka*] when the *śakti* is heard, [which is] the second of the first [group of letters viz. K, followed by] the sixth [vowel, namely Ū, with] the *anusvāra*, and when, upon hearing it the man understands, then he is merged in God Śiva, o Goddess, and, upon his body being destroyed, he goes to *śiva*. Mantras, if devoid of power, do not bestow the grace that is initiation. Those without power do not succeed and do not reach the supreme destiny. Śiva should be understood to be omnipresent, devoid of name and form. Śiva is soul that is pure consciousness; he rests pervading everything. One should meditate, linked with Śiva, on [everything as] being of the same flavour. Having thus become of the same flavour [as everything else], one goes to indestructible *śiva*.

There are three possible explanations of there being shared material here: our text could be borrowing from the *Niśvāsa*; the *Niśvāsa* could be borrowing from our text; both texts could be drawing on a third source. We are inclined to favour the first of these, for we expect the *Mūla-* and *Uttara-sūtra*s of the *Niśvāsa* to be amongst the earliest surviving Saiddhāntika writing. There is also a small detail that suggests this direction of borrowing: the *Niśvāsa*'s vocative *devi* (in 5.40c) seems natural in that context; our text's *deve* in the same place (94c) has to be taken in apposition with *śive*, which is not especially awkward, but it seems likely to be a secondary alteration made necessary because our text is addressed to Skanda.

In dualist works, *sāmarasya* is not common, but a yogic *sāmarasya* may be induced in the initiand's soul before it is extracted from his body by the initiating *guru* (*Mṛgendravṛtti* ad *kriyāpāda* 8.66–8). This is the context

in which such a yogic *sāmarasya* is preached in the *Svacchanda* (4.297c–315). There it is divided into seven sequential levels, the fourth of which is a *śaktisāmarasya* (4.297d): *śaktau kuryāt caturthakam*.

93c Note the frozen *sandhi* of *ūrdhvaprāṇo* before an initial vowel; the *Niśvāsa* here has a hiatus-blocking particle *hi*.

97cd One could consider emending to *cinmātraḥ puruṣo* and making this into two statements: 'the soul should be understood to be purely of consciousness; Śiva pervades [everything].'

98a Although we have retained N_1's *bhāvaye*, the sense is of course that of N_2's *bhāvayet*, cf. note on 44 above.

99b *mūrdhni-m-ālambya*] The *m* following the locative *mūrdhni* is assumed to be a euphonic glide to obviate hiatus with the following vowel (cf. Oberlies 2003:5; 90, fn. 3; 116, fn. 4).

100a Given the parallel, we are reluctant to emend to *śivam ādhyāya*; understand perhaps: 'If one places [one's mind in] Śiva…'

101c–104 Locatives, genitives and datives are used interchangeably with dative sense (Oberlies 2003:348), and, what is more, here the dative *dharmaśīline* qualifies the locative *kṣatriye*. In this case the dative form ends in *-e*, the thematic locative ending; but other early Saiddhāntika literature also furnishes instances of thematic datives (in *-āya*) made to agree with thematic locatives, e.g. *Niśvāsa Nayasūtra* 4.47:

> *saṃsārabhayavitraste dharmajñe priyavādine*
> *japaliṅgārcaniṣṭhāya dātavyaṃ tu jitendriye*.

The reading *suparīkṣya pradātavyam abdatrayanivāsine* in our parallel is more logical than what we have, which must be understood to be elliptical: 'Without examining [the candidate] one should not give [this knowledge; but one may give it] to one who has dwelt in the *gurukula* for three years'. Our text's *jijñāsakautukārthibhyo* is perhaps a secondary correction of the *Niśvāsa*'s anacoluthic *jijñāsakautukālīnā*, 'those sunk in curiosity and thirst for knowledge'.

105 Identical to *Sārdhatriśatikālottara* 23.2.

106–7 The passage continues differently in the *Sārdhatriśatikālottara* (23.3–4b):

> *haṃsa haṃseti yo brūyād dhaṃso devaḥ sadāśivaḥ*
> *guruvaktrāt tu labhyeta pratyakṣaṃ sarvatomukhaḥ*
> *tileṣu ca yathā tailaṃ puṣpe gandha iva sthitaḥ*

The first of these half-lines occurs below in our text as 111ab. What is being described is of course the notion that breathing can be treated as the repetition of HAṂSA, a notion referred to in later texts as *ajapājapa* (q.v. in TAK 1; see also s.v. *gamāgama* in TAK 2).

108–10 'Because Śiva residing in one's body utters himself, men who know the truth call this same [practice of breathing] "recitation". Knowing [Him to be] inside the [course of the] breath, [one should know that] the end of that [course] is the [place] twelve finger-breadths [beyond the nose-tip]. One should know that there inside that [place] is the all-pervading, the spotless. By means of the *śakti* the [life-breath that in some sense carries and is therefore identified with the] "soul" is led to that point and, once it has reached there, it returns. Once one knows this to-and-fro, one is liberated; of this there is no doubt.'

Verse 108 = *Dviśatikālottara* 7.36c–37b. Cf. also *Svacchanda* 7.56cd (*tasyāyaṃ japa uddiṣṭaḥ siddhimuktiphalapradaḥ*) and 7.59cd (*svayam uccarate haṃsaḥ prāṇinām urasi sthitaḥ*).

ante] We are assuming that this pre-correction reading of N_1 was used in the sense of *antaḥ*.

sarvavyāpī nirañjanam] We are assuming that the masculine nominative singular, perhaps in part because it is in apposition with a form that could be nominative (in the neuter) or accusative, is treated as though it were accusative here. Of course it would be easy enough to avoid the problem here by emending to the neuter *sarvavyāpi*.

śaktinā] This is of course intended as an instrumental singular, of which the correct form would be *śaktyā*. Cf. OBERLIES 2003:86, who records one epic use of Śakti (a masculine proper name) declined as though it were a noun in *-in*. The line appears in BHATT's text of the *Sārdhatriśatikālottara* thus (23.13cd): *śaktyā tu nīyate jīvas tasmin prāpya nivartate*.

111 *vyāpayet*] This could be treated as an instance of the causative with the sense of the simplex, or as an irregular simplification of the optative *vyāpnuyāt*.

112cd '[This practice of "*japa*"] should be taken up by wise persons in the same manner that [a child takes] a sweet from its mother.' Cf. *Vijñānabhairava* 13cd: *mātṛmodakavat sarvaṃ pravṛttyarthaṃ udāhṛtam*. In that passage, it is descriptions of Bhairava that are compared to sweets: they are not ultimately true but serve as inducements to motivate meditators.

113 The association of two of the three principal tubes with ancestors and with gods is unsurprising, but I am not sure how to interpret *pūrve* and *uttare*. In a passage of the *Niśvāsakārikā* (32.85ff, T. 17, pp. 236ff) we find the *pitṛyāna* associated with the moon and with the tube *iḍā*, while the *devayāna* is assocated with the sun and with *suṣumnā*, which is there not the central tube, but the one on the right. (The naming of the three principal tubes varies in early tantric literature: see TAK 2, s.v. *amā*, among the Corrigenda and Addenda.) This is essentially the same in the *Svacchanda* (7.148–9) and in the *Sarvajñānottara* (4.46, T. 334, p. 32; Nepalese MS, f. 5^{v}), except that the right-hand tube there is, as eventually became normal, called *piṅgalā*. In *Sāmbapañcāśikā* 49, however, the positions appear to be reversed.

Cf. *Svacchanda* 4.303–304b, which describe *sāmarasya* at the level of the tubes:

> *mantra ātmā tathā nāḍī evaṃ samarasībhavet*
> *vāmadakṣiṇamadhye tu tato nādaṃ pramocayet*
> *setubandhaṃ ca taṃ mārgaṃ yatra gatvā na jāyate*

This might seem to suggest that *setubandha* is simply the name for the central tube; but Kṣemarāja begins a new sentence with *tato* and seems to understand *setubandha* to refer rather to a path formed by the subtler levels of sound in the enunciation of the mantra (*śaktivyāpinīsamanonmanārūpasetubandhātmakaṃ mārgaṃ sarvādhvapāravartiśivapadaprāpakaṃ panthānaṃ nādaṃ mocayed gamayet*). Something similar might be intended in *Sāmbapañcāśikā* 50.

114 For the frozen sandhi between *pāda*s c and d, see note on 17ab. Again,

the problem has been obviated by the insertion of a particle in Bhatt's text of the parallel section in the *Sārdhatriśatikālottara* (23.15–16b):

> *tadantaṃ tad vijānīyāt tatrastho vyāpayet prabhuḥ*
> *mano 'py anyatra nikṣiptaṃ cakṣur anyatra pātitam*[201]
> *tathāpi yogināṃ yogo hy avicchinnaḥ pravartate*

116cd Cf. *Niśvāsakārikā* 15.98cd (T. 17, p. 84): *brahmahatyādibhiḥ pāpaiḥ naiva lipyeta yogavit*. The form *lipyati* is of course intended as a passive (cf. Oberlies 2003:191, fn. 4).

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sarvajñānottaratantra. NAK MS 1–1692. NGMPP Reel No. A 43/12. Palm-leaf, early Nepalese 'Licchavi' script. Also GOML MS D 5550 and IFP T. Nos. 334, 760, paper transcripts in Devanāgarī. The verse and chapter numeration used in our annotation is that of Dominic Goodall's edition in progress.

sārdhaśatikakālottara. NAK 5-4632. NGMPP Reel No. B 118/7. Paper, Nāgarī script.

[201] This half-line is also to be found as *Svacchanda* 7.58ab.

Bharadvājas Nyāsopadeśaḥ: Bemerkungen zu Bhāradvājasaṃhitā 1,1–70

Gerhard Oberhammer

Im vorliegenden Beitrag sollen einige Gedanken zum ersten Adhyāya der Bhāradvājasaṃhitā dargelegt werden, die nicht eine Studie zu diesem Text, der bisher kaum Beachtung gefunden hat, ersetzen, sondern vielmehr darauf hinweisen möchten, dass dieser, auch wenn er kein alter Text des Pāñcarātra ist, für ein Studium der Geschichte dieser Tradition von Interesse sein kann. Es handelt sich um jenen Text, den D. Smith in seinem *Descriptive Bibliography of the Printed Texts of the Pāñcarātrāgama* als Bhāradvājasaṃhitā II (im Folgenden NyāsU) bezeichnet. Dieser ist, auch wenn er, jedenfalls in einem weiteren Sinne, als Pāñcarātra-Text bezeichnet werden kann, als literarisches Werk dieser Tradition zunächst befremdlich. Schon D. Smith hat darauf hingewiesen, dass er wegen seiner Beschränkung auf die Lehre von der *prapattiḥ* für eine Pāñcarātrasaṃhitā atypisch sei:

„There is no doubt that it is the product of the Pāñcarātra school although it is obviously from a period well after Rāmānuja's time. A suggestion is made in the opening lines that this work may once have formed part of a larger, more comprehensive text. But there is no proof that the work was ever essentially other than what we now have.“[1]

Die Vermutung des Autors ist überzeugend. Der Text ist eine in sich geschlossene Darstellung der *prapattiḥ* / des *nyāsaḥ*, die durchaus den Eindruck eines eigenständigen Werkes macht, zeigt aber eindeutige Bezüge zum Pāñcarātra, auch wenn der Text selbst sich nicht als ein Werk der Schule gibt: Er ist entweder ein Pāñcarātra-Werk zur Praxis des Zufluchtnehmens bei Gott, ohne Berücksichtigung der tantrischen Praxis dieser Tradition, das in der Spiritualität der Rāmānuja-Schule verfasst ist, oder ein Werk der Rāmānuja-Schule, das sich jedoch der Tradition des Pāñcarātra verpflichtet weiß. Dass es sich um ein selbständiges Werk handeln muss, wird auch dadurch nahegelegt, dass ihm im Laufe der Überlieferungsgeschichte ein Pariśiṣṭam in vier Adhyāyas hinzugefügt

[1] Smith 1975:316f.

wurde, was bei einem Teilabschnitt einer Saṃhitā wohl nicht denkbar wäre, es sei denn, dass dieser lange Zeit selbständig überliefert worden wäre und nicht mehr als Teil einer Saṃhitā empfunden wurde. Der Hinweis D. SMITH's auf die Einleitungsverse des Textes ist zwar berechtigt, aber so wie für D. SMITH selbst, nicht überzeugend. Die Verse selbst lauten:

„Nachdem die Maharṣis alle Dharmas und die durch sie bleibend [zu erlangende] Vollendung vernommen hatten, sagten sie noch Folgendes zu dem trefflichsten der Munis. (1) 'Durch welches Mittel, Ehrwürdiger, können selbst alle Menschen hier sogleich die höchste Vollendung erlangen, wenn deren Unreinheit geschwunden ist?' (2) Als Bharadvāja, der Großmütige, diese ihre Rede vernommen hatte, gedachte er dieses überaus großen Geheimnisses und sagte [ihnen] erwidernd folgendes: (3) 'Hört! Ich will euch den höchsten Yoga, der *nyāsaḥ* genannt wird, und die [durch ihn] bleibend [zu erlangende] Vollendung verkünden. Beides wurde von mir [in jener Zeit] vernommen. (4) Dieser Yoga wird in den Veden und in den Upaniṣaden gefeiert und ebenso auch in den Dharmaśastren und [allen] göttlichen Lehren [der Offenbarung]. (5) Denn durch diesen erlangen die Bemühungen (*yogāḥ*) der Yogins wie Ritualwerk usw. [ihre] Vollendung. Ihm [selbst] kommt Vollendung zu, unabhängig von diesen [Bemühungen der Yogins]. Daher betrachten sie ihn als den höchsten. (6)“[2]

Der Text gewinnt im Kontext seiner Zeit, die jedenfalls durch den Viśiṣṭādvaita nach Rāmānuja und die Spiritualität der Śrīvaiṣṇavas geprägt ist, trotz der Trivialität seiner Aussagen seine eigentliche Bedeutung. Zunächst fällt auf, dass er sich selbst nicht als göttliche Offenbarung gibt, sondern als alt überkommene Lehre, die von Bharadvāja erinnert und verkündet wird, auch wenn sie letztlich auf die Autorität der vedischen Offenbarung, der Dharmaśāstren und auf die Tradition des Pāñcarātra zurückgeführt wird, die vermutlich mit den „göttlichen Lehren“ (*divyaśāstrāṇi*) gemeint ist. Bemerkenswert ist, dass der Verfasser des Textes, der von sich selbst nicht spricht, auch die Fiktion, dass es sich um eine Offenbarung Bharadvājas handle, gelegentlich außer Acht lässt. Dies zeigt sich nicht nur darin, dass die Dialogstruktur, die

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[2]NyāsU 1,1–6: *śrutvā tu sakalān dharmān siddhim eṣāṃ ca śāśvatīm | bhūya eva muniśreṣṭham idam ūcur maharṣayaḥ || 1 || kenopāyena bhagavan iha sarve 'pi jantavaḥ | prāpnuyuḥ paramāṃ siddhiṃ sadyo vigatakalmaṣāḥ || 2 || teṣāṃ tad vacanaṃ śrutvā bharadvājo mahāmanāḥ | sasmāra paramaṃ guhyaṃ punaś cedam abhāṣata || 3 || śrūyatāṃ sampravakṣyāmi nyāsākhyaṃ yogam uttamam | siddhiṃ caivāsya paramāṃ dvayam etac chrutaṃ yathā || 4 || ayaṃ ca yogo vedeṣu vedānteṣu ca gīyate | tathaivaṃ dharmaśāstreṣu divyaśāstragaṇeṣu ca || 5 || anenaiva hi karmādyā yogāḥ sidhyanti yoginām | siddhir na tadvyapekṣāsya tasmād enaṃ paraṃ viduḥ || 6 ||*.

sonst in einer Saṃhitā begegnet, in den Hintergrund tritt und praktisch in eine *erzählte* Belehrung übergeht, sondern beispielsweise auch in einem Zitat, das dem „Muni", offenbar Bharadvāja selbst, zugeschrieben wird. In Vers 1,51 heißt es: „Mit der Hand den Körper [des Schülers] berührend, möge der Mantrenkundige (*mantravit*) [den Schüler], dadurch dass er [ihn] anblickt, [zu einem Zuflucht Nehmenden] machen. Sagt [doch] der Muni selbst, dass dies die Dīkṣā für alle Varṇas ist",[3] wodurch deutlich wird, dass hier der Verfasser des Textes spricht und nicht Bharadvāja. Man muss wohl daraus schließen, dass der Text selbst sich nicht als einen ursprünglichen „Offenbarungstext" versteht, sondern als einen in der Tradition eines solchen stehenden Traktat, selbst wenn dieser als „Belehrung Bharadvājas über die *prapattiḥ*" stilisiert ist.

Dieser Eindruck bestätigt sich, wenn der Text in Vers 1,5 von der *prapattiḥ* sagt: „Und diese [spirituelle] Praxis (*yogaḥ*) wird in den Veden und Upaniṣaden gepriesen; ebenso auch in den Dharmaśāstren und den göttlichen Lehren." Dies ist bemerkenswert. Denn hier beruft sich der Verfasser auf die allgemein anerkannten Autoritäten der Orthodoxie und nicht auf eine spezielle Offenbarung des Pāñcarātra, auch wenn er dieses mit der Rede von den göttlichen Lehren (*divyaśāstrāṇi*) mit einschließt.[4] Dies ist das gleiche Verfahren wie in Varadagurus Prapannaparijātam, wo dieser, wenn auch wesentlich ausführlicher, das gleiche tut.[5] Die Parallelität des Vorgehens, nicht der Inhalt des Verses selbst, der einfach nur ein inklusivistisches Zurückführen tantrischer Praxis auf Autoritäten der Orthodoxien sein könnte, legt den Gedanken nahe, dass es sich um einen Topos gelehrter Inhalte handeln könnte.

Tatsächlich geht diese Parallelität aber auch noch weiter. Versucht man nämlich diesen 1. Adhyāya seinem Inhalt nach zu analysieren, so folgt anschließend an die Aufzählung der Autoritäten eine allgemeine Definition der *prapattiḥ*: „Das totale Hingeben seiner selbst (*ātmabharanyāsaḥ*)[6], wenn man entschlossen ist, das im Jenseits Erwünschte zu verwirklichen, und dieses durch nichts anderes verwirklicht werden kann, wird *prapattiḥ* genannt. (7) Diese, die überall von den Menschen im allgemeinen aufgrund der Wirksamkeit der Guṇas praktiziert wird, lässt allen das von ihnen jeweils Erwünschte Wirk-

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[3] *kareṇa sparśayan gātraṃ mantravid bhāvayed dṛśā. eṣā vā sarvavarṇānāṃ dīkṣety āha muniḥ svayam*.

[4] Dieselben Autoritäten werden auch in NyāsU 3,36ff. erwähnt.

[5] Vgl. PraP 1, das im Kolophon als *pramāṇapaddhatiḥ* bezeichnet wird.

[6] Der Terminus *ātmabharanyāsaḥ* ist meines Wissens erst für eine spätere Entwicklung der Rāmānuja-Schule, etwa für Veṅkaṭanātha, belegt.

lichkeit werden. (8)“[7] Auch Varadaguru schließt an sein Kapitel des Prapannaparijātam über die Autoritäten, welche die *prapattiḥ* lehren, ein Kapitel über das Wesen der *prapattiḥ* (*svarūpam*) an, das er mit einer Definition beginnt, die dem erwähnten Vers NyāsU 1,7 voll entspricht: „Die aus dem Vertrauen kommende Bitte als dem einzigen Mittel, das [zu erlangen], was man erwünscht hat und durch nichts anderes erlangen kann, ist *prapattiḥ*, das Zufluchtnehmen. Mit dem Wort ‘Zufluchtnehmen’ ist die *prapattiḥ* näher bestimmt.“[8] Auch wenn Varadagurus Darlegung des Wesens der *prapattiḥ* wesentlich ausführlicher ist als NyāsU 1,7, folgt die an diesen anschließende Darlegung der Lehre von der *prapattiḥ* im Grunde einer ähnlichen Anordnung.

Tatsächlich ist die Definition in NyāsU 1,7 im Sinne des theologischen Verständnisses weiter entwickelt als die vom Herausgeber des Prapannaparijātam einem Bharatamuni zugeschriebene Definition in PraP 2,2, auch wenn sie sich dem Wortlaut nach kaum von jener unterscheidet. Sie ist nämlich nicht mehr wie bei Varadaguru so allgemein, dass sie auch das profane Verständnis der *prapattiḥ* in den Dharmaśāstren mit einschließt, sondern scheint nur im Sinne eines Strebens nach Emanzipation (vgl. *paratreṣṭasya sādhane*) gemeint zu sein, wie man auch aufgrund von NyāsU 1,8 annehmen möchte, dessen Hinweis auf die „Macht der Guṇas“ (*guṇavaśāt*) sonst kaum verständlich ist. Denn das Zufluchtnehmen im Sinne des Dharmaśāstra, etwa das von Frauen und Kindern zum Zeitpunkt einer Gefahr, kann nicht aufgrund der Macht der Guṇas erklärt werden. Vielmehr kann hier nur ein religiös begründetes Zufluchtnehmen bei anderen Göttern wie Brahmā und Śiva gemeint sein, das für den frommen Vaiṣṇava sehr wohl aus dem durch die Guṇas geprägten Charakter der Verehrer verständlich wird.

So versteht es jedenfalls auch der Kommentar zu NyāsU 1,8: „Das Merkmal der *prapattiḥ* ist nicht, dass sie als solche den Erhabenen zum einzigen Gegenstand hat, sondern dass sie die Emanzipation bewirkt. [Akte der] *prapattiḥ*, welche die Frucht der jeweiligen Begierden anstreben, können [nämlich] auch andere Gegenstände als das höchste Heil zum Gegenstand haben; [diese] haben in [den Guṇas] Rajas und Tamas [ihre] Wurzel. [In diesem Sinne] sagt er ‘hauptsächlich aufgrund der Guṇas’, [nämlich] der Kraft von Rajas und Tamas;

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[7] NyāsU 1,7–8: *niścite ’nanyasādhyasya paratreṣṭasya sādhane | ayam ātmabharanyāsaḥ prapattir iti cocyate || 7 || prāyo guṇavaśād eṣa kṛtaḥ sarvatra dehinām | sarveṣāṃ sādhayaty eva tāṃs tān arthān abhīpsitān || 8 ||* .

[8] PraP 2,2f.: *ananyasādhye svābhīṣṭe mahāviśeṣitā | tad ekopāyatāyāññā prapattiḥ śaraṇāgatiḥ | śaraṇāgatiśabdena prapattis tu viśeṣitā.*

das Entsagen (*nyāsaḥ*), wenn es beispielsweise mit Brahmā, Rudra usw. als Objekt vollzogen wird, verwirklicht allen Menschen in der Regel das jeweils Begehrte, [nämlich] das [von ihnen] Gewünschte. Mit dem sprachlichen Ausdruck *eva* wird deutlich gemacht, dass die *prapattiḥ*, wenn sie ein dem Mitleid entsprechendes Ziel zum Gegenstand hat, nicht ohne [ihre] Frucht ist, macht [aber auch] deutlich, dass die *prapattiḥ*, wenn sie auf etwas gerichtet ist, das nicht entsprechend ist [und] nicht ein dem Mitleid entsprechendes Ziel hat, ohne die gewünschte Frucht bleibt. Worauf immer die *prapattiḥ* [gerichtet] ist, das ist ein entsprechender Gegenstand, sofern sie auf Ziele des Menschen (*puruṣārthaḥ*) gerichtet ist, [auch dann, wenn] diese nicht die Emanzipation sind. Das ist der Sinn des Verses.“[9]

Der hier kommentierte Vers deckt mit seiner Kommentierung in diesem Text einen religionshermeneutisch nicht uninteressanten Aspekt der Theologiegeschichte seiner Tradition auf. Anders als Varadaguru sieht der Verfasser des Nyāsopadeśaḥ die *prapattiḥ* in ihrer praktischen Bedeutung, obwohl er von der gleichen Definition wie Varadaguru auszugehen scheint, allgemeiner als einen Akt tantrischer Religiosität, der zunächst nicht ausschließlich dem höchsten Gott gegenüber und nicht nur zum Erlangen der Emanzipation vollzogen wurde, sondern zu seiner Zeit auch anderen Göttern wie Brahmā und Rudra gegenüber zur Verwirklichung durchaus auch weltlicher Wünsche.[10] Dies nötigt ihn, diese Formen der *prapattiḥ* zur Erfüllung weltlicher Wünsche auf den Einfluss der den psychischen Apparat des Menschen prägenden Konstituenten der Urmaterie Rajas und Tamas zurückzuführen, die, wie der Kommentar sagt, durch den Hinweis, dass der Vollzug der *prapattiḥ* immer von Mitleid getragen sein und den allgemein anerkannten Zielen des Menschen dienen müsse, ausgeschlossen werden, offenbar als Akte der *prapattiḥ* zum Zwecke verbotener tantrischer Magie verstanden sind. Vor diesem all-

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[9]Kommentar, NyāsU, p. 4,14–23: *bhagavadekaviṣayatvaṃ na prapattimātrasya lakṣaṇaṃ kintu mokṣasādhanatvaṃ prapatter eva* | *rajastamomūlānāṃ niḥśreyasavyatiriktāḥ tattatkāmaphalārthanāṃ prapattīnām anye 'pi viṣayās sambhavantīty āha — prāya iti* | *guṇavaśāt rajastamaḥpāravaśyāt* | *sarvatra brahmarudrādike 'pi viṣaye kṛte eṣa nyāsaḥ sarveṣāṃ dehināṃ tāṃs tān abhīpsitān iṣṭān arthān prāyaḥ sādhayaty eva* | *evakāreṇa sānukrośasamarthaviṣayāyāḥ prapatteḥ phalāvyabhicāro dyotyate* | *prāya ity anena kvacid asamarthaniranukrośaviṣayāyās tabhyāḥ phalavyabhicāro dyotyate* | *mokṣātiriktapuruṣārthaparāyāḥ prapatter yaḥ kaścid api kāruṇikaḥ samartho viṣayo bhavatīti ślokābhiprāyaḥ* || .

[10]Dies erinnert an Ahirbudhnyasaṃhitā 37,4ff., wo die *prapattiḥ*, auch dort zunächst als *nyāsaḥ* bezeichnet, zur Errettung eines Fürsten aus kriegerischer Bedrängnis durch Sudarśana geoffenbart ist. Vgl. Oberhammer 2004, p. 117ff.

gemeinen Verständnis der *prapattiḥ* wird es dann möglich, die *prapattiḥ* im spirituellen Sinne, um die es Varadaguru allein ging, und die auch für den Verfasser des Nyāsopadeśaḥ das entscheidende Anliegen seines Textes ist, konkret als deren erste und wichtigste Form abzuheben: „[Die entsagende Hingabe seiner selbst] an das höchste Brahma, den Herrn der Lakṣmī, der ein Ozean der beglückenden Eigenschaften wie unendliche Erkenntnis, Macht usw. ist, ist die beste, die Vollkommenheit in ihrer Ganzheit bewirkt. Denn es gibt kein anderes verehrendes Zufriedenstellen Viṣṇus, des Paramātmā, des Lenkers aller Einzelseelen."[11]

Diese konkrete Form der *prapattiḥ* ist ein allen Wesen offen stehender Weg zur Emanzipation, wie der Verfasser des Nyāsopadeśaḥ in den folgenden Versen NyāsU 1,13–16 ausführt, und entspricht genau der Thematik von PraP 3,1ff. Im Anschluss daran führt Bharadvājas Belehrung über die *prapattiḥ* dann ebenfalls in Übereinstimmung mit Gedanken von Varadagurus Prapannaparijātam[12] fort: „Die *prapattiḥ* ist sechsfach: Wollen, was entsprechend ist, das Vermeiden von Nichtentsprechendem, Vertrauen, Erwählen, [verzichtendes] Hingeben und Armseligkeit. (17)[13] Wenn er [sein] Wollen entsprechend gemacht hat, möge er das Nichtentsprechende meiden, armselig und voll Vertrauen nach Schutz verlangen. (18) Wenn er sich [dann] dem Gott der brahmanischen [Weisen] (*vipradevasya*) zu Füßen wirft, ist dies die *prapattiḥ*. Sie befreit sogleich von allem Bösen. (19) Sie verleiht nämlich, einmal ausgeführt, den 'Unglücklichen' (*ārtānām*) schnell die [begehrte] Frucht [der Emanzipation], [aber] auch den [mit ihrem gegenwärtigen Leben] zufriedenen Menschen ist sie die Bewahrung vor einer weiteren Verkörperung [in einer Wiedergeburt]. (20)"[14]

An diese Darlegung über das Wesen der *prapattiḥ*, die in knappen Versen die wesentlichen auch von Varadaguru vertretenen spirituellen Charakteristika

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[11]NyāsU 1,9–10: *anantajñānaśaktyādikalyāṇaguṇasāgare | pare brahmaṇi lakṣmīśe mukhyo 'yaṃ sarvasiddhikṛt || 9 || praśāsitur aśeṣāṇām ātmanāṃ paramātmanaḥ | na hi prasādanaṃ viṣṇor anyad ātmārpaṇād ṛte || 10 ||.*

[12]Vgl. PraP 1,3–32.

[13]Dies ist die formelhafte Charakterisierung der *prapattiḥ*, die in mehreren Tantren und so auch bei Varadaguru geboten ist. Vgl. PraP 1,23ff. und 2,8ff.

[14]NyāsU 1,17–20: *prapattir ānukūlyasya saṅkalpo 'pratikūlatā | viśvāso varaṇaṃ nyāsaḥ kārpaṇyam iti ṣaḍidhā || 17 || kṛtānukūlyasaṃkalpaḥ prātikūlyaṃ vivarjayet | viśvāsaśālī kṛpaṇaḥ prārthayan rakṣaṇaṃ prati. || 18 || ātmānaṃ nikṣipati yad vipradevasya pādayoḥ | sā prapattir iyaṃ sadyaḥ sarvapāpapramocanī || 19 || ārttānām āśu phaladā sakṛd eva kṛtā hy asau | dṛptānām api jantūnāṃ dehāntaranivāriṇī || 20 ||.*

der *prapattiḥ* wiedergibt, fügt der Autor des Nyāsopadeśaḥ eine Klassifikation der *prapattiḥ* hinzu, die es ihm ermöglicht, über das von Varadaguru Gesagte hinaus die ritualisierte Dimension der *prapattiḥ* anzusprechen: „Diese ist aufgrund der Unterschiedenheit [ihrer] Ausführung als dreifach zu wissen. [Sie] ist durch die Verschiedenheit der [den psychischen Apparat prägenden] Konstituenten [der Urmaterie], [ebenfalls] jeweils dreifach unterteilt. (21) Die körperliche *prapattiḥ* ist die in Abhängigkeit vom Guru nur mit dem Merkmal des *nyāsaḥ* [wie] Prostrieren, [Brand-] Marken usw. [vollzogene]. (22) Die *prapattiḥ* von jemandem, der das wahre Wesen [des Mantra] nicht erkannt hat [und] den höchsten Mantra [als solchen] abhängig von [der Zustimmung des] Guru rezitiert, ist die verbale *prapattiḥ*. (23) Eine *prapattiḥ*, [die] vom Guru verordnet mit dem Mantra [von jemandem] in rechter Weise vollzogen wird, der mit Verstand das wahre Wesen [des Mantra] erfasst hat und am Körper die Kennzeichen des *nyāsaḥ* trägt, ist die geistige [*prapattiḥ*]. (24)“[15]

Diese verschiedenen Arten der Durchführung der *prapattiḥ* fehlen bei Varadaguru, der sie vermutlich noch nicht gekannt hat. Denn wenn es auch möglich ist, dass er sie nur deshalb nicht erwähnt, weil er an der Ausführung des Rituals nicht interessiert war, so hat man doch den Eindruck, dass die unterschiedliche Ausführung der *prapattiḥ* das Problem einer späteren Zeit ist, in der die *prapattiḥ* zu einem allgemein geübten Ritual geworden ist, dies umso mehr als dieses Problem auch in allen von Varadaguru zitierten Pāñcarātrasaṃhitās ebenso wenig erwähnt wird wie die im Nyāsopadeśaḥ unmittelbar anschließend erwähnte Unterteilung entsprechend der Guṇabedingtheit des Zufluchtnehmens: „Wenn jemand Böses wünschend zu Hari Zuflucht nimmt, der allen Wesen gegenüber mitleidig ist, [so] ist dies wegen der [ihr zugrunde liegenden] Verblendung eine tamashafte *prapattiḥ*. (25) Wenn jemand vielerlei Wünsche hegend bei Hṛṣīkeśa, der nur dem nicht Begehrenden zugeneigt ist, Zuflucht nimmt, [so] versteht man das als rajashafte *prapattiḥ*. (26) Wenn jemand ohne jeden Wunsch aus [reiner] Hingabe bei Hari als Herrn [seines] Selbstes in der Freude, Ihm zu dienen,[16] Zuflucht nimmt, so ist dies die sattvahafte *prapattiḥ*. (27) Die *prapattiḥ*, die durch Ra-

[15] NyāsU 1,21–24: *eṣā ca trividhā jñeyā karaṇatrayabhedataḥ | guṇatrayavibhedād apy ekaikā trividhā punaḥ || 21 || praṇāmāṅkena mukhyena nyāsaliṅgena kevalam | gurvadhinā hi bhavati prapattiḥ kāyikī kvacit || 22 || avijñātārthatattvasya mantramirayataḥ param | gurvadhīnasya kasyāpi prapattir vācikī bhavet || 23 || nyāsaliṅgavatāṃgena dhiyārthajñasya mantrataḥ | upāsitaguroḥ samyak prapattir mānasī bhavet || 24 ||*.

[16] Diese Formulierung erinnert an Rāmānujas Śaraṇāgatigadyam 16 (Ende) und 20.

jas [oder] Tamas bedingt ausgeführt wird, ist minderwertig [beziehungsweise] besonders minderwertig, [jene,] die durch Sattva [bedingt ausgeführt wird], wird als die beste gepriesen. (28) Die geistig [und] durch Sattva verursacht ist, wird als einzige unter diesen als vollkommen betrachet. Denn durch sie gelangen die Menschen sogleich zur höchsten Vollendung. (29) Prostrieren, Rezitieren [des Mantra] und [im Geiste] Eingedenksein,[17] jede einzelne [dieser] konkreten Formen [der *prapattiḥ*] für sich allein ist, weil sie auf [der Autorität] eines Erkenntnis Besitzenden[18] beruht, *prapattiḥ*. (30) Selbst aufgrund des Versehenseins mit einem einzigen [von ihnen], wenn sie mit rechter Hingabe seiner selbst an Hari verbunden ist, gelangen die Menschen, die einen früher, die anderen später, zur Emanzipation. (31)"[19]

Die ganze Darstellung bezeugt eine eher späte Entwicklung der *prapattiḥ*-Praxis, welche in ihrer Spiritualität von jener der Zeit Varadagurus deutlich unterschieden ist. Nicht deshalb, weil die Rückführung der verschieden motivierten Akte der *prapattiḥ* auf die Guṇas der Urmaterie neu wäre. Diese ist in der Zeit der großen theologischen Systeme ein eher verbreitetes Topos der Erklärung unterschiedlicher Motivierung des Handelns und begegnet auch in anderen Saṃhitās als Begründung unterschiedlicher spiritueller Motivation. Das, was den Eindruck einer späteren Entwicklung vermittelt, ist vielmehr, dass dies in Zusammenhang mit der *prapattiḥ* geschieht, was eine gewisse distanzierte objektive theologisierende Reflexion zeigt, die in Zusammenhang mit dem ursprünglich existenziell drängenden Streben nach Emanzipation und Vereinigung mit Gott fehlt, für welches die *prapattiḥ* noch bei Nārāyaṇārya, einem jüngeren (?) Zeitgenossen Varadagurus, das einzige Mittel jener war, die keinen Adhikāra zum Vedastudium hatten und daher den Weg des Bhaktiyoga Rāmānujas nicht gehen konnten, das endgültige Heil zu erreichen. Ganz davon zu schweigen, dass die ersten beiden Arten der *prapattiḥ* im Nyāsopadeśaḥ die *prapattiḥ* offenbar im Sinne magischer Praktiken verfremden, was selbst bei den

[17] Diese drei Stichworte beziehen sich auf die drei Arten der *prapattiḥ* (NyāsU 1,22–24).

[18] D.h. des Guru.

[19] NyāsU 1,25–31: *yadīcchan pratikūlāni sarvabhūtānukampinam | prapadyate hariṃ mohāt sā prapattis tu tāmasī || 25 || abhīpsan vividhān kāmān yad kāmaikavatsalam | prapadyate hṛṣīkeśaṃ tām imāṃ rājasīṃ viduḥ || 26 || parityajyākhilān kāmān bhaktyaivātmeśvaraṃ harim | prapadyate dāsyaratir yad eṣā tu sāttvikī || 27 || hīnāhīnatamāś caiva tamasā kṛtāḥ | sattvena yāḥ prayujyante mukhyās tāḥ parikīrtitāḥ || 28 || sattvajā mānasī tv ekā tatra mukhyatamā matā | tayā hi paramāṃ siddhiṃ sadyo yānti manīṣiṇaḥ || 29 || praṇāmaḥ kīrtanaṃ vāpi smaraṇaṃ vāpi kevalam | ekaikam api cāgānāṃ prapattiḥ prājñasaṃśrayāt || 30 || anvayād api caikasya samyaṅnyastātmano harau | sarva eva pramucyeran narāḥ pūrve pare tathā || 31 ||*.

von Varadaguru zitierten Pāñcarātratexten fehlt.

Dieser späte Charakter der *prapattiḥ*-Lehre des Nyāsopadeśaḥ wird beispielsweise auch von der fast beiläufigen Erwähnung der bei Varadaguru recht ausführlich vorgetragenen Unterscheidung der *prapattiḥ* in eine des „Armseligen" (*ārtaprapattiḥ*) und eine des „Zufriedenen" (*dṛptaprapattiḥ*) deutlich.[20] Diese Unterscheidung[21] scheint für die im Nyāsopadeśaḥ beschriebene Praxis der *prapattiḥ* keine wirkliche Bedeutung mehr zu haben. Sie ist nur mehr ehrwürdige Reminiszenz der Spiritualität einer vergangenen Zeit, die zwar weiter tradiert wird, aber im Grunde für die aktuelle Frömmigkeit keine Auswirkung zu haben scheint. Die für die Zeit Varadagurus charakteristische existenzielle Not des aus Armseligkeit Zuflucht Nehmenden ist letztlich der fast quietistischen Frömmigkeit eines für alle gemeinten liturgischen Aktes gewichen. Zwar ist bei Varadaguru und den von ihm zitierten Texten des Pāñcarātra die *prapattiḥ* allen möglich, doch ist sie noch nicht wie im Nyāsopadeśaḥ zu einem allgemein praktizierten Ritual geworden, das ein Teil der Dīkṣā, wenn nicht ein Ersatz der Dīkṣā geworden ist.[22]

Dies führt daher im Nyāsopadeśaḥ anders als bei Varadaguru zu einer eher ausführlichen Erörterung praktischer Fragen, beispielsweise die Zulassung zum Vollzug der *prapattiḥ* durch einen rechtmäßigen Guru oder die Präzisierung, wer aller zu diesem Ritus berechtigt ist. Im Anschluss an NyāsU 1,31, der davon spricht, dass alle durch die *prapattiḥ*, in welcher Form immer, zur Emanzipation gelangen, führt der Text nämlich näher aus: „Kinder, Stumme, geistig Behinderte [und] Blinde, so wie Lahme und Taube, [wenn] sie mit einem rechtmäßigen Lehrer (*sadācāryeṇa*) in Verbindung sind, erlangen [ihre] höchste Bestimmung. (32) Wer von einem Guru gutgeheißen wird, wer selbst einen Guru anerkennt,[23] beide gelangen gewiss zur höchsten Vollendung. (33) Wenn [jemand] aber das Wissen [besitzt] und Keuschheit bewahren will, ohne sich [einem Guru] anvertraut zu haben, für den ist die Hingabe seiner selbst auf dem Scheiterhaufen [des *nyāsaḥ*] vergeblich. Er wird [wieder]geboren auf dem dunklen Weg [der Väter]. (34) Ein Wissen fürwahr, auch wenn es mit [all] seinen Gliedern aus den Lehrbüchern wohl erworben wurde, führt ohne rechte Unterweisung [durch den Guru] nicht zum Erfolg. (35) Einem Begehrenden, dem

[20] Vgl. zur Lehre Varadagurus Oberhammer 2004, p. 88ff.

[21] NyāsU 1,20.

[22] Vgl. unten, p. 11.

[23] Der Kommentar bezieht die erste Alternative auf Kinder, die nicht selbst einen Guru wählen können.

weltliche Erkenntnismittel [zu Gebote] stehen, verwirklichen sich die Wünsche [welthafter Frucht] nach Wunsch, das Eintreten unvergänglicher Frucht [aber verwirklicht sich nur] dem, der einen rechten [Lehrer] angenommen hat. (36) Beim *nyāsaḥ* oder auch bei der Verehrung darf [nämlich] nur der Mantra eines Ekāntin[24] verwendet werden. Mit einem Mantra, der von einem Nicht-Vaiṣṇava gelehrt wurde, gibt es keine [Erlangung] der höchsten Bestimmung. (37)"[25]

Bemerkenswert ist hier die Erwähnung von Kindern (*bālāḥ*) als Zuflucht Nehmende, die nicht in der Lage sind, den Entschluss zur *prapattiḥ* selbst zu fassen und einen Lehrer zu wählen.[26] Sie zeigt unmissverständlich den wirklichen Abstand im Verständnis der *prapattiḥ* zu dem der Zeit Varadagurus, wie es in der Literatur der Rāmānuja-Schule überliefert ist. Hier handelt es sich schlichtweg um einen in der Tradition allgemein praktizierten liturgischen Akt und nicht mehr um ein existenzielles Verlangen aus persönlicher spiritueller Not,[27] wenn eine solche auch nicht ausgeschlossen ist. Vielleicht ist hier auch die nachdrückliche Betonung eines geistlichen Lehrers (*guruḥ*) sachlich in Beziehung zu setzen, die offenbar aus der veränderten Wertung der *prapattiḥ* als Akt tantrischen Rituals und dem damit zusammenhängenden tantrischen Verständnis der Verleihung eines Mantra als wesentliches Element der *prapattiḥ* zu erklären ist.

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[24] Es bleibt offen, ob hier ein alleiniger Verehrer Viṣṇus gemeint ist, oder der Angehörige einer sozialen Gruppe der Vaiṣṇavas.

[25] NyāsU 1,32–37: *bālamūkajaḍāndhāś ca paṅgavo badhirās tathā | sadācāryeṇa saṃdṛṣṭāḥ prāpnuvaṃti parāṃ gatim || 32 || guruṇā yo 'bhimanyeta guruṃ vā yo 'bhimanyate | tāv ubhau paramāṃ siddhiṃ niyamād upagacchataḥ || 33 || jñānatas tv anupetasya brahmacaryam abhīpsataḥ | vṛthaivātmasabhitkṣepā jāyate kṛṣṇavartmani || 34 || śāstrādiṣu sudṛṣṭāpi sāṅgā sahaphalodayā | na prasīdati vai vidyā vinā sadupadeśataḥ || 35 || kāmaṃ lokapramāṇasya kāmāḥ sidhyanti kāminaḥ | gṛhītasatpadasyaiva nirapāyaphalodayaḥ || 36 || nyāse vāpy arcane vāpi mantram ekāntinaḥ śrayet | avaiṣṇavopadiṣṭena mantreṇa na parā gatiḥ || 37 ||*.

[26] Vgl. *guruṇā yo 'bhimanyeta*.

[27] Vgl. beispielsweise das vielleicht gleicher Zeit entstammende Zeugnis der Yatīndramatadīpikā: „Wer im Bewusstsein, dass das Karma, das zu reifen begonnen hat, genossen werden muss, die Emanzipation im Zeitpunkt erwartet, an dem dieser Körper aufhört, ist ein Zufriedener (*dṛptaḥ*). Wer aber aufgrund seiner Befindlichkeit im Saṃsāra gleichsam wie in der Mitte lodernden Feuers wegen dessen Unerträglichkeit die Emanzipation gleich [nach dem Akt der prapattiḥ] begehrt, ist ein Armseliger." (YMD, p. 34,22–24: *avaśyam anubhoktavyam iti prārabdhakarmānubhavan etad dehāvasānasamayam īkṣamāṇo dṛptaḥ. jājvalyamānāgnimadhyasthitasyeva saṃsārāvasthiter atiduḥsahatvāt pratyuttarakṣaṇamokṣakāma ārtaḥ.*)

Für diesen Wandel im Verständnis der *prapattiḥ* charakteristisch ist vor allem, was der Nyāsopadeśaḥ über den Mantra als entscheidendes Element der *prapattiḥ* sagt. Die entsprechenden Verse verdienen eine nähere Betrachtung: „Für ihn, der die Preisgabe [seiner selbst] vollzieht (*nyāsin*), ist die ‘Gabe’ (*nyāsaḥ*) die eigentliche Vollendung (*niṣṭhā*) [seiner Preisgabe]. Die rituellen Handlungen setzen diese voraus. [Diese] soll man mit den allgemeinen oder mit den spezifischen [Mantren oder auch] mit anderen ausführen. Auch diese sind im Sinne der Hingabe (*arpaṇe*) gedacht. (50) Mit der Hand den Körper [des Schülers] berührend, möge der Mantrenkundige (*mantravit*) [den Schüler], dadurch dass er [ihn] anblickt, [zu einem Zuflucht Nehmenden] machen. Sagt [doch] der Muni (*scil.* Bharadvāja) selbst, dass dies die Dīkṣā für alle Varṇas ist. (51) Diese Vollendung (*siddhiḥ*), welche der Vaiṣṇava-Lehrer (*guruḥ*) mit viṣṇuitischen Mantren verleiht, oder auch jeder andere, der vedischer [Tradition] angehört, darf man nicht mit anderen Mantren ausführen. (52) Die vedischen und tantrischen [Mantren], beide sind für die Zweimalgeborenen die besten. Für die Śūdras und *anuloma*-Geborenen sind jedoch die tantrischen Mantren. (53) Die profanen (*laukika*-), die in der Volkssprache sind und zum Zweck der *prapattiḥ* gemacht sind, sind allen *pratiloma*-[Geborenen] zu geben, nach Wunsch auch den Zweimalgeborenen. (54)“[28]

Der Text vermittelt trotz seiner nur konkret, praxisorientierten Aussagen wertvolle Ansätze sowohl für ein religionsgeschichtliches wie auch frömmigkeitsgeschichtliches Verständnis der *prapattiḥ* zur Zeit seiner Abfassung. Zentral sind vor allem zwei Phänomene: Die Betonung (a) der Zuordnung eines Mantras als entscheidenden Akt der *prapattiḥ* und damit eng verbunden (b) die Wirkung der *prapattiḥ* als Dīkṣā. Der Vers 50 ist zunächst eher schwierig zu interpretieren, wenn er sagt, dass der die *prapattiḥ* zur Vollendung bringende Akt der *nyāsaḥ* sei, auch wenn diese Aussage eher trivial zu sein scheint. Was bedeutet hier *nyāsaḥ*, zumal wenn man bedenkt, dass dieser Akt Voraussetzung der Ritualakte ist, die mit allgemeinen Mantren als auch mit solchen, die für die *niṣṭhā* spezifisch sind (*naiṣṭhikāḥ*)? Der Kommentar

[28] NyāsU 1,50–54: *nyāsino nyāsa eva syān niṣṭhā tatpūrvikāḥ kriyāḥ | vyāpakair naiṣṭhikair vānyaiḥ kuryāt te ’py arpaṇe matāḥ || 50 || kareṇa sparśayan gātraṃ mantravid bhāvayed dṛśā | eṣā vā sarvavarṇānāṃ dīkṣety āha muniḥ svayam || 51 || yāṃ siddhiṃ vaiṣṇavair mantrair ādhatte vaiṣṇavo guruḥ | sarvavedadharo ’py anyo nānyaiḥ kurvīta tādṛśīm || 52 || vaidikās tāntrikāś caiva dvaye mukhyā dvijanmanām | sūdrānulomajātīnāṃ mantrāḥ syus tāntrikāḥ param || 53 || bhāṣākhyā laukikā mantrāḥ prapattyarthavibhāvanāḥ | sarvebhyaḥ pratilomebhyo deyāḥ kāmaṃ dvijātibhiḥ || 54 ||*.

erklärt dies mit den Worten: „Für den *nyāsin*, der Zuflucht nimmt (*prapannasya*), ist der *nyāsaḥ* der Mantraratna, welcher die *prapattiḥ* eintreten lässt; die Vollendung (*niṣṭhā*) ist das für immer [bleibende] Rezitieren dessen, so verhält es sich. Ritualakte (*kriyāḥ*) sind Akte der Verehrung. Diese soll man unter Voraussetzung des [*nyāsaḥ*] ausführen [und zwar] soll man sie mit allgemeinen Mantren, die im Sinne der Gāyatrī Viṣṇus überliefert sind[, nämlich] den sechssilbigen, achtsilbigen oder zwölfsilbigen [beziehungsweise] mit den spezifischen Mantren, [nämlich] den zur Vollendung [gehörigen] Mantren oder auch mit anderen als dem Mantraratna ausführen. Die Vollendung (*niṣṭhā*) wie auch die rituellen Akte können sowohl im Falle der vom Mantraratna unterschiedenen als auch im Falle der allgemeinen Mantren unter deren Voraussetzung verwirklicht werden."[29] Im Lichte dieser Erklärung scheint *nyāsaḥ* sowohl das Offenbaren des Mantra an den Zuflucht Nehmenden als auch der mit diesem Mantra ausgeführte Akt der Hingabe seiner selbst an den Gott zu sein. Beides ist konstitutives Element sowohl für die *prapattiḥ* selbst als auch für jeden anderen mit den Mantren auszuführenden Akt der Verehrung (*arcaṇādikriyāḥ*). Der in der *prapattiḥ* vollzogene Akt des *nyāsaḥ* entspricht so voll dem Typus tantrischen Denkens, der hier deutlich zum Ausdruck kommt, während er in den beispielsweise von Varadaguru zitierten Pāñcarātratexten und bei Varadaguru selbst fehlt. Berücksichtigt man in diesem Zusammenhang das in Vers 52 Gesagte, so zeigt sich eine gewisse Ambivalenz, die jedoch diesen Befund bestätigt. In diesem Vers wird davon gesprochen, dass nur viṣṇuitische Mantren zur *prapattiḥ*[30] verwendet werden dürfen. Von wem? Von anderen Lehrern, die der Tradition des Veda verpflichtet sind, wie der Text sagt. Dies scheinen offensichtlich nicht geistige Lehrer zu sein, die der viṣṇuitischen Tradition, die von Bharadvāja vertreten wurde, angehören; was kaum anders verstanden werden kann, als dass damit vermutlich Lehrer der Vedānta-Tradition Rāmānujas gemeint sind, die ebenfalls eine Tradition der *prapattiḥ* vertreten haben. Ein möglicher Unterschied scheint im Vers 51 zum Ausdruck zu kommen, der die *prapattiḥ* ganz im tantrischen Sinne der Pāñcarātratradition als

[29] Komm. zu NyāsU 1,50, p. 19,14–20: *atha kutra mantre niṣṭhety apekṣāyām āha — nyāsina iti | nyāsinaḥ prapannasya nyāsa eva prapattipratipādakamantraratna eva niṣṭhā tasyaiva nityajapa ity arthaḥ | kriyā arcanādikriyās tatpūrvikāḥ tanmantrapūrvikāḥ kuryāt | vyāpakaiḥ viṣṇugāyatryām āmnātaiḥ ṣaḍaṣṭadvādaśākṣaraiḥ naiṣṭhikaiḥ niṣṭhāmantrair anyaiḥ mantraratnavyatiriktair vā kuryāt | mantraratnavyatirikteṣv api vyāpakeṣu vā niṣṭhā triyāś ca tatpūrvikā bhavitum arhantīty arthaḥ |.*

[30] Vgl. *nānyaiḥ kurvīta tādṛśīṃ* (*siddhim*).

Dīkṣā wertet und dies mit einer Aussage Bharadvājas begründet.[31]

Dies scheint den Abschluss eines langen Assimilierungsprozesses zu bedeuten. Denn wenn die *prapattiḥ* auch zur Zeit Varadagurus in den Saṃhitās des Pāñcarātra als spirituelle Praxis gelehrt wird, wie das durch die im Prapannaparijātam zitierten Texte bezeugt ist, so ist sie doch nicht ursprünglich im Pāñcarātra entstanden, sondern aus anderen, vermutlich viṣṇuitisch-brahmanischen Traditionen übernommen.[32] Abgesehen von dem tantrischem Ritual verpflichteten, älteren Ritus des *nyāsaḥ* an Sudarśana zum Schutze eines Fürsten vor einem übermächtigen Feind, mit dem die *prapattiḥ* im Text verschmolzen wurde,[33] scheint die *prapattiḥ* jedoch auch im Pāñcarātra jener Zeit kein tantrischer Ritus im eigentlichen Sinne gewesen zu sein, sondern ein persönlicher Akt spirituellen Emanzipationsstrebens. Dass die *prapattiḥ* im Pāñcarātra nicht ursprünglich ist, legt auch die Śeṣasaṃhitā nahe, welche zwar die *prapattiḥ* und deren Unterscheidung in eine *prapattiḥ* eines Armseligen (*ārtaḥ*) und eine solche des Zufriedenen (*dṛptaḥ*) erwähnt, aber bemerkenswerter Weise die *prapattiḥ* eines Armseligen anders wertet als dies bei Varadaguru und im Viśiṣṭādvaita seiner Zeit[34] geschieht, wo diese im Grunde als die spirituell ernsthaftere erscheint. Sie wertet nämlich die *prapattiḥ* des Armseligen mit ihrem leidenschaftlichen Wunsch nach unmittelbarer Emanzipation als dem Gott unangemessene Nötigung: „Die *prapattiḥ* ist zweifach, o Brahma: der Armselige und der Zufriedene, Du Viergesichtiger! Der ‘Armselige’ (*ārtaḥ*) ist der, der [Erfüllung seines] Begehrens wünscht, der meine Gebote verfehlt [und] der ohne Werke [und] ohne Erkenntnis ist. Er gelangt in Wahrheit zum Genuss des Kaivalyam. Der ‘Zufriedene’ (*dṛptaḥ*) erfreut sich eines von seinem [jeweiligen] Dharma geregelten Wandels. Er fürwahr ist makellos, hat [seine] Freude an der Vergegenwärtigung meiner Mantren [und] bewahrt immerdar meine Gebote. Er, der Wissende, der [zu mir] Zuflucht genommen hat, gelangt zum Genuss der Vereinigung mit mir. Der ‘Armselige’ beleidigt mich, der ‘Zufriedene’ ist mir lieb, [und] so, fürwahr, werde ich dem ‘Zufriedenen’ Vereinigung mit mir (conj. *matsāyujyādikam*) gewähren. Dies ist das höchste Geheimnis, das verborgener ist als das Verborgene.“[35]

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[31] Vgl. Kommentar, NyāsU, p. 20,3f.: *yataḥ sarvavarṇānāṃ dīkṣeti munir Bharadvājaḥ svayaṃ āha*.

[32] Siehe Oberhammer 2004, pp. 136–140.

[33] AhirS 37,4f. Vgl. Oberhammer 2006.

[34] Vgl. Oberhammer 2004, pp. 74ff.

[35] ŚeṣaS, p. 85,8–16: *prapattiḥ dvividhā brahman ārto dṛptaś caturmukha | kāmyārthī ārta eva syāt madājñāchedakārakaḥ || karmajñānādirahitaḥ sa vai kaivalyabhogagaḥ | svadharmaniyatā-*

Die Stelle ist schwierig zu deuten, weil die Aussage nicht ausführlich genug ist. Offensichtlich ist, dass der Text die *prapattiḥ* des Armseligen (*ārtaḥ*) anders sieht als dies zur Zeit Varadagurus geschehen ist. Was meint aber die Erklärung des Armseligen als den, „der die [Erfüllung seines] Begehrens anstrebt" (*kāmyārthī*)? Ist er einer, der nur um der Erfüllung eines beliebigen Wunsches willen Zuflucht nimmt, also „jener, der vielfältige Wünsche hegt" (*abhīpsau vividhān kāmān*), wie es NyāsU 1,26 heißt, und den auch der Nyāsopadeśaḥ ablehnt?[36] Oder ist es noch der alte „Armselige" (*ārtaḥ*), von dem Varadaguru spricht? Der Text führt dies nicht näher aus, sondern deutet mit diesem Ausdruck nur den Grund an, warum das Zufluchtnehmen des Armseligen dem Gott missfällt; deshalb nämlich, weil der Armselige durch sein Begehren in Form des Zufluchtnehmens den Gott unziemlich „nötigt", seinen Wunsch zu erfüllen. Dieser Grund würde aber letztlich für beide Auffassungen eines „Armseligen" Geltung haben, und bezeugt jedenfalls eine doch grundlegende Wandlung in der Auffassung des Zufluchtnehmens, die jener des Nyāsopadeśaḥ nahe kommt: Die *prapattiḥ* ist nunmehr ein allgemeiner Akt fast pietistischer Frömmigkeit geworden, der jede existenzielle Not verloren hat: Der „Zufriedene" (*dṛptaḥ*) hat Freude am jeweiligen, ihm zugemessenen Dharma. Er ist der in seinem Wandel Lautere, der Freude an den Mantren Gottes hat und dessen Gebote beobachtet; so gelangt er zum Genuss der Vereinigung mit dem Gott. Aber selbst in dieser eher rezenten Saṃhitā scheint die *prapattiḥ* noch nicht zu einem konkreten Ritus geworden zu sein, wie dies im Nyāsopadeśaḥ der Fall ist.

Dies scheint in Verbindung mit einer anderen religiösen Praxis, der Ausführung der fünf *saṃskāra*s, zu geschehen, die im Nyāsopadeśaḥ die rituelle Form der Ausführung der *prapattiḥ* sind. Dies lässt sich jedenfalls im Sinne einer Arbeitshypothese vermuten. Denn ursprünglich scheinen die fünf *saṃskāra*s[37] nicht mit dem Zufluchtnehmen verbunden zu sein. Varadaguru erwähnt zwar fünf Glieder (*aṅgam*) der *prapattiḥ*, doch scheinen diese, wie im Kontext nahe gelegt, nicht die fraglichen *saṃskāra*s, sondern die vom Lakṣmītantram vertretenen sechs für die *prapattiḥ* konstitutiven Elemente[38]

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cārarato dṛptas sa vai śuciḥ || manmantradhyānanirato madājñāpālakas sadā | sa vai jñānī prapannas syāt matsāyujyādibhogagaḥ || maddrohī ārta eva syāt matpriyo dṛpta eva ca | dṛptasyaiva hi dāsyāmi yat sājuyādikaṃ tathā || idaṃ rahasyaṃ paramaṃ guhyād guhyataraṃ bhavet |.

[36] Vgl. NyāsU 1,28.

[37] Scil. *tapaḥ*, *puṇḍraḥ*, *nāma*, *mantraḥ*, *yāgaḥ*.

[38] LT 17,60f.: *ānukūlyasya saṃkalpaḥ, pratikūlyasya varjanam, rakṣisyati viśvāsaḥ, goptṛtvavaraṇam tathā, ātmanikṣepakarpaṇye ṣaḍvidhā śaraṇāgatiḥ* (…).

zu meinen, deren letztes, der *ātmanikṣepaḥ*, als mit der *prapattiḥ* gleichzusetzen, von ihm nicht gezählt wird.[39] Dass dies so zu verstehen sein dürfte, wird auch durch Nārāyaṇārya nahe gelegt, der als erster in der Sanskrittradition der Rāmānuja-Schule die *prapattiḥ* als eine Alternative für jene erwähnt, die nicht den Bhaktiyoga Rāmānujas üben können, und keinen bestimmten Ritualakt wie die fünf *saṃskāra*s erwähnt.[40]

Jedenfalls begegnet aber in der Īśvarasaṃhitā 21,283ff. die Praxis der fünf *saṃskāra*s als Teil der Dīkṣā, ohne jedoch als konkrete Form der *prapattiḥ* verstanden zu sein. Bemerkenswert ist dabei, dass es sich um einen Textabschnitt handeln dürfte, der in den Kontext der Dīkṣā eingeschoben ist,[41] sodass die Vermutung nahe liegt, dass zuerst diese Praxis ins Ritual des Pāñcarātra aufgenommen wurde und so die Wertung der *prapattiḥ* des Nyāsopadeśaḥ als eine Art der Dīkṣā, wie sie in Vers NyāsU 1,51 verstanden zu sein scheint, ermöglicht wurde. Der in diesem Vers enthaltene Verweis auf Bharadvāja (*ity āha muniḥ svayam*) ist zunächst natürlich eine Begründung dafür, dass die Initiation in den bei der *prapattiḥ* mitgeteilten Mantra durch Berührung des Zufluchtnehmenden geschieht, die offenbar durch einen rituell verstandenen Blick des Initiierenden erfolgt; dadurch ist sie aber auch als Dīkṣā oder jedenfalls als eine Art der Dīkṣā für die Angehörigen aller Varṇas ausgewiesen.

Die konkrete Durchführung dieser Dīkṣā ist dann der Gegenstand von NyāsU 1,57–67: „Zu rechter, günstiger Zeit möge er sich, nachdem er in einem Tīrtha gebadet hat, zu einem reinen, dem Erhabenen heiligen Ort, fest entschlossen [und] vertrauensvoll dem Guru nähern, indem er ihm prostrierend seine Verehrung erweist. (57) Der Lehrer möge [ihn], nachdem er für ihn, der sich an ihn gewandt hat, mit Hingabe Janārdana verehrt hat und seiner [eigenen] Gurus ehrend gedacht hat, veranlassen, mit dem Mantra[, das er ihm mitteilt,] die *prapattiḥ* zu vollziehen. (58) Falls aber eine Frau, ein Śūdra, ein [Abkömmling] vermischter [Varṇas], die nicht ohne Makel sind, oder einer, der [durch ein großes Vergehen] gefallen ist, [oder] auch ein einer anderen [religiösen] Anschauung Angehörender der initiierende Lehrer waren, [dann] ist die [*prapattiḥ*], auch wenn sie vom betreffenden [Zuflucht Nehmenden] vollzogen wurde, nicht zustande gekommen. (59) Daher muss [dessen] Zufluchtnehmen sobald als möglich anderswo entsprechend der Vorschrift [von

[39] Vgl. Oberhammer 2004, p. 87f.

[40] Vgl. ibid., p. 44f.

[41] Ich verdanke diese Beobachtung meiner Kollegin M. Rastelli, die mich auf diese Stelle der Īśvarasaṃhitā hingewiesen hat.

neuem] vollzogen werden. Er aber, der den Mantra gelehrt hat, hinab stürzt er, der Verblendete. (60) Aufgrund der anfanglosen, widrigen Verbindung mit den [konditionierenden] psychischen Eindrücken, gedenkt [er] selbst nicht Viṣṇus; woher [sollte] es zu dem Gedanken an eine Hingabe [an Ihn] kommen? (61) Weil durch das eigene Böse [ihnen] eine [entsprechende] Familie [zukommt, und] aufgrund anderer gegebener [Umstände], [wie] Ort, Zeit und Eigenwesen, nehmen [die Menschen] keine Zuflucht bei Keśava. (62) Ohne jemals Nārāyaṇa, den makellosen Herrn, erkannt zu haben, verlangen die Unerleuchteten [danach,] anderen, unreinen [Göttern] zu dienen. (63) Einige nehmen bei Viṣṇu, dem Herrn von Allem, der das Böse restlos vernichtet, Zuflucht, [weil] sie [vielfältige] Wünsche hegen. Diese wissen nicht vom Dienersein, welches das beste ist. (64) Die Guten, deren Befleckungen zufolge [ihrer] in vielen Geburten erworbenen Verdienste geschwunden sind, nehmen [ihre] Zuflucht bei Hari, dessen Diener zu sein sie als einzige Frucht begehren. (65) Die Vollkommenen, deren Verblendung geschwunden ist, die sich selbst hingegeben haben, erfreut allein das Dienen, das im Tun des eigenen Dharma usw. [besteht]. (66) Für sie, die bei Vāsudeva Zuflucht gesucht haben, die einzig [daran] Geschmack finden, Ihm zu dienen, für sie, deren Furcht geschwunden ist, gibt es keine Trennung [von Ihm], weder hier noch im Jenseits. (67)“[42]

In diesen Versen ist das rituelle Geschehen der *prapattiḥ* nur in seiner wesentlichen Struktur dargelegt, wie es dem Inhalt des 1. Adhyāya entspricht. Dem Autor geht es offenbar vor allem darum, die Mitteilung des Mantra und dessen zentrale Bedeutung als Dīkṣā für die *prapattiḥ* darzustellen und damit verbundene Fragen der traditionsgerechten Ausführung der *prapattiḥ* zu klären. Diese Struktur ist für ihn wesentlich durch die von ihm genannten Elemente

[42]NyāsU 1,57–67: *puṇye 'nukūle samaye deśe bhāgavate śubhe | nimajjya niyatas tīrthe praṇipatyāśrayed gurum || 57 || ācāryaś copasannāya bhaktyābhyarcya janārdanam | gurūn praṇamya mantreṇa prapattiṃ pratipādayet || 58 || atha strīśūdrasaṅkīrṇānirmalāpatitādiṣu | ananyenānyadṛṣṭau ca kṛtāpi na kṛtā bhavet || 59 || ato 'nyatrāśu vidhivat kartavyā śaraṇāgatiḥ | upadeṣṭā tu mantrasya mūḍhaḥ pracyavate hy adhaḥ || 60 || anāder vāsanāyogād viparītādihātmanaḥ | smṛtir na jāyate viṣṇau kuta evārpaṇe matiḥ || 61 || svapāpasaṃbhavād eva kulāt saṃsargato 'nyataḥ | deśāt kālāt svabhāvāc ca prapadyante na keśavam || 62 || avijñāya sadā śuddhaṃ narāṃ nārāyaṇaṃ prabhum | aśuddhānāmaho 'nyeṣāṃ dāsyabhicchanty abuddhayaḥ || 63 || kecit sarveśvaraṃ viṣṇum aśeṣaduritāpaham | kāmakāmāḥ prapadyante na te dāsyaṃ paraṃ viduḥ || 64 || bahujanmakṛtaiḥ puṇyair ātmanaḥ kṣīṇakalmaṣāḥ | hariṃ santaḥ prapadyante taddāsyaikaphalārthinaḥ || 65 || kṛtināṃ vītamohānāṃ keśave nihitātmanām | svadate kevalaṃ dāsyaṃ svadharmakaraṇādikam || 66 || vāsudevaṃ prapannānāṃ taddāsyaikarasātmanām | bhedo vītabhayānāṃ hi nātra kaścit paratra vā || 67 ||.*

bestimmt: Nach dem rituellen Bad des Schülers in einem Tīrtha nähert sich dieser in ritueller Form dem geistlichen Lehrer, der die Zeremonie an einem dem Viṣṇu geweihten Ort vornimmt. Der Lehrer vollzieht diese, indem er an Stelle und für den Kandidaten dem Gott Verehrung erweist, seiner eigenen Lehrer verehrend gedenkt und dann die Initiation des Schülers in der Weise vornimmt, dass er ihn mit seiner Hand berührt und ihm, indem er ihn, der Weisung Bharadvājas folgend, anblickt, den Mantra mitteilt und so zur *prapattiḥ* ermächtigt. Nicht erwähnt ist die Ausführung der fünf *saṃskāra*s, die im Sinne der Verse 22 und 24 ein Element der eigentlichen, vollkommenen Form der *prapattiḥ* (*manasā prapattiḥ*) ist. Da der vierte dieser *saṃskāra*s aber gerade die Mitteilung des Mantra ist, muss man wohl annehmen, dass diese Mitteilung des Mantra, von der der Vers 57 spricht, eben im Rahmen der Ausführung dieser fünf *saṃskāra*s erfolgt ist, will man nicht annehmen, dass die *prapattiḥ* letztlich auch ohne diese erfolgen konnte. Leider ist der 2. Adhyāya des Nyāsopadeśaḥ nicht erhalten, der die Elemente der *prapattiḥ* offenbar im Einzelnen besprochen hat.[43]

Verwunderlich ist, dass der Autor im Zusammenhang seiner Darstellung auf die abgelehnte Möglichkeit von Lehrern anderer Traditionen abermals eingeht, von der er auch schon an anderer Stelle gesprochen hat,[44] und so die Ablehnung solcher Praxis besonders betont. Diese Ablehnung ist nicht an sich verwunderlich. Wenn die *prapattiḥ* eine spezifische Praxis viṣṇuitischer Tradition ist, ist es wohl selbverständlich, dass man nur Angehörige der eigenen Tradition als initiierende Lehrer wählen sollte. Der relativ große Nachdruck, den der Autor diesem Verbot jedoch verleiht, kann wohl nur bedeuten, dass die Gefahr tatsächlich bestanden hat, einen nicht der Tradition Angehörenden zu dem die *prapattiḥ* leitenden Lehrer zu wählen. Da man jedoch kaum annehmen kann, dass jemand, der von Viṣṇu Emanzipation und bleibende Vereinigung mit Ihm erlangen möchte, zu diesem Zwecke einen anderen als einen Vaiṣṇava zum Lehrer erwählen würde, liegt es nahe anzunehmen, dass dies nur für eine *prapattiḥ* zu anderem Zweck erfolgt sein kann. Dies wird umso wahrscheinlicher, wenn man sich in Erinnerung ruft, dass der Autor des Nyāsopadeśaḥ solche *prapattiḥ* (*rājasī und tamasī prapattiḥ*) zur Erfüllung irdischer Wünsche ebenfalls abgewertet und im Grunde abgelehnt hat.[45] Man möchte daher annehmen, dass es tatsächlich vorgekommen sein muss, dass um der Erfüllung

[43]Vgl. NyāsU 2,1.

[44]Vgl. NyāsU 1,59ff. und 37.

[45]Vgl. NyāsU 1,26, 28 und 64.

solcher Wünsche willen unter Umständen auch Lehrer anderer Tradtitionen gewählt wurden, wenn sie ein entsprechendes Ansehen in der Gesellschaft hatten. Ähnliches muss man wohl auch im Falle von Frauen und Śūdras vermuten, die offenbar der eigenen Tradition angehörten. Wenn dies richtig ist, dann scheint durch diese Verbote im soziologischen Umfeld der spirituellen *prapattiḥ* zur Erlangung der Emanzipation eine Vielfalt volkstümlicher Religiosität fassbar zu werden.

Seine Darlegung der *prapattiḥ* abschließend[46] spricht der Autor des Nyāsopadeśaḥ von der Frucht der Selbsthingabe an den höchsten Gott, Eschatologie und Spiritualität des Lebensstiles gleichsam verbindend: „Hier [in dieser Welt] ist die Lebensweise, die von der Śruti usw. geregelt ist, selbst die Frucht; und im Jenseits [ist es] das sich Erfüllen der Wünsche nach dem Willen des höchsten Herrn. (68) Nachdem sie ihr Selbst, all das Ihre und all ihr Tun dem All-Ātmā hingegeben haben, weilen sie dort frei von [jeder] Befleckung, (69) in der Überzeugung: '[Er] selbst, der Herr, wird uns, die wir rein sind, dieses Leben des Dienens zu seinem Wohlgefallen möglich machen.' (70)"[47] Die Verse bedürfen für das Verständnis dessen, was sie sagen, keiner besonderen Erklärung, kontextuell und im Horizont einer historischen Betrachtung gewinnen sie jedoch ihr eigentliches Profil: Im Zentrum ihrer Aussage steht die Vorstellung, dass es die Sinnerfüllung des menschlichen Lebens ist, Diener Gottes zu sein, und zwar sowohl im Leben als auch im Zustand bleibender Sinnerfüllung in der Emanzipation. Diese Vorstellung begegnet nicht nur hier, sondern ebenso in den vohergehenden Versen NyāsU 1,65–67, wo von der rechten Gesinnung des Zufluchtnehmenden die Rede ist, und schon zuvor in 1,27, wo gesagt ist, dass der in der sattvischen *prapattiḥ* Zufluchtnehmende seine Lust darin findet, Hari zu dienen (*dāsyaratiḥ*). Dieses Gott Dienen als Sinnerfüllung menschlicher Existenz in der Emanzipation ist wenigstens in der Sanskrittradition des Viśiṣṭādvaita seit Rāmānujas Śaraṇāgatigadyam für diese Tradition charakteristisch, während sie in der tantrischen Tradition des Pāñcarātra, wann man von der Zeit nach Rāmānuja absieht, zu fehlen scheint. Muss man daher annehmen, dass diese Vorstellung im Nyāsopadeśaḥ dem Einfluss der des Viśiṣṭādvaita Tradition zuzuschreiben ist? Auffallend ist je-

[46] Vgl. Kommentar zu NyāsU 1,70, der mit den Worten *iti prapattyadhikāraḥ* endet.

[47] NyāsU 1,68–70: *iha śrutyādiniyatā vṛttir eva svayaṃ phalam | paratra ca pareśasya kāmāt kāmapravṛttayaḥ || 68 || nikṣipyātmānam ātmīyam aśeṣam akhilātmani | kriyāś ca sakalās tatra varttante vītakalmaṣāḥ || 69 || manyante ca svakīyānnaḥ svaprītyai svocitāṃ svayam | nāthaḥ svakīyasevāṃ tāṃ vṛttiṃ kārayatīti vai || 70 ||*.

denfalls eine ausgesprochene Tendenz des Textes, die Beziehung der *prapattiḥ*-Spiritualität zur brahmanischen Orthodoxie zu betonen. So wird gesagt, dass die der *prapattiḥ* entsprechende Lebensweise „durch die Śruti usw. geregelt ist“ (Vers 1,68), und wird die gläubige Erkenntnis (*dṛṣṭiḥ*) als Element gelebter *prapattiḥ* aus Vers 1,72 als *vedavedāntavijñanam* erklärt (Vers 1,78) und die *anukūlatā* in Vers 1,77 als *svadharmeṣv abhiratiḥ*. Auch der in Vers 1,68 begegnende Gedanke, dass die Wünsche des Emanzipierten sich abhängig vom Wollen des höchsten Herrn verwirklichen[48] erinnert an das Attribut des *satyasaṃkalpatvam* des emanzipierten Ātmā, das von Rāmānuja beispielsweise im Kommentar zu BrSū 4,4,20 in Abhängigkeit vom Wollen des Paramātmā erklärt wird. Zu all dem kommt die kaum zu übersehende Übereinstimmung des Nyāsopadeśaḥ als literarisches Werk mit Varadagurus Prapannaparijātam, die bei aller inhaltlichen Unterschiedeheit durch die stark tantrisch, ritualisierten Denkweise des Nyāsopadesaḥ dennoch gegeben ist.

Nimmt man all diese Beobachtungen zusammen, dann gewinnt man den Eindruck, dass dieses Werk, auch wenn es in der Überlieferung als Bhāradvājasaṃhitā bezeichnet wird, keine Pāñcarātrasaṃhitā im üblichen Sinne, noch auch, wie Smith, ohne es selbst zu glauben, erwägt, der Teil einer solchen ist, sondern einfach ein Traktat zur Praxis der *prapattiḥ*, der unter dem Einfluss pāñcarātrischen Denkens, vielleicht dem Vorbild des Prapannaparijātam folgend, verfasst wurde. Denn auch die anderen Kapitel des Nyāsopadeśaḥ befassen sich ähnlich wie Varadagurus Werk ebenfalls mit dem geforderten Verhalten des Zufluchtnehmenden und stellen so eine der spirituellen Praxis des Zufluchtnehmens gewidmeten Werkeinheit dar. Wenn dies richtig ist, dann wäre der Nyāsopadeśaḥ des Bharadvāja das Beispiel eines selbständigen Lehrtraktates aus einer Tradition, in der viśiṣṭādvaitische Spiritualität und eine dem rituellen Denken, nicht jedoch der Theologie des Pāñcarātra nahestehende Religiosität vereinigt wurden und so ein Text entstanden ist, der eher der Spiritualitätsgeschichte der Rāmānuja-Schule beziehungsweise der Śrīvaiṣṇavas zuzuweisen ist, auch wenn er traditionsgeschichtlich ein Text des Pāñcarātra zu sein scheint.

[48] Vgl. *paratra ca pareśasya kāmāt kāmapravṛttayaḥ*.

The “Pāñcarātra Passages” in Agnipurāṇa 21–70*

Marion Rastelli

Introduction

Already thirty years ago, Hélène Brunner pointed out that chapters 72–106 of the *Agnipurāṇa* “sont très probablement la copie (...) d’un Āgama qu’il reste à identifier” (1976:117). Many years later, she was informed by Alexis Sanderson that the larger part of these passages (AP 72–90 and 92–103) indeed hail from a Śaivasiddhānta text, though not from an Āgama, but from a text to which Hélène Brunner had devoted many years of her life, the *Somaśambhupaddhati*.[1]

This inspired me to take a closer look at the passages of the AP that are generally considered to have derived from Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās. The affiliation of AP 21–70 to the Pāñcarātra tradition was already noted by Hazra in 1940. According to his observations, these chapters “are most probably summaries of one or more of the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās” (1975:136). He also noticed that some verses from AP 39–70 have parallels in the *Hayaśīrṣapañcarātra*, which he knew only from quotations.[2] Other scholars have also pointed out passages parallel to the *Hayaśīrṣapañcarātra* in this part of the AP, among them Banerjea (1956:21), Kramrisch (1946:105), Sarkar,[3] R. N. Sharma,[4] and Singh (1985:180).

Why do the beginning of chapter 21 and the end of chapter 70 form the boundaries of these “Pāñcarātra passages”?

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*I thank Jun Takashima for making the digitized text of the *Agnipurāṇa* available online (http://www.aa.tufs.ac.jp/~tjun/data/gicas/ind_scripture-e.html), which was immensely helpful for conducting this study. I am also grateful to Cynthia Peck-Kubaczek for suggesting various stylistic corrections of the English manuscript.

[1] See the introduction to SP4, pp. lix f.

[2] The edition of the *Hayaśīrṣapañcarātra* was published only in 1952 and 1956.

[3] See the introduction to the edition of the H, pp. x f.

[4] See the introduction of AP_3, p. 8.

First of all, when looking at the structure of the AP, Hazra (1975:135) seems to be right in his opinion that the chapters 21–106 are a later interpolation. After the frame story, which tells how Agni came to relate the *Agnipurāṇa* (AP 1), the AP continues with a description of Viṣṇu's *avatāra*s in chapters 2–16. The subjects of the following chapters (AP 17–20) are the creation of the world and genealogies of the first beings created. Then the last verse of AP 20 suddenly turns to a new subject: "Having performed the worship rituals (*pūjā*) for Viṣṇu, etc., which consist of the bath, etc., [and] which were taught by Nārada, etc., to the *ṛṣi*s, Svāyaṃbhuva and others obtained enjoyment and emancipation."[5] The subsequent chapters, 21–106, consist mainly of ritual prescriptions and information relevant to temple building and to the preparation of idols and their installation. Chapter 107, bearing the title *svāyambhuvasargakathanam* (in AP_1), returns to the story of the creation. Thus we see that the chapters 21–106, together with the last verse of chapter 20, were probably inserted into the description of the creation.

We already know that the chapters beginning with 72 have parallels to the SP. Chapter 70 concludes with the words: "Hear what the Lord (*īśa*) told Skanda about the installation, etc., of Sūrya, the Lord, Gaṇa, the Śakti, etc., the retinue, [and] Hari."[6] This clearly refers to the section following these words, the chapters 71ff. First of all, "the Lord" (*īśvara*), i.e., Śiva, is indeed the person who is speaking in these chapters. Secondly, he speaks to Skanda, as we see, for example, in AP_1 72.1a. Finally, Śiva speaks about the topics mentioned here: the worship of Gaṇa (i.e., Gaṇeśa) in AP 71, the worship and installation of Sūrya in AP 73 and 99, the worship and installation of Śiva in AP 74 and 95–97, the installation of His Śakti Gaurī in AP 98, and the installation of the deities at the door, as is probably meant by the term "retinue", in AP 100.[7] Thus it is highly probable that the Śaiva section begins with chapter 71, despite the fact that not all of it, especially chapter 71, has parallel passages in the SP.

Thus the chapters 21–70 remain. With regard to these chapters the following questions need to be answered: Are they of a Pāñcarātra origin? If so, do they originate from a single Saṃhitā or from several sources? Can this or these

[5] AP_1 20.23: *ṛṣibhyo nāradādyuktāḥ pūjāḥ snānādipūrvikāḥ | svāyaṃbhuvādyās tāḥ kṛtvā viṣṇvāder bhuktimuktigāḥ*.

[6] AP_1 70.8c–9b: *skandāyeśo yathā prāha pratiṣṭhādyaṃ tathā śṛṇu | sūryeśagaṇaśaktyādeḥ parivārasya vai hareḥ*.

[7] The installation of Hari, i.e., Viṣṇu, is not found in this section of the AP, although it is part of the SP (SP4, chapter VI). Cf. Brunner's note at the beginning of her translation of this chapter (SP4, p. 294).

source(s) be identified? To answer these questions three criteria may be relevant: (1) the narrator of the respective chapters of the AP, (2) parallel passages in other texts, and (3) the consistency or inconsistency of these chapters with regard to their contents.

First Criterion: The Narrators

As already mentioned, the AP basically represents itself as a narration of Agni. However, Agni is not the narrator of every chapter. Other narrators are also mentioned. These other narrators could indicate that the passage they narrate derives from another source. However, this need not necessarily be the case. Let us look at which passages are attributed to which narrator in the first chapters of the AP, beginning from AP 2.[8]

2.2-5.1	Agni
5.2-11.13	Nārada
11.14-20.23	Agni
21.1-30.36	Nārada
31.1-38.35	Agni
38.36-50	Yama
38.51	Agni
39.1-47.14	Hayagrīva[9]
48.1-68.19	Bhagavat
69.1-23	Agni
70.1-9	Bhagavat
71.1-106.24	Īśvara
107.1ff.	Agni

AP 2–20, the chapters preceding the section under investigation, are narrated by Agni with the exception of chapters 5–11. These chapters give a short version of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, which Agni explicitly ascribes to Nārada.[10]

The chapters AP 21–30 are narrated by Nārada. They are introduced by the verse 20.23, which was quoted above (p. 188), but there are no corresponding closing verses.

[8]As already mentioned, AP 1 contains the framing story of the narration. The following table refers to AP_1. For variants in AP_2 see n. 9.

[9]Variants: At the beginning of AP_1 39, the reading of a single manuscript (ga.) is *agnir uvāca*, but this v.l. can probably be ignored. At the beginning of AP_1 40, several manuscripts read *bhagavān uvāca*. In AP_2, the beginnings of chapters 40, 41 and 43–68 read *bhagavān uvāca*. At the beginning of AP_2 42, *havagrīva uvāca* is given.

[10]See AP_1 5.1 and 11.14, where this sub-story is introduced and closed by Agni.

Agni is again the narrator in AP 31–38, interrupted once for a few verses by Yama. This interruption is explicitly introduced and closed by Agni in AP_1 38.35 and 51ab.

In chapters 39–68, Hayagrīva or Bhagavat (cf. n. 9) are given as narrators. This section is introduced by Agni's words: "Hayagrīva told Brahman about the installation, etc., of the deities."[11] Here again there is no closing passage.

Chapter 69 is again narrated by Agni, chapter 70 by Bhagavat. The chapters 71–106 are narrated by Īśvara, i.e., Śiva, and the chapters immediately following this section are again recounted by Agni. The later chapters are not of interest here.

Let us start with the facts we already know. We know that AP 72–90 and 92–103 have parallels in the SP, a Śaiva text. This fits very well with the fact that the narrator of these chapters is Śiva.

The next piece of evidence we have are the parallels that Hazra found to the *Hayaśīrṣapañcarātra* in AP 39–70. The larger part of this section of the AP is ascribed to Hayagrīva/Bhagavat. This would also fit very well. Let us examine how closely this section of the AP is really related to the *Hayaśīrṣapañcarātra*.

Second Criterion: Parallel Passages: The Hayaśīrṣapañcarātra

To date, the *Hayaśīrṣapañcarātra* has been little studied by scholars. The text seems to have originated in North India, but its dates are uncertain.[12] It consists of four sections (*kāṇḍa*), of which only the first, the *ādikāṇḍa*, has been edited and published.[13] It derives its name from the fact that according to its frame-story (*ādikāṇḍa* 1) it was revealed by God in the form of Hayaśiras, the Horse-Headed One. At the beginning of each chapter of this text, the narrator is identified as Bhagavat, just as in some chapters of the section AP 39–70.

If we compare the chapters AP 39ff. with the *ādikāṇḍa* of the H, we indeed find parallels between them, in part verbatim, in part with regard to

[11] AP_1 38.51cd: *hayagrīvaḥ pratiṣṭhādyaṃ devānāṃ brahmaṇe 'bravīt*. Some manuscripts used for AP_1 and the edition AP_2 (here 38.50cd) read *hayaśīrṣaḥ* instead of *hayagrīvaḥ*.

[12] Cf. Smith 1978:166: "(...) there are many clues in it which suggest an early date; yet other details indicate that, albeit written early, it passed through the hands of late redactors." Cf. also Smith 1975:549f.

[13] Cf. Smith 1975:537. I would like to thank Dominic Goodall for providing me with a copy of the edition of the *ādikāṇḍa* of the H.

the contents:

AP_1	H *ādikāṇḍa*	topic
39.1–5	2.1–6	list of Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās
39.6c–7b	3.3c–4b	places from which a person performing the installation should not come
39.7c–9b	4.2-6	desired characteristics of an *ācārya*
39.9cd	5.10c-11b	places suitable for temples of various deities
39.10c–13b	5.5c–9	places suitable for temples of various deities
39.13c–15b	5.13–14	how to proceed if there is already a temple nearby
39.15c–18	6.14–23	acquisition of the land (*bhūmiparigraha*), the expelling of evil beings, ploughing
39.19–21	7.2–5b	definitions of various units of measurement
40.2–22b	8.18–30, 9.2–23	which deities should be placed in which part of the *vāstupuruṣa* (pattern of the house personified), what should be given to them as the *bali* offering
40.22c–30	10.1–26	offering of *arghya* (*arghyadāna*)
41.1–12	11.1–39	placing of nine bricks and nine pots
41.13–21b	12.1–20	placing of a stone and a pot in the centre, placing of auspicious items and various deities, "impregnation" (*garbhādhāna*) in the central pot
41.21c–37b	12.41c–62	*garbhādhāna* (continued), construction of the base of the temple
42.1–26b	13.1–41	characteristics of the temple
43.1–9b	14.1–15b	location of the various deities in different kinds of temple
43.9c–11	15.1–3	various materials of which an idol can be made, beginning of the description of a stone-made idol
43.12ab	15.7cd	if mountains cannot be reached a stone can be taken from the earth
43.12c–15	15.25–40b	characteristics of suitable stones
43.16–29	16.1–50	acquisition of a stone[14]
44.1–49b	18.1–57	characteristics of an idol, description of a Vāsudeva image
45.1–7b	19.1–7	characteristics of the pedestal (*piṇḍikā*)
45.7c–15b	20.1–16	image of Lakṣmī
45.15c	21.1–6	image of Garuḍa[15]
46	no parallel in H	various *śālagrāma* stones related to different deities, among others, the *navamūrti*s
47	no parallel in H	worship of the *śālagrāma* stones
48	no parallel in H	description the 24 *mūrti*s

[14]H *ādikāṇḍa* 17 deals with *dikśānti*, '*śānti*-rites required for stones not found in the proper places', i.e., a topic that belongs to the acquisition of stones.

[15]H *ādikāṇḍa* 22 deals with images of the twelve "regents of the months", also known as

AP_1	H *ādikāṇḍa*	topic
49.1–9	23.1–38	images of the ten *avatāra*s
49.10–19b	24.1–22	images of the nine Vyūhas
49.19c–28b	25.1–25	images of other deities, among them Aśvasīras (= Hayaśīrṣan)
50.1–17	no parallel in H	images of Caṇḍī/Caṇḍikā, Saubhāgyā, Lakṣmī, Sarasvatī, Yamunā, Tumburu
50.18–28	27.1–21	images of various female deities
50.29–43b	no parallel in H	images of further deities
51.1–13	26.1–11	images of the planetary deities (*graha*)
51.14–16a	28.1–14	images of the directional deities (*lokeśa*)
51.16b–18b	no parallel in H	images of further deities
52.1–9b	no parallel in H	images of the eight *yoginī*s
52.9c–13	29.1–28	image of Bhairava
52.14ab	no parallel in H	image of Vīrabhadra
52.14c–17b	30.1–12	images of Gaurī, Lalitā and Caṇḍikā
53.1–23b	31.1–22	characteristics of an idol in the form of a *liṅga*
54.1–48	no parallel in H	different varieties of *liṅga*s
55.1–9b	32.1–12	characteristics of the pedestals of idols
56.1–2b	33.1–3	five types of installation (*pratiṣṭhā*)[16]
56.2c–32b	34.1–41	preparation for the installation (*pratiṣṭhā*), worship of the directional deities
57.1–26	35.1–45	preparation of pots to be used during the installation
58.1–34	36.1–67	bathing of and offerings to the idol to be installed
59.1–58b	37.1–92b	preparations for the installation
60.1–5	38.1–39b + 1–19b	depositing of jewels (*ratnanyāsa*)
60.6–36b	39.1–74	installation (*pratiṣṭhā*)
61.1–2a	40.1–24b	bath of the idol concluding the installation (*avabhṛthasnāna*)
61.2b	41.1–27b	*bali* offering
61.2c–7b	42.1–31b	installation of the entrance of the temple
61.7c–16b	43.1–17b	installation of the "heart" of the temple (*hṛtpratiṣṭhā*)
61.16c–50	44.1-61	installation of the flag

As the other sections of the H are not yet published and a manuscript of them is not available to me at the moment, we can compare the contents of the chapters AP 62ff. only with the list of chapter titles of the remaining sections of the H as given by Smith (1975:551f.). This comparison shows that the chapters AP 62–69 have parallels with the *saṃkarṣaṇakāṇḍa* of the H:

*vyūhāntara*s.

[16] The rest of H *ādikāṇḍa* 33 deals with the proper time for the *pratiṣṭhā*.

Contents of the AP (AP_1)	Chapter titles of the H's *saṃkarṣaṇakāṇḍa*
62: installation of Lakṣmī (= Śrī)	1: *śrīsthāpana*
63.1: the installation of Tārkṣya (= Garuḍa), the Discus (= Sudarśana), Brahman and Nṛhari should be done in the same way as the installation of Viṣṇu.	2: *vihagendrasthāpana*: installation of the king of the birds (= Garuḍa)
63.2–3: installation of the Discus	3: *cakrapratiṣṭhā*
	4: *viśeṣavidhi*: special prescription
	5: *caturmukhasthāpana*: installation of the four-faced one (= Brahman) (cf. AP_1 63.1)
63.4–7b: installation of Nṛsiṃha	6: *nṛsiṃhapratiṣṭhā*
63.7c–9: installation of Trailokyamohana	
	7: *varāhasthāpana*: installation of Varāha
	8: *puruṣottamasthāpana*: installation of Puruṣottama
63.10a: installation of Vāmana	9: *vāmanasthāpana*
63.10a: installation of Vaikuṇṭha	10: *vaikuṇṭhasthāpana*
63.10b: installation of Hayāsya (= Hayaśīrṣan)	11: *hayaśīrṣapratiṣṭhā*
63.10b: installation of Aniruddha	12: *aniruddhapratiṣṭhā*
63.10c: installation of Jalaśayya	13: *jalaśayanapratiṣṭhā*
63.10d: installation of the *avatāra*s beginning with the Fish (*matsya*)	14: *daśāvatārapratiṣṭhā*: installation of the ten *avatāra*s
63.11a: installation of Saṃkarṣaṇa	15: *anantapratiṣṭhā*: installation of Ananta[17]
63.11a: installation of Viśvarūpa	16: *viśvarūpapratiṣṭhā*
63.11b: installation of a *liṅga*	17: *liṅgapratiṣṭhā*
63.11b: installation of an idol of Rudra (*rudramūrtika*)	18: *rudramūrtipratiṣṭhā*
63.11c: installation of Ardhanārīśvara	19: *ardhanārīśvarapratiṣṭhā*
63.11d: installation of Hariśaṅkara	20: *hariśaṅkarapratiṣṭhā*
63.11d: installation of the Mothers	21: *mātṝṇāṃ sthāpana*
63.12a: installation of Bhairava	22: *bhairavasthāpana*
63.12a: installation of Sūrya (= Āditya)	23: *ādityapratiṣṭhā*
63.12b: installation of the planetary deities (*graha*)	cf. 26
63.12b: installation of Vināyaka (= Gaṇapati)	cf. 25
63.12c: installation of Gaurī	24: *gaurīsthāpana*
	25: *gaṇapatisthāpana*: (cf. AP_1 63.12b)
63.12c: installation of Indra, etc. (= the directional deities)	26: *navagrahalokapālasthāpana*: installation of the nine planetary deities (cf. AP_1 63.12b) and the directional deities

[17] It is possible that Saṃkarṣaṇa is identical to Ananta. Saṃkarṣaṇa has been identified with

Contents of the AP (AP_1)	Chapter titles of the H's *saṃkarṣaṇakāṇḍa*
63.12c: installation of an "idol" that has the form of writing (?*lepyā*; v.l. AP_2 63.9a)	cf. 29
63.12d: installation of an idol that has the form of a painting (*citrajā*)	cf. 30
63.12d: installation of moveable and immoveable idols[18]	cf. 27 and 28
cf. 63.12d	27: *acalapratimāpratiṣṭhā*: installation of immoveable idols
cf. 63.12d	28: *calaliṅgapratiṣṭhā*: installation of moveable *liṅga*s
cf. 63.12c	29: *lekhārcāpratiṣṭhā*: installation of an idol in the form of writing
cf. 63.12d	30: *citrapratiṣṭhāpaṭala*: chapter [dealing with] the installation of paintings
63.13–26b: installation of knowledge (*vidyā*)[19]	31: *vidyāpratiṣṭhā*: installation of knowledge
64: installation of wells, tanks and ponds	32: *vāpīkūpataḍāgapratiṣṭhā*: installation of wells, tanks and ponds
65: installation of a hall (*sabhā*)	33: *sabhāpratiṣṭhā*: installation of a hall
66: installation of the totality of deities (cf. AP_1 66.1a: *samudāyapratiṣṭhā*)	34: *samudāyapratiṣṭhā*: installation of the totality [of deities]
67: removal of an idol that is old and used (*jīrṇoddhāra*)	35: *jīrṇoddhāravidhi*: prescription for the removal of an [idol] that is old and used
68: temple festival (*utsava*)	36: *utsavapaṭala*: chapter [dealing with] the temple festival
69: bath of the idol concluding the temple festival (cf. AP_1 69.23a: *yajñāvabhṛtasnāna*)	37: *yajñāvabhṛthasnānavidhi*: prescription for the bath concluding the sacrifice (?)
69.23c: (mention of) the marriage of Gaurī	cf. 39
69.23c: (mention of) the marriage of Lakṣmī	cf. 38
	38: *śrīvivāhavidhi*: prescription for the marriage of Śrī (cf. AP_1 69.23c)
	39: *gaurīvivāhavidhi*: prescription for the marriage of Gaurī (cf. AP_1 69.23c)[20]

AP 70, dealing with the installation of trees (*pādapapratiṣṭhā*), has no parallels with the H, as far as can be judged by SMITH's list. According to BRUNNER

the snake-incarnation Saṃkarṣaṇa/Balarāma (cf. HÄRTEL 1987:582–584) and is called Śeṣa in *Mahābhārata* 12.326.35, which is a name of the snake-king, just as Ananta is.

[18]Both AP 63.12d and AP 63.9b read *balābalam*, which should probably be emended to *calācalam*.

[19]For this rite cf. PauṣS 41.77–97 and TAK II s.v. *jñānapratiṣṭhā*.

[20]This is the last chapter of the *saṃkarṣaṇakāṇḍa*.

(SP4:414),this chapter is adopted from *Matsyapurāṇa* 59.[21] Although there are only a few verses in AP 70 and MP 59 that are actually verbatim,[22] Brunner may be right. However, it is also possible that the *Matsyapurāṇa* is not the AP's source, but that both of these Purāṇas had another (common?) source.

The two tables above show that the text of the AP is generally shorter than that of the H. Although Smith does not give the length of the chapters of the H's *saṃkarṣaṇakāṇḍa*, we see in the second table that some topics that are described in separate chapters in the H are only mentioned in the AP.[23] Thus we get the impression that the chapters of the AP are an abbreviated version of those in the H, just as Brunner observed for the chapters of the AP that are parallel passages of the SP (SP4, p. lix). However, further research, especially a detailed comparison of the texts of these two sources, is necessary in order to accurately ascertain whether the AP chapters under consideration are really an abbreviation of the two *kāṇḍa*s of the H or whether, vice versa, the H is an elaboration of an originally shorter version.

First Criterion: The Narrators of Agnipurāṇa 39–70

Let us reconsider the narrators of the passage just described. The narrator of AP 39–68 and 70 is either Hayagrīva or Bhagavat; the narrator of AP 69 is Agni. When we look at the parallel passages of this section, we see that the chapters AP 39–69 have parallels with the H, in which Hayaśiras (= Hayagrīva), who is called Bhagavat at the beginnings of the chapters, is also the narrator. However, AP 70 seems to have no parallel with the H. This shows us that, at least in this section, the specification of the narrator is not a reliable criterion for the identification of the source. The parallel passages found in the H should probably be considered to be stronger evidence than the specification of their narrators. In regard to AP 70, however, another possibility should also not be forgotten: it may have been part of an earlier version of the H.

[21] *Matsyapurāṇa* 59 is almost identical with *Padmapurāṇa* V.24.192–211. According to Hazra (1975:109–112), there are several chapters that appear in both the *Matsyapurāṇa* and the *Padmapurāṇa*. The latter borrowed from the former.

[22] AP_1 70.1c–2 ≈ MP 59.5–6b, PP V.24.194–195b; AP_1 70.4cd ≈ MP 59.12cd, PP V.24.202ab; AP_1 70.6cd = MP 59.14ef ≈ PP V.24.205ab; AP 70.7c = MP 59.16c ≈ PP V.24.207c.

[23] See, e.g., the chapters H *saṃkarṣaṇakāṇḍa* 9–30 and 38–39 in the table.

Contents and Structure of Agnipurāṇa 21–38

Let us now look at the remaining part of the AP section under consideration, AP 21–38. What are the contents of this section? AP 21, called *sāmānyapūjākathanam* (in AP_2), describes the ritual worship of Viṣṇu, Śiva, Sūrya, again Viṣṇu, Sarasvatī, and their retinue. This ritual's description is very general. The chapters AP 22–24 give prescriptions for the daily ritual from the bath (*snāna*) up to the fire-ritual (*agnikārya*).[24] AP 25 gives the *mantra*s of the nine Vyūhas and their retinue and describes the worship of various deities and entities (cf. pp. 203f.). AP 26 describes the *mudrā*s of the nine Vyūhas and the *aṅga*s. AP 27 and 28 contain the prescriptions for the initiation (*dīkṣā*) and the consecration (*abhiṣeka*). AP 29–30 describe the preparation of *maṇḍala*s and the worship of various entities and deities on them. AP 31 gives prescriptions for rites for protection, removal of miseries and attainment of happiness. AP 32 enumerates *saṃskāra*s and other rites known from the Vedic orthodox tradition. AP 33–37 give prescriptions for the *pavitrāropaṇa* ritual ("investiture of the sacred thread"). And AP 38 describes the benefits of constructing a temple.

With regard to their contents, the chapters of this section are systematically and logically arranged. Furthermore, especially with AP 38, which introduces the topic of temples, they can be seen as structurally forming an integrated whole with the second part, in which one finds parallel passages to the *Hayaśīrṣapañcarātra* and which is mainly devoted to temple construction and the installation of temples and images. Thus, from the point of view of structure, it is possible that the entire section AP 21–70 derives from a single Saṃhitā.[25] However, this integrated structure could also be the work of the redactor of the *Agnipurāṇa*. Thus we cannot conclude anything definitive from the structure of this section.

Second Criterion: Parallel Passages of AP 21–38

In the section AP 21–38, parallel passages with other texts can also be identified. The following table gives the identified parallel passages that either agree nearly

[24] The last part of AP 24 (AP_1 24.42ff.) is a description of the initiation (*dīkṣā*); for this, see below, pp. 218ff.

[25] Agreements and disagreements in the contents' details will be treated below; see pp. 200ff.

literally (≈) or that are parallels with regard to their contents (:).[26]

AP_1		Parallel passages	Content
23.2c–5b	≈	NārS 2.34c–37b	mental purification of the body
23.6–8b	:	NārS 2.44–46b	imposition of *mantra*s
23.8c–9	:	NārS 2.54–56	worship of Viṣṇu/Acyuta; preparation of implements of worship
23.11	≈	NārS 2.49–50b	description of the *yogapīṭha*
24.1c-10b	≈	NārS 7.30c–41b	preparation of the fire-pit
24.10c–12b	:	NārS 27.6–8	description of *sruc* and *sruva*
24.14cd	≈	NārS 27.15cd	”
24.15cd	:	NārS 27.8ab	”
24.16–18b	≈	NārS 27.17–19b	”
25.4c–5b	≈	GarP 1.11.37	colours of the nine Vyūhas
26.1c–7	≈	GarP 1.11.27c–34b	*mudrā*s of the nine Vyūhas
27.1cd	≈	NārS 7.15cd	initiation (*dīkṣā*)
27.2–6b	≈	NārS 7.18–21	
27.6c–7	:	NārS 7.22–25b	
27.8ab	≈	NārS 7.25cd	
27.8cd	:	NārS 7.26	
27.9ab	:	NārS 7.27–28	
27.9cd	:	NārS 7.78cd	
27.10ab	≈	NārS 7.79cd	
27.10c–12	≈	NārS 7.81–83b	
27.13–17	:	NārS 7.83c–92	
27.18–22	≈	NārS 7.93–97	
27.34ab	:	NārS 7.98c–99b	
27.34cd	:	NārS 7.102c–105	
27.35ab	:	NārS 9.2–4b	
27.35d–37	≈	NārS 9.5b–7b	
27.38c–43b	≈	NārS 9.7c–12b	
27.45–47	≈	NārS 9.12c–15b	
29.2ab	:	NārS 8.7ab	preparation of *maṇḍala*s
29.3	:	NārS 8.10–11b	
29.4–11	≈	NārS 8.11c–19b	
29.12c–18	≈	NārS 8.21–27b	
29.19–20b	:	NārS 8.28–31	
29.20c–21b	≈	NārS 8.32	
29.21c–22	≈	NārS 8.33c–34	

[26]Here, of course, not all passages that are parallel with regard to the contents are listed (they can be found in great numbers), but only passages that literally agree at least in a few words, or that are found close to passages from the same source that do agree literally. The table is not exhaustive. There are also passages in AP 24 and 27 that are parallel to ViṣṇuS 10, but with regard to their contents rather than literally. These are treated separately; cf. below pp. 221f.

29.23cd	:	NārS 8.35–38b	
29.24–25b	≈	NārS 8.38c–39	
29.25cd	:	NārS 8.40ab	
29.26cd	≈	NārS 8.40cd	
30.12c–13b	≈	NārS 8.47	colours of the *maṇḍala*
30.13cd	:	NārS 8.48	
30.14ab	:	NārS 8.49–50b	
30.14c–15b	≈	NārS 8.50c–51b	
30.15c–16b	:	NārS 8.51c–52b	
30.18c–19	:	NārS 8.59–60b	
30.26	≈	SārK 1.8	*mantra* visualisation
30.29c–32b	:	JS 12.38–41b (cf. pp. 208f.)	*mantra* visualisation
31.2–46	≈	VDh 28.15–61	rites for protection, etc.
32.1ab	:	GautDhSū 1.8.8	*saṃskāra*s and other rites
32.2a–3b	:	GautDhSū 1.8.14	
32.3cd	:	GautDhSū 1.8.15	
32.4b–5b	:	GautDhSū 1.8.19	
32.5c–6c	:	GautDhSū 1.8.20	
32.6d–7	:	GautDhSū 1.8.21	
32.9d–11a	:	GautDhSū 1.8.23–24[27]	
38.33cd	:	VDh 80.20, PrA 35.4c–5b	benefits of constructing a temple
38.37–44	≈	VDh 80.29–36, PrA 35.15–22	
38.45–50b	≈	VDh 80.17–24b, PrA 35.1c–8	

The Nāradīyasaṃhitā

The table shows that the chapters AP 23–30 include several passages that can also be found, nearly verbatim, in the *Nāradīyasaṃhitā*. In addition to this, there are two other arguments, albeit less significant, that could be offered for the assumption that the NārS is the source of these chapters. First, the AP names Nārada as the narrator of chapters 21–30. Nārada is also the narrator of the NārS; it derives its name from this fact. However, we must not forget that Nārada is a prominent *ṛṣi* and appears very often in the Saṃhitās.[28] This means that naming Nārada as the narrator does not necessarily indicate that a text assigned to him comes from the NārS. Second, the structure of the contents of the NārS bears some similarities with that of AP 22–30. Cf. the following table:

[27] Another parallel passage of AP_1 32.1–11b can be found in the AP itself, namely, AP_1 166.9c–17b.

[28] As an interlocutor, Nārada appears, e.g., in the JS, the SS, and the AhirS.

AP	NārS	Content
22–24	2	daily worship
25	3–5	*mantra*s
26	6	*mudrā*s
27	7	initiation (*dīkṣā*)
29–30	8	*maṇḍala*s
	9	initiation (*dīkṣā*) (continued)
28	10	consecration (*abhiṣeka*)

Apart from the sections dealing with *maṇḍala*s, the structure of the contents is the same in both the AP and the NārS. Again however, this structure is not an unusual one. Thus this is also not a clear indication that the NārS's structure influenced the section of the AP under consideration. Thus the only strong argument for the NārS as a source of AP 22–30 are the parallel passages that are almost literally the same. However, we will see below (pp. 227f.) that the NārS in the form we know it cannot be the source, since there are some vital differences between this section of the AP and the NārS.

Viṣṇudharma, Prakīrṇādhikāra, Garuḍapurāṇa, Gautamadharmasūtra

AP 31 and 38 include passages that are parallel to the *Viṣṇudharma*. The *Viṣṇudharma* is a work that was compiled from earlier texts. As is generally the case for compilations, its date is uncertain, but it is probably quite early. Its earliest datable manuscripts are from the eleventh century from Nepal (Grünendahl 1983:IX, 10f. and 14f.). The *Viṣṇudharma* was used as a source for several Purāṇas, among them the *Āgneya-* or *Vahnipurāṇa* (ibid. 67f.), which is earlier than the AP.[29] The *Viṣṇudharma* was originally a work by Bhāgavatas and was later appropriated and modified by Pāñcarātrins (Grünendahl 1989:49–57).

From these two facts, its being a popular source for Purāṇas in general on one hand and having been incorporated into and thus being part of the Pāñcarātra tradition on the other, it is highly probable that for AP 31 and 38 either the *Viṣṇudharma* was used as a direct source or that these chapters were borrowed from a Pāñcarātra text that was based on the *Viṣṇudharma*. The passage that is parallel between AP 31 and *Viṣṇudharma* 28 can also be found in the *Prakīrṇādhikāra*, a text of the Vaikhānasa tradition. The *Prakīrṇādhikāra* is a relatively recent text. According to Colas (1996:69f. and 94), the "medieval corpus" of the Vaikhānasas probably arose between the ninth and thirteenth

[29]For the *Āgneya-* or *Vahnipurāṇa* cf. Hazra 1953/1954.

centuries. Among the texts of this corpus, the PrA ranks among the later ones. Thus we can exclude the possibility that the PrA was a source of the AP.

In AP 25 and 26, there are a few verses parallel to passages in GarP 1.11. Apart from these, there are a number of other similarities between the AP section under consideration and the GarP (cf. notes 35, 42, 67 and 69). However, according to HAZRA (1975:144), the GarP was modelled on the AP and thus it is probable that the GarP is not a source of the AP, but vice versa.

The *Gautamadharmasūtra*, of which we find parallel passages in AP 32, is the *Dharmasūtra* of the *Sāmaveda*. It is certainly older than the AP. It is not necessarily the immediate source of the AP, but these parallels show that an influence from Vedic orthodoxy was effective here.

Third Criterion: The Contents

Let us now look at the contents of AP 21–70. Are the contents of these chapters consistent or not? Can we conclude the origin of these chapters from their contents? We shall first look at teachings that appear in a similar form at several points of the text. This may indicate that the sections in which they appear also originally belonged together. Then we shall investigate the teachings and rites that are found in different forms in this text. They may point to different origins of these sections. Whenever suitable, I will also present teachings from the AP section under consideration that are unique in that sense that they have not yet been found in other sources, since they expand our knowledge of Pāñcarātra doctrines in particular.

Worship of a Single or Nine Manifestations of God

A characteristic feature of the ritual that is found in several chapters is the choice of worshipping a single or nine manifestations (*navamūrti*, *navavyūha*) of Viṣṇu. The nine manifestations are Vāsudeva, Saṃkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna, Aniruddha, Nārāyaṇa, Brahman, Viṣṇu, Narasiṃha, and Varāha. These alternatives are explicitly mentioned in the context of the daily ritual[30] and of the initiation (*dīkṣā*).[31] In addition, the *mantra*s and colours of the nine *mūrti*s

[30]Cf. AP_1 23.20cd: "[Thus] the worship of a single manifestation was taught; [now] hear the worship of the nine Vyūhas." (*ekamūrtyarcanaṃ proktaṃ navavyūhārcanaṃ śṛṇu*).

[31]Cf. AP_1 27.58: "[Thus] the performance of the initiation for a single manifestation was briefly taught. The course of procedure for nine Vyūhas, etc., is known in exactly the same

are described in AP_1 25.1–5b. Their *mudrā*s are given in AP_1 26.3c–6a.[32]

Probably considered as part of the nine *mūrti*s, the *mantra*s of the first five *mūrti*s, i.e., Vāsudeva through Nārāyaṇa, are often used in the ritual.[33]

Images of the nine *mūrti*s are described in AP_1 49.10–19b, which is parallel to H *ādikāṇḍa* 24. AP_1 46, of which parallel passages cannot be found in the H, describes various *śālagrāma* stones related to different deities and the first nine deities mentioned are the nine *mūrti*s. However, it is not clear if they are considered a group here, because they are not differentiated from the several other deities listed.

The ritual worship of the nine *mūrti*s or Vyūhas is also described in other texts. Such descriptions can be found in PauṣS 10.3–33 and 33.4–13, *Viṣṇurahasya* 3,[34] AP 201, and *Garuḍapurāṇa* 1.11–12.[35] In PādS *kriyāpāda* 18.62d–63, PārS 15.697c–698 and 17.96c–99 as well as ŚrīpṛśS 23.225 this worship is only mentioned; the PādS and the PārS list Hayagrīva instead of Brahman as one of the nine.[36] In PādS *jñānapāda* 1.81cd, *caryāpāda* 21.66, and BhT 22.90–91b, the worship of the nine is mentioned (also listing Hayagrīva instead of Brahman) as being a characteristic feature of the Tantrasiddhānta,

manner." (*ekamūrtāv ayaṃ prokto dīkṣāyogaḥ samāsataḥ | evam eva prayogas tu navavyūhādike smṛtaḥ*).

[32]If one looks at only this AP passage, it is not clear that this is a description of the *mudrā*s of the nine *mūrti*s: beginning with AP_1 26.3c, eight *mudrā*s are described without mention of their names. AP_1 26.5b–6a then names the final *mudrā* being described as the *varāhamudrā*. However, the parallel passage in GarP 1.11.27c–34b, which is nearly verbatim, removes any doubt that the *mudrā*s of the nine *mūrti*s are being described here.

[33]See AP_1 27.4c–5 (sprinkling of the five products of the cow [*pañcagavya*] over the earth), 27.11–13 (preparation of an oblation of boiled rice or barley [*caru*]), 34.9c-10b (reciting of these *mantra*s over the five products of the cow). In AP_1 35.3c–4, the four *mantra*s from Saṃkarṣaṇa to Nārāyaṇa are used for the preparation of ritual implements.

[34]The *Viṣṇurahasya* is a Pāñcarātra text of which Nepalese manuscripts are extant, one of which is dated AD 1195 (Grünendahl 1989:54f.). According to Grünendahl (ibid.), the text quoted in Hemādri's *Caturvargacintāmaṇi* (CVC), vol. 2, fasc. 9, pp. 1125–1131 and ascribed to the *Viṣṇudharmottara* is the entire chapter 3 of the *Viṣṇurahasya*. Here, the worship of the nine Vyūhas is described (see especially p. 1127,14–1128,2 for their positions on a *maṇḍala* [although the text seems to be corrupt] as well as 1128,4–5 and 1130,17 for the term *navavyūha*).

[35]These two chapters of the GarP have many similarities to AP_1 23, 25 (the *mantra*s of the nine Vyūhas) and 26 and even two verbatim parallel passages; cf. p. 197 and n. 32.

[36]The *Prakīrṇādhikāra* also mentions the worship of nine *mūrti*s, but here they bear the names Viṣṇu, Puruṣa, Satya, Acyuta, Aviruddha, Nara, Nārāyaṇa, Varāha, and Narasiṃha (13.1–2b).

one of four Siddhāntas into which the Pāñcarātra tradition is divided.[37]

Smith (1975:549f.) thinks that the inclusion of the teaching of nine Vyūhas indicates a "fairly early" date for such texts. He does not provide a reason for this assumption, but it is possible that he is right. The passages that give detailed descriptions of rituals for the nine *mūrti*s in the PauṣS, the *Viṣṇurahasya*, the *Agnipurāṇa*, and the *Garuḍapurāṇa* probably date to an earlier period than those passages that only mention these rituals, thus indicating that the nine *mūrti*s were more important in earlier periods than in later. These later texts, the PādS, PārS, Śrīprś, and BhT, give the impression that their authors knew of these rituals, but did not attach sufficient importance to them to give detailed prescriptions for them. However, we must also be aware that the given list of references is certainly not exhaustive, and that perhaps detailed descriptions of rituals of the nine *mūrti*s in more recent texts do exist.

Other Deities

In the AP section under consideration, other individual deities or groups of deities are also mentioned, but not all are so characteristic as to clearly identify the origin of the passages describing them. Two groups of this type are the 24 *mūrti*s[38] and the twelve regents of the months (*māsādhipa*).[39] Especially the latter, also known as Vyūhāntaras in the Pāñcarātra tradition, are very common in the texts of the Pāñcarātra as well as of other traditions.[40] Thus they do not indicate a specific origin of the passages that describe them. The individual deities that are mentioned in the AP section under consideration are

[37] For the four Siddhāntas cf. Rastelli 2006:185ff. The concept of the four Siddhāntas arose probably later than the source text of this AP section. Thus it is improbable that its author considered himself as belonging to the Tantrasiddhānta. But perhaps his text was considered as belonging to it in later times.

[38] These *mūrti*s are Keśava, Nārāyaṇa, Mādhava, Govinda, Viṣṇu, Madhusūdana, Trivikrama, Vāmana, Śrīdhara, Hṛṣīkeśa, Padmanābha, Dāmodara, Vāsudeva, Saṃkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna, Aniruddha, Puruṣottama, Adhokṣaja, Nṛsiṃha, Acyuta, Upendra, Janārdana, Hari, and Kṛṣṇa. They are described in AP_1 48. In the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās that are known to us, they are described in PādS *jñānapāda* 2.21–8, in the ŚrīprśS (e.g. 9.64c–72, 23.281c–293), and in BBS I.13.110c–119 (Both the ŚrīprśS and the BBS are partly based on the PādS; for this and for further information about the 24 *mūrti*s, cf. Rastelli 2006:349f.).

[39] These are Viṣṇu, Madhuhara, Trivikrama, Vāmana, Śrīdhara, Hṛṣīkeśa, Padmanābha, Dāmodara, Keśava, Nārāyaṇa, Mādhava, and Govinda. They appear in the list of the one to twenty-six *vyūha*s (cf. p. 203f.), being themselves the group of twelve *vyūha*s (AP_1 25.38–39) and in AP_1 59.33c–36 ≈ H *ādikāṇḍa* 37.52c–55b.

[40] Cf. Rastelli 2006:348–55.

numerous, and an examination of each of them would go beyond the scope of this paper. Nevertheless, one individual deity should be considered, namely, Kṛṣṇa or Govinda. If we disregard its affiliation to the two groups just mentioned, Kṛṣṇa or Govinda appears only in the section that is ascribed to Agni (AP 31–8), and most of the passages in which these names are mentioned have parallel passages in the *Viṣṇudharma*.[41] This means that Kṛṣṇa/Govinda does not play any role in the other parts of the AP section under consideration, but is a characteristic feature of the sources used for the section ascribed to Agni.[42]

The One to Twenty-six vyūhas

Another characteristic feature of the first part of the AP section under consideration is the doctrine of the one to twenty-six entities that are called *vyūha*s in this context. These entities are listed in AP_1 25.18c–45, which describes the imposition of them on the worshipper's body, and in AP_1 30.1–11, which gives their imposition on a *maṇḍala*. The *vyūha*s given there are as follows: 1: *prakṛti*; 2: *puruṣa*, *prakṛti*; 3: fire (*agni*, *vahni*), wind (*vāyu*, *anila*), sun (*arka*, *āditya*); 4: *Ṛgveda*, *Yajurveda*, *Sāmaveda*, *Atharvaveda*;[43] 5: the five elements: ether (*ākāśa*), wind (*vāyu*), fire (*jyotis*, *tejas*), water (*jala*), earth (*pṛth[i]vī*); 6: mind (*manas*) and the five organs of perception: ears (*śrotra*), skin (*tvac*), eyes (*dṛś*, *cakṣus*), tongue (*jihvā*, *rasanā*), nose (*ghrāṇa*); 7: the seven worlds: *bhūrloka*, *bhuvarloka*, *svarloka*, *maharloka*, *janarloka*, *taparloka*, *satyaloka*;[44] the seven sacrifices: *agniṣṭoma*, *atyagniṣṭoma*, *ukth(y)a*, *ṣoḍaśī*, *vājapeyaka*, *atirātra*, *aptoryāma*;[45] 8: intellect (*dhī*, *buddhi*), egoism (*aham*, *ahaṃkāra*), mind (*manas*),

[41] Kṛṣṇa is mentioned in AP_1 31.10b (≈ VDh 28.23b), 36.6a, 38.2c, 20a, 22a, 42d (≈ VDh 80.34d), 43c (≈ VDh 80.35c); Govinda in AP_1 31.19c (≈ VDh 28.32c), 26a (≈ VDh 28.39a), 45c (≈ VDh 28.59a), 38.40c (≈ VDh 80.32c).

[42] Another piece of evidence for the fact that Kṛṣṇa/Govinda is a characteristic feature of this section could be GarP 1.28, which describes a throne and a retinue similar to those described in AP_1 33. The throne and retinue in GarP 1.28 are meant for Gopāla (=Kṛṣṇa/Govinda).

[43] In AP_1 25.22, only *Ṛgveda*, *Yajurveda* and *Atharvaveda* are mentioned, but a line is perhaps missing here; cf.: "He is to impose the *Ṛgveda* extending over the [whole] hand, the *Yajur[veda]* on the fingers, the one having the form of the *Atharvaveda* on both palms, [the *Sāmaveda*] on the head, the heart, and finally on the feet." (AP_1 25.22: *ṛgvedaṃ vyāpakaṃ haste aṅgulīṣu yajur nyaset | taladvaye 'tharvarūpaṃ śirohṛccaraṇāntagam*). In any case, the number of items that is required here is four. In AP_1 30.2d and 3c, all four Vedas are mentioned.

[44] *svarloka* is not mentioned in AP_1 30.4d–5a. The text is probably corrupt here.

[45] *atyagniṣṭoma* is missing in AP_1 25.28c-29b. For these seven sacrifices, cf. GautDhSū 1.8.21; they are also listed in AP_1 32.6d–7 and 166.15b–16a.

sound (*śabda*), touch (*sparśa*), visibility (*rūpa*), taste (*rasa*), scent (*gandha*); 9: the individual soul (*jīva*) and the eight just mentioned;[46] 10: the ten directional deities (*lokapāla*s): Indra, Vahni, etc.;[47] 11: mind (*manas*), the five organs of perception (see s.v. 6) and the five organs of action: speech (*vāc*), hands (*pāṇi*), feet (*aṅghri*, *pāda*), the anus (*pāyu*), the penis (*upastha*); 12: the twelve regents of the months (*māsādhipa*): Viṣṇu, Madhuhara, Trivikrama, Vāmana, Śrīdhara, Hṛṣīkeśa, Padmanābha, Dāmodara, Keśava, Nārāyaṇa, Mādhava, Govinda; 25: *puruṣa*, intellect (*dhī*), egoism (*ahaṃkāra*), *manas*, *citta*, the five subtle sensory media *śabda*, etc., the five organs of perception, the five organs of action, the five elements;[48] 26: *para puruṣa*/*puruṣottama* and the 25 *tattva*s just mentioned.

The meaning of the doctrine of the one to twenty-six *vyūha*s seems to be as follows: The totality of all *vyūha*s comprises the entire universe. They include all entities that together constitute the world: the *tattva*s, the natural powers, the seven worlds, the Vedas and the Vedic sacrifices, and the deities who reign space (the *lokapāla*s) and time (the *māsādhipa*s), given in lists of entities in ascending numbers. They do not include the Supreme God Vāsudeva or his form as nine *mūrti*s, but with all probability the one to twenty-six *vyūha*s are considered to be manifestations of the Supreme God, since according to the Pāñcarātra the world and all its constituents are manifestations of God (cf. Rastelli 1999:98f.). By means of the ritual imposition on the body and the *maṇḍala*, the entire universe and thus the various forms of God's appearance can be made present. To date, I could not find any other texts that describe this doctrine of the various numbers of *vyūha*s or one that is similar. Thus the origin of the passage that describes this doctrine remains unclear. However, precisely because it has not yet been found in another text, it is a stroke of luck that it is conserved in the AP, as otherwise we would not know that this doctrine is also a part of the Pāñcarātra tradition.

Series of tattvas

In connection with our examination of the constituents of the world as well as of a doctrine that has not yet been found in other sources, I would like to look

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[46] Both AP_1 25.31c–32a and 30.7cd are corrupt, but the nine *vyūha*s are most probably these.

[47] In AP_1 25.33c–34, only Indra and Vahni are mentioned, in AP_1 30.3a, only Indra, etc. In AP_1 25, a few lines are probably missing.

[48] This series differs from the classical series of the Sāṃkhyas. Here, in the AP, *citta* instead of *prakṛti* appears.

at another conception of the series of the *tattva*s that is found in the AP section under consideration. In AP 27, the series of *tattva*s, apart from *puruṣa*, consists of the primary matter (*prakṛti*), the subtle body (*liṅga*), egoism (*ahaṃkṛti*, *ahaṃkartṛ*), intellect (*buddhi*, *jñāna*), mind (*manas*), the five subtle elements (*tanmātra*s), the five organs of perception (*buddhyākhya*), the five organs of action (*karmākhya*), and the five elements (*bhūta*).[49] The first unusual feature is the order of those *tattva*s that constitute the mental aspects of a being. Their usual order is *buddhi*, *ahaṃkāra*, *manas* (see e.g. AP_1 25.29c and 41cd or PādS *caryāpāda* 3.44c–45b). The second, more striking feature is that the subtle body (*liṅga*) is counted as one of the *tattva*s. According to Sāṃkhyas, the subtle body consists of the *buddhi*, the *ahaṃkāra*, the *manas*, the five organs of perception, the five organs of action and the five *tanmātra*s (Frauwallner 1992:102), i.e., it consists of *tattva*s, but is usually not considered to be one of them. The subtle body is also mentioned in AP_1 24.43cd and 48a, but here it is not clear if it is also considered to be a separate *tattva*.

The Visualisation of the mantra

At the end of the section ascribed to Nārada, immediately after the prescriptions related to *maṇḍala*s, a meditation practice called the "visualisation of the *mantra*" (*mantradhyāna*) is described. This description starts with three forms of the *mantra*: "I will explain the visualisation of the *mantra* by which a *mantra*-born fruit arises. The form consisting of sound [and] the exterior body is regarded as the coarse [*mantra*]. (25) The form consisting of light, being in the heart [and] consisting of thought is the subtle [*mantra*]. That which is devoid of thought, however, is proclaimed as the supreme [*mantra*]. (26) The form of the boar (*varāha*), the lion (*siṃha*) and the Śaktis is principally coarse. The form devoid of thought is taught as [being that] of Vāsudeva. (27) For the others, the form being in the heart [and] consisting of thought is always taught. The coarse one is said to be the one belonging to Brahman (*vairāja*), the subtle one is the marked one (*liṅgita*). (28) The form devoid of thought is declared to be the one belonging to the Lord (*aiśvara*)."[50]

[49] AP2 27.29 (*prakṛtir liṅgaśaktiś ca kartā* must be emended to *prakṛtir liṅgadeho 'haṃkartā*) and 54–55b (in 54b the v.l. *karmākhyāṇi* is to be read).

[50] AP_1 30.25–29b: *mantradhyānaṃ pravakṣyāmi yena syān mantrajaṃ phalam | sthūlaṃ śabdamayaṃ rūpaṃ vigrahaṃ bāhyam iṣyate 25 | sūkṣmaṃ jyotirmayaṃ rūpaṃ hārdaṃ cintāmayaṃ bhavet | cintayā rahitaṃ yat tu tat paraṃ parikīrtitam 26 | varāhasiṃhaśaktīnāṃ sthūlaṃ rūpaṃ pradhānataḥ | cintayā rahitaṃ rūpaṃ vāsudevasya kīrtitam 27 | itareṣāṃ smṛtaṃ*

Let us consider the characteristic features of the three forms of the *mantra* systematically:

form	coarse (*sthūla*)	subtle (*sūkṣma*)	supreme (*para*)
quality	sound (*śabda*)	light (*jyotir*), thought (*cintā*)	devoid of thought
place of manifestation	exterior body	in the heart	
form of manifestation	Varāha, Siṃha, Śaktis	others (?)	Vāsudeva
?	*vairāja*	*liṅgita*	*aiśvara*

The coarse form of the *mantra* consists of sound, the subtle form, of light and thought, and the supreme form is devoid of thought. Apart from the subtle form's quality of light, this concept can also be found in Śaiva sources, namely, in the *Sārdhatriśatikālottara* and in the *Śivapurāṇa*.[51]

The term *jyotirmaya*, used for the characterisation of the subtle form, can be found in a description of the coarse, the subtle and the supreme *mantra* in JS 12.23c–28b, a passage that has some other parallels with the *mantradhyāna* passage of the AP as well.[52] However, in this case the attribute *jyotirmaya* is as-

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rūpaṃ hārdaṃ cintāmayaṃ sadā | sthūlaṃ vairājam ākhyātaṃ sūkṣmaṃ vai liṅgitaṃ bhavet 28 | cintayā rahitaṃ rūpam aiśvaraṃ parikīrtitam.

[51]The description of the SārK is identical in part to AP_1 30.26, cf. SārK 1.8: "The coarse one is called sound, the subtle one consists of thought. That which is devoid of thought, however, is proclaimed as the supreme one." (*sthūlaṃ śabda iti proktaṃ sūkṣmaṃ cintāmayaṃ bhavet | cintayā rahitaṃ yat tu tat paraṃ parikīrtitam*). For the ŚivaP cf. 7.1.29.4–5b: "Wise men explain the expansion of sound as three-fold, [namely,] coarse, subtle and supreme. The coarse [expansion of sound] is in the range of the *śruti* (i.e., the Veda), the subtle one is taught as consisting of thought, the supreme one is devoid of thought." (*śabdātmikā vibhūtir yā sā tridhā kathyate budhaiḥ | sthūlā sūkṣmā parā ceti sthūlā yā śrutigocarā | sūkṣmā cintāmayī proktā ciṃtayā rahitā parā*).

[52]Cf.: "The form consisting of light [and] characterized by delight and bliss is the supreme one. (23cd) The subtle one, however, is characterized by the *cit-śakti*; [it is] a mere mark [and it is] illuminating. Then the coarse body is to be visualized according to its various forms. (24) The Lord of the primary matter and the *puruṣa* has [the size] of a hundredth part of the point of a hair. [He is] the enjoyer of the qualities, the support of the qualities, endowed with qualities, and devoid of qualities. (25) This Lord who consists of all deities is called the Lord in the body. As *puruṣa* the size of a thumb, he is present in all bodies. (26) The All-Pervading One [obtains different forms] by means of different visualisations, just as a jewel that is endowed with [the colours] blue, yellow, etc., obtains different colours when [it is] divided. (27) Thus he is Brahman, Rudra, Candra, Sūrya, [and] Prajāpati." (*paraṃ jyotirmayaṃ rūpam āhlādānandalakṣaṇam 23 | sūkṣmaṃ cicchaktilakṣaṃ tu liṅgamātraṃ prakāśavat | tataḥ sthūlavapur dhyeyo nānārūpavibhāgaśaḥ 24 | vālāgraśatabhāgaś ca pradhānapuruṣeśvaraḥ | guṇabhoktā guṇādhāro guṇavān nirguṇas tathā 25 | deheśvaras*

cribed to the supreme form (JS 12.23c $\approx$ AP_1 30.26a). Nevertheless, according to the JS, light is also a characteristic of the subtle form, which is described here as "illuminating" (*prakāśavat*, 12.24b). The coarse *mantra* becomes manifest in a body, e.g., an anthropomorphic body.[53] The subtle *mantra* is present in the heart of beings, i.e., as personal souls. These ideas can also be found in the JS (cf. JS 12.24c–26 [quoted in n. 52], 4.23–4). In this respect, nothing is said about the supreme form. It is probably considered to be beyond perceptible forms.

The outward appearance of the coarse *mantra* are deities that are manifestations of Viṣṇu, but that are subordinate to his manifestation as Viṣṇu/Vāsudeva himself. This latter manifestation is that of the supreme *mantra*, but, if we assume there to be no contradiction in this section, it is not his anthropomorphic form that is meant here. The subtle form becomes manifest as "the others" (*itara*), by which personal souls could be meant.

The meanings of the final attributes ascribed to the three forms are not clear. These are "belonging to Brahman" (*vairāja*), "marked" (*liṅgita*), and "belonging to the Lord" (*aiśvara*), "Belonging to Brahman" could mean belonging to creation or the created world, as Brahman is usually considered to be the creator of the world. *liṅgita* is probably related to the term *liṅgamātra*, which is used in the description of the subtle form in the JS (12.24b). In the Yoga system, *liṅgamātra* denotes the *mahattattva* (e.g. YSū 2.19, YBh 185,6–8), but in the descriptions of the subtle form of the *mantra*, it seems rather to refer to the soul. And the supreme form belongs to the Lord, i.e. Viṣṇu/Vāsudeva, which corresponds to the other attributes ascribed to this form.

The AP proceeds with the description how the *mantra* is to be visualised: "He is to visualise the seed-syllable (*bīja*) as having the nature of the personal soul (*jīva*), which has the shape of a *kadamba* flower, as the consciousness that abides in the heart-lotus, [and] as the imperishable light. The lord of the *mantra* stands in the heart, compressed [and] alone, like a lamp in the interior of a pot, whose (i.e., the light's) radiation is suppressed. (29c–31b) In the same manner [as] rays of light in a pot with many holes spread out [of this pot] in the same number [as that of the holes of the pot], the beams of the seed-syllable [spread

sa vikhyātas sarvadevamayaḥ prabhuḥ | aṅguṣṭhamātraḥ puruṣas sarvadeheṣu tiṣṭhati 26 | maṇir yathā vibhāgena nīlapītādibhir yutaḥ | rūpabhedam avāpnoti dhyānabhedāt tathā vibhuḥ 27 | brahmā hy ayaṃ tathā rudraś candrasūryau prajāpatiḥ). Cf. also Rastelli 1999:105–113.

[53] A *mantra* has not only a form of sound, but also has a visual form, e.g. an anthropomorphic form of a body; cf. Rastelli 1999:129ff.

out of the body] by means of the channels of the body (*nāḍī*). (31c–32b) The channels of the body, which have taken possession of the divine body [and] which illuminate the entrails (?), rise from the heart to the range of the organs of perception.[54] Two of their channels have the nature of *agni* and *soma* [and] come to an end at the tip of the nose.[55] (32c–33)

Having conquered the wind of the body by means of a correct 'eruption' (*udghāta*), the *mantrin* who is intent upon recitation and visualisation [of the *mantra*] obtains a *mantra*-born fruit. (34) [A person] who has wishes and who, having purified the elements and subtle elements [of his body], practises *yoga* obtains [superhuman powers] such as becoming as small as an atom, etc., and [a person] who has no wishes, having traversed [this world and] (35) having the nature of consciousness (*cit*), gets rid of the elements and the subtle elements as well as of [his] imprisonment by the organs of senses."[56]

The beginning of this passage is very similar to a passage from the JS, which follows the description of the three forms of the *mantra*, which was quoted above: "In the centre of the heart-lotus, there is the imperishable light of consciousness that has the shape of a *kadamba* ball, that has all forms, that shines like a gem, (38) that is similar to a big jewel-lamp whose spreading is uninterrupted. And its beams come forth through apertures and openings such as the ears, etc., (39) O Twice-Born One, just as a multitude of rays comes out of a pot full of holes that is furnished with a big lamp, the *mantra* that is provided with a large number of beams spreads out of the body."[57] Here, we see the same

[54]Literally: (...) rise from the heart, [reaching then] the range of the organs of perception.

[55]Here the two *nāḍī*s called *iḍā* and *piṅgalā* are meant. For the concept of *nāḍī*s in the Pāñcarātra tradition, cf. Rastelli 2006:519–532. This sentence in AP_1 30.33cd seems superfluous, since with regard to the contents it is not necessary in this context. Either it is a later insertion or it is an abbreviation of a longer description of the *nāḍī*s from the original text. In general, the AP section under consideration seems to be an abbreviated version of the texts upon which it is based.

[56]AP_1 30.29c–36b: *hṛtpuṇḍarīkanilayaṃ caitanyaṃ jyotir avyayam 29 | bījaṃ jīvātmakaṃ dhyāyet kadambakusumākṛtiṃ | kumbhāntaragato dīpo niruddhaprasavo yathā 30 | saṃhataḥ kevalas tiṣṭhed evaṃ mantreśvaro hṛdi | anekasuṣire kumbhe tāvanmātrā gabhastayaḥ 31 | prasaranti bahis tadvan nāḍībhir bījaraśmayaḥ | antrāvabhāsakā daivīm ātmīkṛtya tanuṃ sthitāḥ 32 | hṛdayāt prasthitā nāḍyo darśanendriyagocarāḥ | dve 'gnīṣomātmake tāsāṃ nāḍyau nāsāgrasaṃsthite 33 | samyagudghātayogena jitvā dehasamīraṇam | japadhyānarato mantrī mantrajaṃ phalam aśnute 34 | saṃśuddhabhūtatanmātraḥ sakāmo yogam abhyasan | aṇimādim avāpnoti viraktaḥ pravilaṅghya ca 35 | cidātmako bhūtamātrān mucyate cendriyagrahāt.*

[57]JS 12.38–41b: *hṛtpuṇḍarīkamadhyasthaṃ caitanyajyotir avyayam | kadambagoḷakākāraṃ viśvarūpaṃ maṇiprabham 38 | ratnadīpasamākāram acchinnaprasaraṃ mahat | śrotrapūrvaiḥ*

concept of the shining *mantra* in the heart, whose rays come out of the organs of perception, exemplified by just the same simile.

Next, the practice of *yoga* is described, whereby three *yoga* techniques are mentioned. The first is breath control (*prāṇāyāma*), the "conquering of the wind of the body", the means for which being described as *udghāta*. As presented by Vasudeva (2004:409), *udghāta* is "the yogic term for the sensation of a spontaneous upward surge of vital energy brought on in the early stages of self-induced asphyxiation", and thus *udghāta* is usually an effect of successful breath control and not the means for it.[58] From another point of view, however, one can consider the *udghāta*, which is induced by breath control, as the means for the final effect of breath control, namely, "the conquering of breath", and this is probably the point of the author of this passage. The two other *yoga* techniques are recitation (*japa*) and the visualisation (*dhyāna*) of a *mantra*. Both are means for making a *mantra* present (cf., e.g., Rastelli 1999:336f. and 339f.), and accordingly, the successful *yogin*, who is described as "possessing the *mantra*" (*mantrin*), achieves a fruit that is effected by the *mantra* (cf. *mantra*-born [*mantraja*]). This fruit is, according to the *yogin*'s desire, either superhuman powers or the liberation from transmigration, i.e., either enjoyment (*bhukti*, *bhoga*) or emancipation (*mukti*, *mokṣa*).

Concluding, we can state that the passage AP_1 30.25–36b bears a strong resemblance to the passages quoted from JS 12. Further, it is directly or indirectly influenced by Śaiva concepts.

Retinues and Thrones

Now we come to the concepts and rituals that are described in several places of the AP section under consideration, although in different forms. One of these concepts is God's retinue and throne. In ritual worship, God is often surrounded by a retinue and situated on a throne, both mentally constructed before the actual worship. In the section AP 21–70, retinues and thrones for worshipping Viṣṇu[59] are described in several contexts. Comparing them (see the table on pp. 211f.) shows that these descriptions differ in several aspects. Let us look at the last entries in the table. Two descriptions mention deities

kharandhraiś ca raśmayas tasya nirgatāḥ 39 | chidrapūrṇād yathā kumbhān mahādīpayutād dvija | yāti bhāsāṃ gaṇo bāhye śarīrād evam eva hi 40 | mantro raśmisamūhas tu nāḍībhiḥ prasared bahiḥ.

[58] For a detailed exposition of *udghāta*, see Vasudeva 2004:402–409.

[59] Thrones of other deities are not considered here.

that seem to be placed in the eight regions outside the throne. This is explicitly stated in AP_1 47.5–6.[60] In AP_1 21.1c–2c this meaning is not as explicit,[61] but it seems probable that Dhātṛ, etc., also have a position similar to door-keepers outside the throne here, if on one hand we consider that Viṣṇu's retinue as described in AP_1 21.5c–8 seems to be closer to Viṣṇu than Dhātṛ, etc., and, on the other hand, the fact that some of the deities belonging to the group Dhātṛ, etc., function as door-keepers in other Saṃhitās.[62]

[60] "Having shown the three *mudrā*s, he is to worship the Guru outside the circle in the east. He is to worship Gaṇa (i.e., Gaṇeśa) in the west, Dhātṛ in the north-west, Vidhātṛ in the south-west, Kartṛ [and] Hartṛ in the south and in the north. He is to worship Viṣvaksena in the north-east [and] Kṣetrapāla in the south-east." (*kṛtamudrātrayaś cakrād bahiḥ pūrve guruṃ yajet | āpye gaṇaṃ vāyave ca dhātāraṃ nairṛte yajet 5 | vidhātāraṃ ca kartāraṃ hartāraṃ dakṣasaumyayoḥ | viṣvaksenaṃ yajed īśa āgneye kṣetrapālakam 6*).

[61] "He is to worship [with the words] 'salutation to Acyuta and his whole retinue', '[salutation to] Dhātṛ, Vidhātṛ, Gaṅgā, [and] Yamunā'. In the same manner [he is to worship] the two Nidhis, Dvāraśrī, [and] Vāstunara." (*samastaparivārāya acyutāya namo yajet 1 | dhātre vidhātre gaṅgāyai yamunāyai nidhī tathā | dvāraśriyaṃ vāstunaram*).

[62] In the JS, e.g., Kṣetrapāla, Śrī, Caṇḍa, Pracaṇḍa, Jaya, Vijaya, Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Śaṅkhanidhi, and Padmanidhi are the dvāradevatās (13.77c–81). In PārS 11.4–30, they are Vāstupuruṣa/Vāstvīśa, Kṣetranātha/Kṣetreśa, Lakṣmī, Caṇḍa, Pracaṇḍa, Garuḍa, Dhātṛ, and Vidhātṛ.

	AP$_1$ 21.1c–8	AP$_1$ 21.20–23b	AP$_1$ 23.10d–17b	AP$_1$ 33.43c–58b	AP$_1$ 47.5b–7
deity	Acyuta	Viṣṇu	Hari	Hari/Acyuta	
retinue	Durgā, Guru, Gaṇa, Kṣetra[63]	Śrīdhara, Trailokya-mohana, Hṛṣīkeśa, Viṣṇu		Lakṣmī, Sarasvatī, Prīti, Kīrti, Śānti, Kāntikā, Puṣṭi, Tuṣṭi (*kesara*) or(?): Mahendrā, etc. (Hari in centre) or(?): Dhṛti, Śrī, Rati, Kānti, etc. (Acyuta in centre)	
	Vāsudeva, etc.				
6 *aṅga*s	*hṛdaya*, *śiras*, *cūḍā* (AP$_1$), *varman*, *netra*, *astra*	*hṛd*, etc.	*aṅga*s	*hṛd*, *śiras*, *śikhā*, *kavaca*, [*netra*], *astra*	
			Garuḍa (*aṇḍaja*)	Vāsudeva, Saṃkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna, Aniruddha (cardinal directions); Śrī, Dhṛti, Rati, Kānti (intermediate directions)	
weapons	*śaṅkha*, *cakra*, *gadā*, *padma*, *śrīvatsa*, *kaustubha*, *vanamālā*	*cakra*, *gadā*, *śaṅkha*, *musala*, *khaḍga*, *śārṅga*, *pāśa*, *aṅkuśa*, *śrīvatsa*, *kaustubha*, *vanamālā*	*cakra*, *gadā*, *śaṅkha*, *dhanus*, *iṣudhi*, *khaḍga*, *carman*	*śaṅkha*, *cakra*, *gadā*, *padma* (intermediate directions); *śārṅga*, *musala*, *khaḍga*, *vanamālā* (cardinal directions)	
*śakti*s	Śrī, Puṣṭi	Śrī, Mahālakṣmī	Śrī, Puṣṭi		
			vanamālā, *śrīvatsa*, *kaustubha*		
	Garuḍa, Guru	Tārkṣya, Guru			
*lokapāla*s	Indra, Agni, Yama, Rakṣas, Jala, Vāyu, Dhaneśvara, Īśāna	Indra, etc.	*dikpati*s	Indra, etc.	
	astra			*astra*	
	vāhana			Airāvata, Chāga, Mahiṣa, Vānara, Jhaṣa (AP$_2$ 33.46d), Mṛga, Śaśa, Vṛṣabha, Kūrma, Haṃsa	
				Pṛśnigarbha	
*dvārapāla*s	Kumuda, etc.			Kumuda, etc.	
	Viṣvaksena			Viṣvaksena	

[63] AP$_1$ 21.5c: *durgāṃ giraṃ gaṇaṃ kṣetraṃ* must be emended to *durgāṃ guruṃ gaṇaṃ kṣetraṃ*; cf. the series of deities in AP$_1$ 21.24cd: *durgā gaṇo guruś ca kṣetrapaḥ*.

	AP_1 21.1c–8	AP_1 21.20–23b	AP_1 23.10d–17b	AP_1 33.43c–58b	AP_1 47.5b–7
throne	Vimalā, Utkarṣiṇī, Jñānā, Kriyā, Yogā, Prahvī, Satyā, Īśā, Anugrahā		Vimalā, etc. (*kesara*), Anugrahā (*karṇikā*)		
				Gaṇa, Sarasvatī, Nārada, Nalakūvara, Guru, Gurupādukā, *para guru*, *pādukā* of the *para guru*; *pūrvasiddha*s, *parasiddha*s	
				Garuḍa (*pakṣirāja*)	
	arkādimaṇḍala		*sūryādimaṇḍala*	*sūryādimaṇḍala*	3 *maṇḍala*s
				māyātattva, *vidyātattva*, *kālatattva*	
			padma	*padma*	*padma*
	sattva, etc.			*sattva*, etc.	
	kṛtayuga, etc.				
	Ṛgveda, etc.				
	karṇikā				
	kesara				
	padma				
	nāla				
	kanda				
	dharma, *jñāna*, *vairāgya*, *aiśvarya*, *adharma*, etc.			*dharma*, etc., *adharma*, etc.	*pīṭha*
	pṛthivī			*mahī*	*bhū*
	Ananta		Ananta	Ananta	Ananta
	kūrma		*kūrma*	*kūrma*	
	śakti			*ādhāraśakti*	*ādhāra*
			dharma, *jñāna*, *vairāgya*, *aiśvarya*, *adharma*, etc.		*Ṛgveda*, etc.
outside throne	Dhātṛ, Vidhātṛ, Gaṅgā, Yamunā, [Śaṅkha]nidhi, [Padma]nidhi, Dvāraśrī, Vāstunara (AP_1)				Guru, Gaṇa, Dhātṛ, Vidhātṛ, Kartṛ, Hartṛ, Viṣvaksena, Kṣetrapāla

AP_1 23.11 begins the description of the throne with the dispositions of the intellect (*buddhi*), namely, *dharma*, *jñāna*, *vairāgya*, *aiśvarya*, and their oppo-

sites *adharma*, *ajñāna*, *rāga*, and *anaiśvarya*. A more detailed passage parallel to this verse can be found in the NārS,[64] from which we see that the dispositions of the intellect serve a function similar to the feet of the throne. The four Vedas described in AP_1 47.7a could also have this function. In the two other descriptions of the throne, the eight dispositions of the *buddhi*, the four Vedas and the four *yuga*s (AP_1 21.3–4a), or only the eight dispositions of the *buddhi* (AP_1 33.44ab) are situated above the earth. This is similar to their position, for example, in the JS, which describes them as carrying the *pīṭha* (JS 12.5c–13b).

The next element of the throne is the *ādhāraśakti*, which is present in all versions except that of AP_1 23. This absence of the *ādhāraśakti* in AP_1 23 can again be explained by a passage in NārS 2. The line immediately following the description of the eight dispositions of the buddhi reads: *pīṭhākāram anantaṃ ca gātramadhye 'sya vinyaset* (2.50cd), "In the centre of its 'limbs', he is to impose the one having the shape of a pedestal (*pīṭha*) and Ananta." "The one having the shape of a pedestal" has obviously been interpreted as the tortoise (*kūrma*) in AP_1 23,[65] and so here the *ādhāraśakti* is absent, just as it is in NārS 2.

The subsequent elements of the throne are the tortoise (*kūrma*) (with the exception of AP_1 47; cf. n. 65), the snake-king Ananta, and the earth.[66] In the versions of AP_1 21 and 33, the dispositions of the *buddhi* then follow, whereas in AP_1 47.7c, an element called *pīṭha* is the next. In AP_1 21, the next elements of the throne are the constituents of a lotus, namely, its bulb (*kanda*), stalk (*nāla*), flower (*padma*), filaments (*kesara*), and pericarp (*karṇikā*);[67] the four Vedas and the four *yuga*s, which were already mentioned, then follow. In AP_1 21 and 33, the three constituents of primary matter, *sattva*, *rajas* and

[64] "There (i.e., on the *yogapīṭha*), he is to visualise the feet. (48d) [He is to visualise] successively *dharma*, *jñāna*, *vairāgya*, and *aiśvarya* as the feet in the quarters of Agni (south-east), Rakṣas (south-west), Marut (north- west) and Śarva (north-east), in due succession. (49) [He is to visualise] *adharma* and the others as 'cross-struts' (*gātrāṇi*; for *gātra* in the context of a throne, see TAK II s.v.), successively in the east, etc." (NārS 2.48d- 50b: *pādāṃs tatra vicintayet 48 | dharmaṃ jñānaṃ ca vairāgyam aiśvaryaṃ ca yathākramam | agnirakṣomaruccharvadikṣu pādān yathākramam 49 | adharmādīni gātrāṇi pūrvādikramayogataḥ*). AP_1 23.11 is probably an abridgement of this passage; cf.: *dharmaṃ jñānaṃ ca vairāgyam aiśvaryaṃ vahnidiṅmukhān | adharmādīni gātrāṇi pūrvādau yogapīṭhake*.

[65] With a small emendation, namely, *pīṭhākāram* to *pīṭhādhāram*, the *ādhāraśakti* would also be present in the NārS. However, then the tortoise would be absent. This variant, namely the absence of the tortoise, can be found in AP_1 47.7b.

[66] The earth is absent in AP_1 23, just as it is in NārS 2.

[67] Cf. GarP 1.31.15 and 1.34.21, where *kanda*, *nāla* and *padma* are constituents of the *āsana*, albeit above *sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas*.

tamas, continue the construction of the throne. In AP_1 23, 33 and 47, a lotus (*padma*) is the next element. In AP_1 33.44d–45a, the *māyātattva*, the *vidyātattva*, and the *kālatattva* are above the lotus. The first temptation when seeing this is to associate these *tattva*s with the Śaiva series of *tattva*s, in which these three also appear, although usually not in this order.[68] It is indeed probable that the appearance of these *tattva*s in the throne is influenced by Śaiva teachings. However, AP_1 33 is not necessarily based directly on a Śaiva source. The Śaiva influence may also have been indirect, i.e., there may have been a Śaiva influence on the source used by the AP for this passage.[69]

The next level of the throne's construction, three concentric discs identified as the sun, moon and fire, is common to all the throne descriptions under consideration. The descriptions then diverge again. In AP_1 33, the next constituent of the throne is Garuḍa; then follows a group consisting of Gaṇeśa, Sarasvatī, Nārada, Nalakūvara, the Guru, the Guru's shoes, the supreme Guru and his shoes, and the previous and the future *siddha*s.[70] In AP_1 21 and 23, the uppermost constituents of the throne are nine *śakti*s: Vimalā, Utkarṣiṇī, Jñānā, Kriyā, Yogā, Prahvī, Satyā, Īśā, and Anugrahā. On the throne, God is worshiped, surrounded by his retinue, which is situated around him in concentric circles. From the top of the table, each successive entry describes the next concentric circle, beginning at the centre and moving progressively outwards. Comparing the various versions shows that the retinues differ in many aspects. The only retinue group that appears in every version is that of the six *aṅga*s. From these differences in the descriptions of God's throne and retinue, we can conclude that the various passages probably originate from different sources.

The Purification of the Elements (bhūtaśuddhi)

In the AP section under consideration, two descriptions of the ritual "purification of the elements" (*bhūtaśuddhi*), a ritual to make the worshipper's body

[68] Cf. Goodall 1998:li–lv. For an example of the position of these tattvas in a throne, cf. *Kiraṇa* 14.19c–22b, as quoted in Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha's commentary on MṛgT *kriyāpāda* 3.12.

[69] The three *tattva*s also appear in a description of a throne for Gopāla, i.e., Kṛṣṇa, in the *Garuḍapurāṇa*; cf. GarP 1.28.7d–8a: …*kākatattvakam* (*em. kālatattvakam*) | *vidyātattvaṃ paraṃ tattva*[*ṃ*]…Note that the three *tattva*s appear in the reverse order here. In addition to the appearance of the three *tattva*s, the throne described in GarP 1.28 also has other similarities to the throne described in AP_1 33.

[70] Cf. the similar series in GarP 1.34.43: Nārada, Siddha, Guru, Paraguru, the Guru's shoes, and the Paraguru's shoes.

fit for worship,[71] can be found, one within the daily ritual (AP_1 23.2c–6a) and one in the context of the *pavitrāropaṇa* ritual (AP_1 33.21d–40). The description of AP_1 23 has a parallel passage in NārS 2, which is in part literally identical, but which also includes some variants. Let us compare the *bhūtaśuddhi* procedure in the two sources:

<table>
<tr><th>AP_1 23.2c–6a</th><th>NārS 2.34–43b</th></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">• visualising the smoke-coloured wind seed-syllable yaṃ in the navel, the worshipper is to remove all stains (kalmaṣa) from the body (AP_1 23.2c–3b, NārS 2.34c–35b)</td></tr>
<tr><td>• visualising the fire seed-syllable kṣauṃ in the heart lotus, he is to burn the stains (23.3c–4b)</td><td>• visualising the fire seed-syllable raṃ in the heart lotus, he is to burn the stains (2.35c–36b)</td></tr>
<tr><td>• visualising an object that is not specified, which stands on the sky like the moon, he is to inundate his body with nectar, which then pervades the heart lotus and spreads in all nāḍīs (23.4c–5)</td><td>• visualising the seed-syllable saṃ in the form of the moon on the sky, he is to revive his body with nectar, which then pervades the heart lotus (2.36c–37b)</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>• withdrawal of the elements to their mantras, withdrawal of these to the paramātman (2.37c–38b)</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>• burning of the body (2.38cd)</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>• after the body has become ashes, visualisation of an ocean of milk, of a lotus in its centre, and of a manifestation (mūrti) (of God?) that is endowed with the power of the desire to create (sisṛkṣāśakti) in the pericarp (2.39–40b)</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>• re-creation of the body (2.40c–41b)</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>• visualisation of God in the heart lotus of this body (2.41c–42b)</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>• besprinkling of the body with nectar from God's mantra in the sky (2.42c–43a)</td></tr>
<tr><td>• imposition of the tattva(s) that constitute the body (23.6a)</td><td>• imposition of the tattvas that constitute the body (2.43b)</td></tr>
</table>

The beginning of the *bhūtaśuddhi* procedure according to NārS 2 is almost identical to the procedure according to AP_1 23. The body is purified by means of a yogic technique that is generally known as fixation (*dhāraṇā*).[72] Here three fixations are applied, namely that of the wind, by which stains are mentally removed from the body, that of fire, by which the stains are burnt, and probably

[71] For a detailed description of this ritual, cf., e.g., Rastelli 1999:210ff.

[72] For the *dhāraṇā*, cf., e.g., Rastelli 1999:337f., Vasudeva 2004:410–19.

that of water, by which the body is inundated and thus revived.

The main difference between the two versions are the seed-syllables. The fire seed-syllable differs and the seed-syllable used for the inundation of the body is not mentioned in the AP. This second difference probably has its origin in a transmission error. In the ritual procedure as described in the AP, immediately after the three *dhāraṇā*s, the *tattva*s that constitute the body are imposed onto the body. According to the NārS, the three fixations are to be followed by a further procedure to purify the body. The elements that constitute the body are withdrawn into their *mantra*s, and these *mantra*s, then, into the *paramātman*. The body is then burnt, re-created and revived. Only then are the *tattva*s that constitute the body imposed onto it.[73] Also here, the version of the AP seems to be an abbreviated form of the NārS's version.

The purification of the elements described in AP_1 33 is more detailed than that of AP_1 23. It consists of the following steps:

- visualisation of the earth-*maṇḍala* in the form of the *gandhatanmātra*,[74] as quadrangular, yellow, firm (AP_2 33.21d: *kaṭhina*), marked with a *vajra*, with Indra as its tutelary deity, in the centre of the two feet, during five *udghāta*s (cf. p. 209) (AP_1 33.2–25)[75]
- dissolution of the purified *gandhatanmātra* into the *rasatanmātra* (*em. rasatanmātre*) (AP_1 33.26ab)
- visualisation of the *rasatanmātra* in the form of a half moon, as white, marked with a lotus, with Varuṇa as its tutelary deity, between the knees and the navel, during four *udghātas* (AP_1 33.26c–30b)
- dissolving the purified *rasatanmātra* into the *rūpatanmātra* (AP_1 33.30cd)
- visualisation of the fire-*maṇḍala* as triangular, red, marked with a *svastika*, with Anala (i.e., Agni) as its tutelary deity, between the navel and the throat, during three *udghāta*s (AP_1 33.31–33c)
- dissolving the purified *rūpatanmātra* into the *sparśatanmātra* (AP_1 33.33d)

[73] Similar procedures for the *bhūtaśuddhi* are described in ParS 4.9c–22 and PādS *caryāpāda* 3.25–50.

[74] The author of this passage does not make much difference between the elements (*bhūta*) and the *tanmātra*s; cf. the following steps of the *bhūtaśuddhi*.

[75] Before each visualisation, the *mantra*s to be used for withdrawing the *tanmātra*s are given in full words, namely, all five *mantra*s for the *gandhatanmātra* to the *śabdatanmātra* before the visualisation of the earth, the four *mantra*s from *rasatanmātra* to the *śabdatanmātra* before the visualisation of the water, three *mantra*s for the fire, etc. It is not clear why these *mantra*s, each time fewer, are given in full words at each step.

• visualisation of the wind-*maṇḍala* as round, smoke-coloured, marked with a bright moon, between the throat and the nose, during two *udghāta*s (no tutelary deity mentioned) (AP_1 33.34–35)
• dissolution of the purified *sparśatanmātra* into the *śabdatanmātra* (*em. śabdamātre*) (AP_1 33.36ab)
• visualisation of the ether resembling a pure crystal between the nostrils and the top-knot (*śikhā*) during one *udghāta* (AP_1 33.36c–37c)
• dissolving the ether (AP_1 33.37d)
• visualisation of the body as being dried up by means of the seed-syllable *yaṃ* (AP_1 33.38c–39a)
• visualisation of the body as being endowed with flames, i.e., as burning, by means of the seed-syllable *vaṃ* (AP_1 33.39abc)
• visualisation of a drop of nectar that comes out of the *brahmarandhra* by means of the seed-syllable *raṃ* (AP_1 33.39c–40a)
• mental inundation of the body that consists of ashes with the nectar by means of the seed-syllable *laṃ* and thus effecting a divine body (AP_1 33.40bcd)

This procedure of the *bhūtaśuddhi* is different from that of AP_1 23. Here, first the elements/*tanmātra*s are dissolved and then the body is dried up, burnt and re-created by an inundation with nectar. This procedure resembles the part of the NārS's *bhūtaśuddhi* that does not appear in AP_1 23.[76]

The *mantra*s used for the diverse steps of destroying and re-creating the body also differ in AP_1 23 and 33, with exception of the wind *bīja yaṃ* used for removing stains from the body and for its drying up. Apart from this difference, the order of the *bīja*s in AP_1 33 seems to be jumbled. According to SanS *śivarātra* 3.40c–41b and Śrīprś 50.54–5, the *bīja* of the wind is *ya*, that of the fire *ra*, that of the earth (*māhendra*) *la* and that of the water *va*. This order of the *bīja*s would also fit AP_1 33 better.

The description of two different versions of the *bhūtaśuddhi* ritual supports the impression that has already been gained in the comparison of the various retinue and throne descriptions, namely, that the sections describing the daily ritual (AP 22–4) and describing the *pavitrāropana* ritual (AP 33–7) derive from different sources.

[76]A similar procedure can also be found in AhirS 28.21c–27b.

The initiation (dīkṣā)

In the AP section under consideration, there are two descriptions of the performance of the initiation (*dīkṣā*), one in AP_1 24.42–56b and the other in AP_1 27. The first description appears in the frame of the daily ritual, after the fire ritual and before the worship of Viṣvaksena and letting God go (*visarjana*). The second description appears in a separate chapter devoted to initiation and is followed by a chapter on consecration (*abhiṣeka*). A comparison of the two descriptions shows that the procedures they describe differ:

AP_1 24.42–56b	AP_1 27	parallels in NārS to AP_1 27
	1–9b: First day: Preparation of the ritual implements and the place.	7.15cd, 18–28
	9c–15b: The *guru* cooks the *caru* oblation, makes an offering of three parts and eats the fourth part together with the initiates.	7.78c–87
	15c–17a: The initiates chew a small piece of wood to clean their teeth (*dantakāṣṭha*) and throw it on the earth in order to read omens (then fire offerings according to a v.l.).	7.88–91b
	17b–20a: The *guru* enters the house of worship, imposes *mantra*s on his body, worships Viṣṇu and asks Him for permission to liberate the initiates.	7.91c–95a
42b–50: The *guru* calls the initiates to come near him and besprinkles them; he joins them with his own *ātman*, besprinkles them again mentally and purifies them by means of fixations. Detailed description of how their bodies are destroyed and newly created. The initiates are besprinkled again, and their bodies are given the nature of *mantra*s through their imposition. 51ab: The guru lays the Viṣṇu-hand (his hand that is identified with Viṣṇu) on the heads of the initiates and visualises them as belonging to Viṣṇu.[77]	20b–21a: The guru causes the initiates to enter (*em. sampraveśya*) into the house of worship, purifies them by means of fixations (*dhāraṇā*), "makes them perfect" by means of burning, etc. (cf. p. 214f.), and joins them with God's *mūrti* (?).	7.95b–96a

[77] The meaning of AP_1 24.51cd: *evam ekaṃ bahūn vāpi janitvā* (v.l.) *dhyānayogataḥ*, "Hav-

AP_1 24.42–56b	AP_1 27	parallels in NārS to AP_1 27
52–55a: The initiates are blindfolded. They throw flowers. (The reason for this rite is not given here.) The initiates worship Viṣṇu without a *mantra*.[78]	21b–22: The initiates are blindfolded. They throw a flower (probably on a *maṇḍala*). They then receive the name of that *mūrti* (being present on the *maṇḍala*) on which the flower has fallen. The initiates worship Viṣṇu without a *mantra*.	7.96b–97
	23–31: Nooses (*pāśa*) are tied in a thread in which primary matter has been visualised. The thread is put into a shallow vessel near the fire. The *tattva*s are visualised and imposed on the initiates' bodies in the order of creation. Then they are withdrawn to the thread (now each noose represents one *tattva*). Fire offerings (*sampātahoma* [cf. e.g. JS 16.174c–181b] and *pūrṇāhuti*) are performed, and the shallow vessel with the thread is covered.	
	32–33: Preparation of the ritual implements.	
	34ab: *bali* offering; the guru and initiates go to sleep.	7.98c–100b
	34cd: Second day: Adorning of the *maṇḍapa*.	7.102c–105
	35ab: Worship of Viṣṇu on the *maṇḍala* and in the fire.	9.2–4b
	35c–36b: The *guru* calls the initiates near, besprinkles them and lays the Viṣṇu-hand on them.	9.5

ing created one or many by means of visualisation in this way…" is not clear to me. In ViṣṇuS 10.52ab, a similar prescription can be found: *evam ekaṃ bahūn vāpi janayed dhyānayogataḥ*. For the ViṣṇuS see below.

[78]Here, the reading of AP_2 24.55a is preferred, because a parallel passage can be found in ViṣṇuS 10.62c.

AP_1 24.42–56b	AP_1 27	parallels in NārS to AP_1 27
	36c–39: The *guru* withdraws the whole creation into his heart and goes with the thread near the fire; fire offerings.	9.6–8
	40–57: Purification of the *tattva*s: striking (*tāḍana*) on the heart with white powder, separation (*viyojana*) of the *tattva*s (i.e., cutting the nooses from the thread), seizing and throwing down the *tattva* (*ādāna*, *āpātana*), joining (*yojana*) the *tattva* with the *prakṛti*, offering of the *tattva* into the fire, making the initiate perfect by means of the *saṃskāra*s *garbhādhāna*, *jātakarman*, *bhoga*, and *laya*.[79] When all *tattva*s have been dissolved in due succession, the individual soul (*jīva*) dwells in the supreme abode, liberated from all bonds.	9.9–15b
	58: This was the initiation for the worship of a single manifestation (*mūrti*) of God. The initiation for the worship of nine Vyūhas is performed in the same way.	
	59–62b: Initiation that bestows the authority (*adhikāra*) to perform rituals.	
	62c–63: Initiation for a *sādhaka*.	
	64–71: Initiation for a person without property.	
	72–79b: *śaktidīkṣā*: for ascetics or persons without property.	
	79c–81b: Concluding remarks on how a householder (*gṛhin*) proceeds after the initiation.	
55b–56b: The initiates worship the feet of the *guru*, give him a gift (*dakṣiṇā*). The *guru* gives instructions to the initiates. The initiates worship Viṣṇu by reciting His names.		

[79] ViṣṇuS 10.75cd adds *adhikāra* between *janman* (= *jātakarman*) and *bhoga*. It is probable that *adhikāra* is also implied here. *adhikāra*, *bhoga* and *laya* also appear, e.g., in SS 19.87–88. For the meaning of these *saṃskāra*s in the Śaiva-Siddhānta, cf. SP3, pp. 268–74; in the Pāñcarātra they are probably conceived in a similar manner.

It is immediately obvious that the initiation procedure according to AP_1 24 is much shorter. It consists of less ritual elements, and it is performed in less than one day. The initiation described in AP_1 27 spans two days. It includes several additional ritual elements, namely the rites with regard to the *caru* oblation, the ritual with the piece of wood for cleaning the teeth (*dantakāṣṭha*), asking for Viṣṇu's permission, and the purification of the *tattva*s with the help of a thread. However, it lacks an important element of the initiation that is included in the procedure described in AP_1 24, namely, the teaching of the *samaya*. Further, it is striking that AP_1 27 describes the destruction and recreation of the body by means of the fixations with only half a verse (AP_1 27.20cd), whereas AP_1 24 describes this ritual in much greater detail, needing six and a half verses (AP_1 24.44–50b).

Striking, too, is the fact that AP_1 27 contains many passages that are parallel to the NārS, whereas the passages in AP_1 24 are not. One would rather expect parallels to the NārS in AP_1 24, since the beginning of this chapter, describing the fire ritual, contains passages parallel to NārS 7, which is devoted to *dīkṣā*. In addition, it also seems that the reason why AP_1 24 describes this initiation at all is the fact that the prescriptions for the fire ritual hail from the prescriptions for the *dīkṣā* ceremony.

Up to the purification of the *tattva*s, the structure of the initiation in the NārS is similar to that of AP_1 27. The NārS then contains a detailed description of the six *adhvan*s, which does not have a parallel in the AP section under consideration and can thus be disregarded here. The various kinds of initiation described in AP_1 27.58–79b cannot be found in the NārS.

In addition to the NārS, another passage describing *dīkṣā* that is parallel to the sections under consideration can be found in ViṣṇuS 10, the *dīkṣā* chapter of this Saṃhitā. Compared to the NārS, this chapter has fewer passages that are literally parallel to the AP, but because it contains many technical terms that are also used in the AP's *dīkṣā* sections, we can also consider it a parallel text. And what is striking: it has parallels to both AP_1 24 and 27 and presents the procedures described in these two chapters as a well-structured initiation ceremony. See below the parallel passages of ViṣṇuS 10 and the AP and the ritual elements they describe:

ViṣṇuS 10		AP_1	rituals
8ab	:	27.1cd	preparation of the ritual implements
14cd	:	27.2	protection of the place
15–18	:	27.3c–6b	preparation, offering and eating of the *caru* oblation
19b, 25c–28b	:	27.6c–8	
30–34	:	27.9–14	
35d–36b	:	27.15ab	
36c–37	:	27.15c–17a	*dantakāṣṭha* ritual
38	:	27.17bcd	asking Viṣṇu for permission to liberate the initiates
39–40	=	27.18–19	
41ab	:	27.20cd	destruction and recreation of the body by means of fixations
41cd	:	24.42c–43b	
42–46b	:	24.44–50	
46c–51	:	24.51ab	imposition of the Viṣṇu-hand
52ab	≈	24.51cd	? (cf. n. 77)
53	≈	24.52	throwing of a flower in order to find a name
54ab	≈	24.53cd	
61ab	:	24.54cd	
62cd	≈ (:)	27.22ab (AP_2 24.55a)	worship without a *mantra*
65c–66b	:	27.26	imposition of the *tattva*s on the initiates' bodies; *sampātahoma*
67c–68b	:	27.30c–31	
68c–69	≈	27.32c–33	preparation of ritual implements
70ab	:	27.34b	sleeping
71ab	:	27.35a	worship of Viṣṇu in various places; imposition of the Viṣṇu-hand
72–73b	:	27.35b–36b	
73cd	:	27.36c–37a	purification of the *tattva*s
74ab	≈	27.37cd	
75cd	:	27.44ab	
80–81	:	27.39–41	
83	≈	27.42	

Viṣṇu S 10		AP$_1$	rituals
84–85b	:	27.45–46b	
85c–86b	≈	AP$_2$ 27.53	investing of the initiates with the authority to worship (*adhikāra*)
86c–87b	≈	27.64c–65b	initiation for persons without property
87cd	≈	27.67cd	
92cd	:	24.56a	teaching of the rules of conduct (*samaya*), worship of the guru's feet, giving of a *dakṣiṇā*
93ab	:	24.55bc	

As in AP$_1$ 27, ViṣṇuS 10 starts with the preparatory rites, the *caru* and the *dantakāṣṭha* rituals and with asking Viṣṇu for permission. Then, in as much detail as in AP$_1$ 24, the fixations by which the initiate's body is destroyed and re-created are described. Then follow, also as described in AP$_1$ 24, the imposition of the Viṣṇu-hand, a rite that cannot be identified (cf. n. 77), the throwing of a flower to find a name for the initiate, and the worship of Viṣṇu without a *mantra*. After this, the rites connected with the thread that represents the *tattva*s that are to be purified and several other rites such as another imposition of the Viṣṇu-hand are given, as in AP$_1$ 27. The procedure for a person without property is also mentioned just as in AP$_1$ 27. And the initiation ceremony ends, as depicted in AP$_1$ 24, with the teaching of the rules of conduct (*samaya*), the worship of the *guru* and presenting him a gift.

The structure of the initiation ceremony in the ViṣṇuS seems systematic and logical. One could conclude that it was the original structure that was described in the text upon which the sections of the AP under consideration are based, that the redactor of the AP mistakenly, perhaps because he used the description of the fire pit hailing from the *dīkṣā* chapter of the original text, removed a part of the *dīkṣā* chapter and inserted it into his fire ritual chapter.

However, two facts speak against this assumption. First, AP$_1$ 27, the actual *dīkṣā* chapter, does not really lack much. Except for a second imposition of the Viṣṇu-hand, a rite that cannot be identified, the teaching of the *samaya*, and the final worship of the *guru*, every important rite that is described in AP$_1$ 24 is also described here. The destruction and the re-creation of the initiates' bodies, the throwing of the flower in order to find a name, and Viṣṇu's worship without a *mantra* are all found in AP$_1$ 27, although not always in as much detail as in AP$_1$ 24.

Second, in the NārS we can find a passage that is exactly parallel to this passage in AP_1 27 describing the rites just mentioned. In order to maintain the thesis that AP_1 27 lacks the part that appears in AP_1 24, one would then have to conclude that this part also was lost during the composition of the NārS. If one considers all these findings concerning the two *dīkṣā* descriptions in the AP section under consideration and their parallel passages, it is difficult to form any convincing conclusions. It is neither clear whether the parallel passages provide any definitive clues about the formation of the AP's *dīkṣā* sections, nor can the question of whether the two descriptions hail from a single source or from two be answered with certainty.

Śaiva Influences

I would like to return to a feature of the AP section under consideration that has already been occasionally mentioned in passing, namely, conceptions that probably originate from a Śaiva tradition. Conceptions that have been mentioned include the three forms of the *mantra* (cf. p. 206), as well as the three *tattva*s, *māyatattva*, *vidyātattva* and *kālatattva* (cf. p. 214).

Not yet mentioned is the usage of the terms *paśu* and *pāśa* for the individual soul and the fetters that bind the soul to the world. In the AP section under consideration, they appear in the context of the *dīkṣā*.[80] They are especially prominent in the verses through which the *guru* asks God for permission to liberate the initiates: "Only You, God, are always the refuge for the release of the fetters (*pāśa*) of the individual souls (*paśu*) who have sunk into the ocean of transmigration, You who is kind to [His] worshippers. God of gods, permit [me], through Your favour, to set free those individual souls who are fettered by the bonds of the fetters made of primary matter."[81]

The terms *paśu* and *pāśa* used in this sense are very common in Śaiva traditions.[82] However, they also appear in Pāñcarātra texts. Even the verses just quoted and other very similar verses appear in several Pāñcarātra texts.[83] Al-

[80] AP_1 24.42d, 27.18–20b (≈ NārS 7.93–95b), 25a, 28d, 80c.

[81] AP_1 27.18–19: *saṃsārārṇavamagnānāṃ paśūnāṃ pāśamuktaye | tvam eva śaraṇaṃ deva sadā tvaṃ bhaktavatsalaḥ 18 | devadevānujānīhi prākṛtaiḥ pāśabandhanaiḥ | pāśitān mocayiṣyāmi tvatprasādāt paśūn imān 19* (= ViṣṇuS 10.39–40; ≈ NārS 7.93–4).

[82] See, e.g., Dasgupta 1922, index s.v. *paśu* and *pāśa*.

[83] For passages parallel to these verses, see n. 81. Similar verses that also include the terms *paśu* and *pāśa* and that are also recited during the initiation ritual can be found in PādS *caryāpāda* 2.29c–31, ŚrīprśS 16.66c–68, and ViśS 9.35–37b. In addition to these passages, for

though it is probable that these terms came into the Pāñcarātra texts through Śaiva influence, it is also certain that several Pāñcarātra texts were independently influenced by Śaivism, not only one.[84] Thus we cannot conclude that those passages of the AP section under consideration showing Śaiva influence derive from the same source, since Śaiva features are commonly found in many Pāñcarātra texts.

Conclusion

Let us now summarize our findings about the contents of AP section under consideration. Which features indicate that the passages that describe them come from the same source and which features indicate that the sections in which they are presented derive from different sources? Do these findings correspond to our findings with regard to the two other criteria that have been taken into consideration, namely, the given narrators and parallel passages within the text and in other works?

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the term *pāśa*, see JS 16.133, 246, ParS 26.73ab, NārS 9.33ab, 307–9, 341ab, PādS *jñānapāda* 4.18, 21, ŚrīpraśS 3.6ab, ViśS 10.2; for the term *paśu*, NārS 9.28cd, 224ab, LT 50.170–2; and for both terms, NārS 7.6c–8, 9.159ab, 279c–289b.

[84] See e.g. Sanderson 2001:35–9 for Śaiva influences in the AhirS, LT, JS, PauṣS, and SS. The NārS, at least in its 9th chapter also seems to be heavily influenced by Śaivism; compare, e.g., the description of the cosmos in NārS 9.56ff. to ParT 5.5ff. and Goodall's annotations to the translation of this passage; also the meditative practices called *viṣuva*s described in NārS 9.241ff. seem to be typically Śaiva (for these, cf. TAK II s.v. *kālaviṣuva*), at least I could not yet find a description of them in any other Pāñcarātra text.

ch.	narrator	parallel passages	similar concepts:			different concepts of:		
			nine Vyūhas	Kṛṣṇa/ Govinda	1–26 *vyūhas*	retinue/ throne	*bhūta-śuddhi*	*dīkṣā*
21	Nārada					○○		
22	Nārada							
23	Nārada	NārS	●			○	○	
24	Nārada	NārS, ViṣṇuS						○
25	Nārada	GarP	●		●			
26	Nārada	GarP	●					
27	Nārada	NārS, ViṣṇuS	●					○
28	Nārada							
29	Nārada	NārS						
30	Nārada	NārS, SārK, JS			●			
31	Agni	Viṣṇudharma		●				
32	Agni	GautDhSū						
33	Agni					○	○	
34	Agni		●					
35	Agni		●					
36	Agni			●				
37	Agni							
38	Agni, Yama	Viṣṇudharma, PrA		●				
39	Hayagrīva	H ādikāṇḍa 2–7						
40	Hayagrīva	H ādikāṇḍa 8–10						
41	Hayagrīva	H ādikāṇḍa 11–12						
42	Hayagrīva	H ādikāṇḍa 13						
43	Hayagrīva	H ādikāṇḍa 14–16						
44	Hayagrīva	H ādikāṇḍa 18						
45	Hayagrīva	H ādikāṇḍa 19–21						
46	Hayagrīva		●?					
47	Hayagrīva					○		
48	Bhagavat							
49	Bhagavat	H ādikāṇḍa 23–25	●					

The nine Vyūhas are primarily treated in the section ascribed to Nārada. In the section dealing with the *pavitrāropaṇa* ritual and ascribed to Agni, four or five of these Vyūhas are mentioned (cf. n. 33). Further, as a group of nine deities they are dealt with in a chapter that is parallel to a chapter from the

Hayaśīrṣapañcarātra. Kṛṣṇa or Govinda is only mentioned in the section ascribed to Agni. The one to twenty-six *vyūha*s are only treated in chapters ascribed to Nārada. Different forms of the description of God's retinue and/or throne are found in AP 21, which deals with retinues and thrones of several deities in a general way and which is ascribed to Nārada, in AP 23, in part consisting of passages to which parallel passages can be found in the NārS and also ascribed to Nārada, in AP 33, ascribed to Agni, and in AP 47, ascribed to Hayagrīva. The ritual of the purification of elements (*bhūtaśuddhi*) is given in two different forms in AP 23, with passages parallel to the NārS, and in AP 33. AP 23 is ascribed to Nārada, whereas AP 32 is ascribed to Agni. The initiation ritual is described in AP 24 and in AP 27. Both chapters are ascribed to Nārada.

From these findings we can set apart the following sections, which are probably based on different sources:

1) AP 21: This chapter deals with the retinues and thrones of several deities in a general, not specifically Pāñcarātra manner and describes retinues and thrones for Acyuta/Viṣṇu in a form that is different from the others described in the AP section under consideration. It is ascribed to Nārada. Its origin is difficult to identify. It is not necessarily of Pāñcarātra origin, because it deals with various deities, but we can also not exclude this possibility.

2) AP 22–30: This section deals with a set of individual rituals, from the daily *pūjā* to the initiation (*dīkṣā*) and consecration (*abhiṣeka*). It contains passages parallel to the NārS and is ascribed to Nārada, includes descriptions of a retinue, a throne, and a *bhūtaśuddhi* ritual that differ from the others described in the AP section under consideration. Its particular characteristic is the concepts of the nine Vyūhas and the one to twenty-six *vyūha*s. At its end it describes a visualisation of the *mantra* (*mantradhyāna*) that is similar to that described in the JS.

I mentioned already above (pp. 198f.) that it is possible to conclude that these chapters are based on the NārS. However, in its present form the NārS is certainly not the source of this section of the AP, since the NārS lacks certain characteristic features of this section and teaches a completely different mantric system: First, the NārS does not teach the one to twenty-six *vyūha*s and second, the nine Vyūhas do not appear in it at all.[85] Third, the chapters AP 22–30 describe, as the early Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās also do, an individual ritual,

[85] Two passages of the AP that mention the first five *mantra*s of those of the nine Vyūhas give the *pañcopaniṣanmantra*s in their parallel versions in the NārS (AP_1 27.4c–5b ≈ NārS 7.20 and in AP_1 27.11–13 ≈ NārS 7.81c–83). So here are given explicitly different *mantra*s.

i.e., a ritual that is performed for the sake of the performer. The NārS, as later Saṃhitās in general, describes and focuses mainly on elaborate temple rituals that have a public purpose, e.g., for the sake of the king and his kingdom.[86] Finally, the mantric system or retinue of God of the NārS is as follows:

- Vāsudeva, Saṃkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna, Aniruddha, and their *aṅga*s;
- the *śakti*s: Śāntā,[87] Śrī, Sarasvatī, and Rati;
- the twelve regents of the months (*māsādhipa*) (cf. p. 202);
- the ten *avatāra*s: Matsya, Kūrma, Varāha, Nṛsiṃha, Vāmana, Jāmadagnyarāma, Dāśarathirāma, Kṛṣṇa, Buddha, Kalkin;
- the weapons: *śaṅkha*, *cakra*, *gadā*, *padma*, *musala*, *khaḍga*, *śārṅga*, *vanamālā*;
- the eight directional deities: Indra, etc.;
- the *dvārapāla*s: Kumuda, etc.;
- Garuḍa, Viṣvaksena.[88]

This mantric system cannot be found in the AP section under consideration. Hence the NārS in its present form cannot have been the basis of the AP. However, given the many parallel passages, it is also improbable that the two texts were composed independently of one another. A possible conclusion from this fact is that the redactor of the AP section under consideration used an earlier version of the NārS (bearing the same or another name), which was later revised by the redactor of the present version of the NārS.

3) AP 31–38: This section deals with various rituals such as protection rites, Vedic orthodox rituals, and the *pavitrāropaṇa* ritual, and with the benefits of constructing a temple. It is mainly ascribed to Agni. It includes passages parallel to the *Viṣṇudharma*, contains specific forms of the retinue, throne, and the *bhūtaśuddhi* ritual, and is the only section in which Kṛṣṇa or Govinda is referred to. The worship of Kṛṣṇa/Govinda could indicate a Bhāgavata orientation of the source text, as was also originally the case in the *Viṣṇudharma*. The Vedic orthodox rites given in AP 32 hint at an influence from the Vedic orthodoxy. Perhaps the source text hails from a tradition that was characterised by both of these features. However, we must also bear the possibility in mind that this

[86] For these two purposes of ritual being characteristic of earlier and later Saṃhitās, and also for references to the NārS, cf. Rastelli 2006:91–8.

[87] Cf. NārS 2.83b. NārS 6.21b: *śārṅgamudrā* must be emended to *śāntāmudrā*.

[88] NārS 2.66ab, 2.82–85b, NārS 3–6 (the order of the various groups of the retinue is not always the same).

section may consist of passages of different sources. The *pavitrāropaṇa* part (AP 33–37) could stem from a different source than the other sections, despite the fact that Kṛṣṇa is also mentioned here.

4) AP 39–70: This section is ascribed to Hayagrīva and includes for the most part passages parallel to the *Hayaśīrṣapañcarātra*. It stems from this text, although the source of the AP may not necessarily have been identical with the present version of the text.

It is thus clear that the section AP 21–70 originally hails from various sources. It is difficult to say who compiled this text from these sources. Did a redactor of the AP use these different sources for compiling the text of the present AP? Or did he have access to a single work that had already been compiled from these sources, of which he produced an abbreviated version? This question cannot be answered at our present state of research and so remains open.

Nevertheless, this section of the AP is a precious building block in our knowledge about the history of Pāñcarātra. On one hand, it includes concepts that have not been found in other Saṃhitās up to now. On the other hand, it offers us new pieces of information about the history of Pāñcarātra literature, especially concerning the process of the formation of the NārS, the ViṣṇuS and the *Hayaśīrṣapañcarātra*, even if further research is necessary for interpreting these data correctly.

The Śaiva Exegesis of Kashmir

Alexis Sanderson

Introduction

The great majority of the surviving exegetical works on the scriptures of the Śaiva Mantramārga was produced by Kashmirian brahmins towards the end of the early medieval period, principally in the course of the tenth century and the early decades of the eleventh. Among these authors there were two distinct groups in line with the division within the scriptural corpus of the Mantramārga between purely Śaiva scriptures known collectively as the Siddhānta or Śaivasiddhānta and dedicated to the propitiation of Śiva and those of a more Śākta or completely Śākta character dedicated to the propitiation of Bhairava or the Goddess. One group took the purely Śaiva scriptures to be the highest of Śiva's revelations and saw the others as secondary. The other, while recognizing that those texts were indeed the Mantramārga's fundamental authorities, considered its own scriptures to be the higher, believing that they had been revealed by Śiva for the benefit of an élite within the Śaiva community.

Both groups, Saiddhāntikas and non-Saiddhāntikas, held that Śaivas, at least those who were married householders rather than celibate ascetics, were simultaneously subject to brahmanical regulation in accordance with their status as members of castes within the brahmanical life-stages.This is prescribed in a passage of the lost scripture *Bhārgavottara* much cited by the Saiddhāntika exegetes:[1]

> So he should not transgress the practices of his caste-class and brahmanical discipline even in thought. He should remain in the discipline in which he was when he was initiated into the Śaiva religion and [at the same time] maintain the ordinances of Śiva.

[1] E.g. Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha, *Mṛgendravṛtti*, *Vidyāpāda* p. 63, ll. 13–15; Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha, *Mokṣakārikāvṛtti* on 146ab: *iti varṇāśramācārān manasāpi na laṅghayet | yo yasminn āśrame tiṣṭhan dīkṣitaḥ śivaśāsane | sa tasminn eva saṃtiṣṭhec chivadharmaṃ ca pālayet.*

Non-Saiddhāntika adherence to the same view is seen in the following verse quoted without attribution by the Śākta Śaiva Jayaratha and the anti-Śaiva Aparāditya:[2]

> Inwardly Śākta (*kaulaḥ*), outwardly Śaiva, and brahmanical in his mundane observance, he should hold on to what is essential like a coconut [protecting its juice inside its flesh and hard shell].

Thus they accepted a level of revelation that they shared with non-Śaivas (*sāmānyaśāstram*) as well as a level of revelation applicable to them alone (*viśeṣaśāstram*), with adherents of the Śākta-inclined and Śākta traditions adding a third level of more restricted recruitment within the second (*viśeṣataraśāstram*).

This model of a hierarchy of revelation imposing levels of obligation that are accumulated as one ascends from the more universally accessible to the less is most clearly articulated by the Śākta-inclined *Śiraccheda* (*Jayadrathayāmala*, *Ṣaṭka* 1) in an account which extends this model to the Indian religious systems in general. The base-line of binding revelation shared with the non-Śaivas is subdivided here into universal common (*sāmānyam*) and restricted common (*sāmānyaviśeṣam*). The former comprises the two Epics and the Purāṇas, since those are accessible and applicable to members of all four caste-categories (*varṇāḥ*), that is to say, to all including Śūdras[3] —Śaiva initiation was accessible to the same social range—, and the latter comprises all brahmanical authorities open only to members of the three regenerable caste-categories (brahmin, Kṣatriya, and Vaiśya), namely Śruti comprising the three Vedas in their various recensions and Smṛti comprising the Dharmaśāstras.[4] The systems on the first level of narrower recruitment are set out as follows:

> The Saura, Śaiva, and Pāñcarātra [scriptures], and [in the Śaiva Atimārga] the Lākula and Vaimala [scriptures], together with the Atharvaveda, [the texts of] Sāṃkhya and Yoga, and the scriptures of the Buddhists, Jains, and the like, are restricted teachings (*viśeṣatantram*), because a person adheres to [one of] them only after taking on specific vows [in addition to or, in the case of the Buddhists

[2] *Tantrālokaviveka* on 4.251ab; *Yājñavalkyasmṛtiṭīkā* on 1.7, vol. 1, p. 10: *antaḥ kaulo bahiḥ śaivo lokācāre tu vaidikaḥ | sāram ādāya tiṣṭheta nārikelaphalaṃ yathā*.

[3] *Jayadrathayāmala*, *Ṣaṭka* 1, f. 166v1–2 (35.65–66b): *itihāsapurāṇāni gaṇitaṃ kāvyanāṭakam | chandāṃsi śabdaśāstrāṇi sāmānyaviṣayāni tu | sarveṣāṃ varṇikānāṃ tu sāmānyaśravaṇād iha*.

[4] *Jayadrathayāmala*, *Ṣaṭka* 1, f. 167r1 (35.77c–78b): *atha sāmānyavaiśeṣa⟨ṃ⟩ sāma-ṛgyajuṣaḥ priye | śākhācaraṇabhinnasya smṛtyantaragatasya tu*.

and Jains, as opposed to, the general obligations imposed by brahmanical authorities].[5]

The level of narrowest recruitment, from within systems on this level, is defined as follows:

> The Bhairava (Dakṣiṇatantras [*dakṣiṇasrotaḥ*]), the Guhyātantras (Vāmatantras [*vāmasrotaḥ*]), the Gāruḍatantras (*pūrvasrotaḥ*), the Bhūtatantras[, Mātṛtantras, Jyeṣṭhātantras] and [Caṇḍāsidhāratantras] (*paścimasrotaḥ*), and[, for Buddhists, those of] the Vajrayāna, are yet more restricted (*viśeṣataraṃ*), because only a person already bound by the vows of the [corresponding body of] restricted [scripture] can exercise authority in them.[6]

That the text's Śaiva scriptures on the first level of narrower recruitment are those of the Siddhānta is made clear later in this passage, when they are defined as the [ten] Śivabhedas and [eighteen] Rudrabhedas.[7] For this is the standard definition of the Saiddhāntika canon,[8] though in reality the scriptures existent or operative in our period are only some of these, mostly within the category of the Rudrabhedas. They are principally the *Kāmika* and the *Sāhasra* among the Śivabhedas, with the *Mṛgendra*, which claims to be derived from the first, and among the Rudrabhedas and derivatives, the *Niśvāsa*, the *Pauṣkarapārameśvara*, the *Mataṅgapārameśvara*, the *Yakṣiṇīpārameśvara*, the *Haṃsapārameśvara*, the *Mukuṭa*, the *Sūkṣmasvāyambhuva*, the *Svāyambhuvasūtrasaṃgraha*, the *Rauravasūtrasaṃgraha*, the *Kiraṇa*, the *Kālottara* in various recensions of differing length, the *Sarvajñānottara*, and the *Parākhya*. In addition there were specialized Saiddhāntika Tantras concerned only with matters pertaining to the

[5] *Jayadrathayāmala*, *Ṣaṭka* 1, f. 166v2–4 (35.68–69b): *sauraṃ śaivaṃ pañcarātraṃ pramāṇaṃ vaimalaṃ matam | atharvaṃ sāṃkhyayogaṃ ca bauddham ārahatādikam | viśeṣākhyaṃ yatas *tatra* (em. : *tantraṃ* Cod.) *viśeṣasamayāt sthitiḥ*.

[6] *Jayadrathayāmala*, *Ṣaṭka* 1, f. 166v4 (35.69c–70): *bhairavaṃ vajrayānaṃ ca guhyātantraṃ sagāruḍam | bhūtatantrāditantraṃ ca viśeṣataram ucyate | vaiśeṣike tu samayī yato 'traivādhikārakṛt*.

[7] *Jayadrathayāmala*, *Ṣaṭka* 1, f. 167r1–2 (35.78c–79b): *atha vaiśeṣaśāstrasya śaivasiddhāntarūpiṇaḥ | śivarudrabhedasaṃjñaḥ kramo vācyo *vipaścitā* (corr. : *vipaścitāḥ* Cod.). Cf. *Ṣaṭka* 1, f. 4v2–4 (1.65–66) on the ten Śivabhedas beginning with the *Kāmika* and the [eighteen] Rudrabhedas beginning with the *Vijaya* and ending with the *Pārameśvara*: *kāmikādīni yāny āsan daśa proktāni *śūlinā* (conj. : *śūlinām* Cod.) | *śivabhedagatānīha *śaive sarvārthadāni* (conj : *śaiva śaivārthadāni* Cod.) *tu* | 66 *vijayādīni cānyāni *pārameśāntikāni* (em. : *parameśāntikāni* Cod.) *tu* | *rudrabhedaprabhinnāni bhedānantagatāni tu*.

[8] For canonical lists of these twenty-eight see GOODALL 1998, pp. 402–417.

installation of idols and the consecration of temples: the *Mayasaṃgraha*, the *Devyāmata*, the *Mohacūḍottara*, and the *Pratiṣṭhāpārameśvara*.

The more restricted level within the Śaiva canon is defined immediately after this as comprising the four and the fifteen Tantras of the four divisions (*bhedāḥ*) and three currents (*srotāṃsi*).[9] The four Tantras are identified as the primary scriptures (*mūlasūtrāṇi*) of the Bhairava-centred Mantrapīṭha; and the fifteen as the same of the Goddess-centred Vidyāpīṭha. Of the four divisions the first is defined as that of the four Mantrapīṭha texts. These are listed as the *Svacchandabhairava*, *Caṇḍabhairava*, *Krodhabhairava*, and *Unmattabhairava*.[10] Of these only the first appears to have been current in the period of the commentators; and it is clear that this was considered to be the pre-eminent text of this class.[11] It survives in Kashmirian, Nepalese, and South Indian manuscripts,[12] influenced the development of the Saiddhāntika ritual system,[13] and attracted learned exegesis.[14]

The other three divisions contain the fifteen Tantras of the Vidyāpīṭha canon,[15] namely the seven Śaktitantras, the three Vāmatantras, and the five Yāmalatantras. The Śaktitantras are listed as the *Sarvavīrasamāyoga/Sarvavīra*,

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[9] *Jayadrathayāmala*, *Ṣaṭka* 1, f. 167r2 (35.79c–80b): *viśeṣataraśāstrasya catuḥpañca*daśasya tu* (em. [Aiśa]: *gatasya tu* Cod.) | *srotastraya*nibaddhasya* (em. : *vibaddhasya* Cod.) *caturbhedagatasya tu*.

[10] *Jayadrathayāmala*, *Ṣaṭka* 1, f. 169r5 (36.12): (1) *svacchandabhairavaṃ* (2) *caṇḍaṃ* (3) *krodham* (4) *unmattabhairavam* | *granthāntarāṇi catvāri mantrapīṭhe sthitāni ca*. The same verse is cited from the *Sarvavīra* by Kṣemarāja on *Svacchanda* 1.4c–7.

[11] See footnote 511 on p. 385.

[12] The published edition is based on Kashmirian manuscripts. For the existence of Nepalese and South Indian manuscripts of this text see Sanderson 2001, p. 21, footnote 26. The *Yonigahvara* claims to have been extracted from the *Caṇḍabhairava* (final colophon, f. 40v3: *ity uttarāmnāye śrī-oṃkārapīṭhavinirgate śrīcaṇḍabhairave ṣoḍaśasahasre *uddhṛtaṃ* [conj. : *uddhite* Cod.] *yonigahvaraṃ samāptam*), but since the former is a not a Mantrapīṭha text this attribution is implausible.

[13] For evidence that the early Saiddhāntika Paddhatis drew heavily on the *Svacchanda* see Sanderson 2004, pp. 359–60, footnotes 27 and 28.

[14] See p. 398.

[15] *Jayadrathayāmala*, *Ṣaṭka* 1, f. 169r7–v1 (36.15–19b): *granthāntarāṇy asaṃkhyāni vidyāpīṭhe sthitāni tu* | *pañca ca daśa siddhāni mūlasūtrāṇi sundari* | *vidyāpīṭhaprasiddhāni nāmabhiḥ kathayāmi te* | (1) *sarvavīrasamāyogaṃ* (2) **siddhayogeśvarīmatam* (em. : *siddhāyāgeśvarīmatam* Cod.) | (3) *pañcāmṛtaṃ ca* (4) *viśvādyaṃ* (5) *yoginījālaśaṃvaram* | (6) *vidyābhedaṃ* (7) *śiracchedaṃ* (8) *mahāsaṃmohanaṃ tathā* | (9) *nayottaraṃ* (10) *mahāraudraṃ* (11) *rudrayāmalam eva ca* | (12) *brahmayāmalasaṃjñaṃ ca* (13) *tathānyaṃ viṣṇuyāmalam* | (14) *daśaturyaṃ smṛtaṃ *skāndam* (15) *aumaṃ* (em. *kādamarmaṃ* Cod.) *pañcadaśaṃ matam*.

Siddhayogeśvarīmata/Triśūla, *Pañcāmṛta/Śrīcakra*, *Viśvādya*, *Yoginījālaśaṃvara*, *Vidyābheda*, and *Śiraccheda*, the three Vāmatantras as the *Nayottara*, *Mahāraudra*, and *Mahāsaṃmohana*, and the five Yāmalatantras as the *Rudrayāmala*, *Brahmayāmala/Picumata*, *Viṣṇuyāmala*, *Skandayāmala*, and *Umāyāmala*. The three currents are the Dakṣiṇa, the Vāma, and the Mixed. To the Dakṣiṇa are assigned the four Tantras of the Mantrapīṭha, the first six Śaktitantras, and the five Yāmalatantras, to the Vāma the three Vāmatantras, and to the Mixed the seventh Śaktitantra, the *Śiraccheda* itself.[16] This excludes from the broader definition not only the non-Śaiva Vajrayāna but also two of the four non-Saiddhāntika divisions of the Śaiva scriptures: the Bhūtatantras (*paścimasrotaḥ*) and the Gāruḍatantras (*pūrvasrotaḥ*), no doubt because these were considered to be on a lower level, ancillary corpora concerned with less exalted matters such as exorcism.[17]

Within the two non-Saiddhāntika divisions that remain, the Bhairavatantras and the Vāmatantras (/Guhyātantras), the tradition of the non-Saiddhāntika Śaiva exegetes of Kashmir is grounded within the Śaktitantra division of the Vidyāpīṭha, which contains texts of the two main divisions of that tradition: the Trika and the Kālīkula, rooted respectively in the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* and the *Śiraccheda*, the former further developed in such texts as the *Mālinīvijayottara*, *Triśirobhairava*, and *Tantrasadbhāva* and the latter expanded into the *Jayadrathayāmala*, also known as the *Tantrarāja*, which comprises four sections of six thousand verses each, of which the *Śiraccheda* is only the first,[18]

[16] *Jayadrathayāmala*, *Ṣaṭka* 1, f. 174r6–v9 (40.2–9): *sarvavīraṃ triśūlaṃ ca śrīcakraṃ viśvapūrvakam | yoginījālasaṃjñaṃ ca vidyābhedaṃ śirohṛtam | etāni śaktitantrāṇi santi *śūlālayāni* (conj. : *sūrālayāni* Cod.) *tu | savyasrotasi siddhāni śiracchid ubhayātmakam | nayottaraṃ mahāraudraṃ mahāsaṃmohanaṃ tathā | trikam etan mahādevi vāmasrotasi nirgatam | vibhinnaṃ koṭibhedena śākhākalitavistaram | yāmye srotasi sūtrāṇi pañcakaṃ vaimalāni tu | santi vistīrṇaśākhābhiḥ kathyante tāni nāmabhīḥ | raudraumaṃ vaiṣṇavaṃ cāpi caturthaṃ skandayāmalam | akravyācāram etad dhi catuṣkam api tat smṛtam | brahmayāmalasaṃjñaṃ ca pañcamaṃ tat picu-r-matam | dvyakṣaraṃ matasaṃjñaṃ ca kravyādocchuṣmaniścayam | nirācāra⟨ṃ⟩ mahācāraṃ sarvatobhadrasaṃjñakam | dvikaṃ sarvātmakaṃ caiva mahādakṣiṇam eva ca | brahmayāmalam etad dhi sūtrair bhinnaṃ tu saptabhiḥ*. On the mixed character of the *Śiraccheda* see also f. 177r2 (40.75cd): *vāmadakṣiṇabhedasthaṃ śiracchedaṃ suvistaram*; and for the doctrine of the three currents f. 168v3 (35.121c): *vāmadakṣiṇamiśreṣu*.

[17] On the Bhūtantras and Gāruḍatantras and the Kashmirian Kṣemarāja's knowledge of the scripture *Kriyākālaguṇottara*, which covers the territories of both see Sanderson 2001, p. 14, footnote 13. Kṣemarāja also cites the Gāruḍatantra *Totula*, in *Netroddyota* vol. 2, p. 150, ll. 9–14; pp. 151, 16–152, l. 2; and p. 199, ll. 9–17.

[18] See p. 252.

and further developed in the scriptures of the Krama.[19] The non-Saiddhāntika exegetes of Kashmir also claimed authority over the Mantrapīṭha by propagating a Śaktitantra-based exegesis of the _Svacchandabhairava_.[20]

No manuscript of any of the other five Śaktitantras listed by the _Śiraccheda_ has come to light; and of them only the _Sarvavīra_ and _Pañcāmṛta_ have been cited by the Kashmirians.[21] There is no evidence that they had access to the _Yoginījālaśaṃvara_, _Vidyābheda_, or _Viśvādya_.[22] The same is true of the three Vāmatantras and the five Yāmalatantras other than the _Brahmayāmala_. The latter, also known as the _Picumata_, is the only one of these eight texts to have come down to us, and it was known and cited in Kashmir, where it has left an en-

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[19] See p. 251.

[20] See p. 398.

[21] Sarvavīra: _Tantrāloka_ 4.55–57b; _Svacchandoddyota_, vol. 1, p. 10, ll. 9–10; vol. 4, p. 55, 15–16; _Tantrālokaviveka_, vol. 7, Āhnika 12, p. 106, ll. 7–15; _Netroddyota_, vol. 1, pp. 47, l. 15–48, l. 6; _Īśvarapratyabhijñāvivṛtivimarśinī_, vol. 3, p. 311, ll. 5–7; p. 384, ll. 18–19. The text was probably also known as the _Sarvācāra_, since the last of these citations is given as from the _Sarvācāra_ in _Parātrīśikāvivaraṇa_, p. 266, ll. 21–29 (= KSTS ed., pp. 235–6). For a translation and interpretation of this passage see Sanderson 2005a, pp. 111–112. Other citations of the _Sarvācāra_: _Tantrāloka_ 13.303d–304 (= _Parātrīśikāvivaraṇa_, p. 218, ll. 1–3 [= KSTS ed., p. 92]); and _Tantrāloka_ 13.303c–305. _Pañcāmṛta_: _Tantrālokaviveka_, vol. 9, p. 140, ll. 5–13.

[22] Of these three the _Yoginījālaśaṃvara_, though not quoted by the commentators, is cited in the _Yoginīsaṃcāra_ of the third _Ṣaṭka_ of the _Jayadrathayāmala_ as a major source on its subject; see f. 172v4–5 (_Yoginīsaṃcāra_ 1.83): _ity evaṃ yoganiyamaṃ yoginījāla*śaṃvare_ (em. : _saṃcare_ Cod.) | _yathotpannaṃ tu kathitaṃ niryogaṃ śṛṇu sāṃpratam_; f. 199v6–7 (7.124cd): _uktāni yāni karmāṇi yoginījālaśaṃvare_; f. 215r3–4 (11.60c–6): _evam eva samutpannāḥ ṣaḍ yoginyo *mahātape_ (em. : _majñātape_ Cod.) | _tadā devi samākhyātā yoginījālaśaṃvare_ | _laṃpaṭādye 'tha raktādye sarvavīre viśeṣataḥ_. The existence of the _Viśvādya_ and _Vidyābheda_ is less certain. The _Śiraccheda_ says of the former that it was taught by Bhairava to the Goddess but concealed by her, that a small part of that was learned by the Sun, that only a small part of that part reached earth, and that it will liberate pure souls only at the end of the present aeon (_Ṣaṭka_ 1, f. 176r3–4 [40.51–52, 54ab]): _tantrasāraṃ viniryātaṃ dhṛtaṃ tac ca mayā priye_ | _mayā tat kathitaṃ tubhyaṃ tvayā tad gopitaṃ punaḥ_ | 52 _*kiṃcinmātraṃ_ (conj. : _kecinmāntraṃ_ Cod.) _tu vijñātaṃ tvattas tat kila helinā_ | _tasmāt *tadāsyataḥ_ (conj. : _tadāsyate_ Cod.) _satyam alpakaṃ *sarpitaṃ_ (conj. : _sarpite_ Cod.) _bhuvi_ | ……54 _*kalpānte_ (conj. : _calpyante_ Cod.) _vimalāṇūnāṃ malaṃ prakṣālayiṣyati_. Of the _Vidyābheda_ it says that it comprised seven Saṃhitās of which six did not reach the earth and will be received only in the final age, that only a very small part of the seventh, a short work called the _Jñānaprasūti_, was passed on by Bhairava (f. 176v9–177r1 [40.72c–75b]: _tayā jñānaprasūtiś ca vidyeśānāṃ mahātape_ | 73 _tato 'pi hi mayā jñātā svalpasūtrā surāmbike_ | _matto 'py aṃśaphalā devi *tadāvāpi_ (conj. : _tasmādvāpi_ Cod.) _tridaṇḍinā_ | 74 _tridaṇḍito *tṛṇaḥ prāpa_ (conj. : _tṛṇaprāya_ Cod.) _saṃhitāṃ saptamāṃ priye_ | _ṣaṭ *saṃhitā_ (corr. : _saṃhitāṃ_ Cod.) _na bhūrlokam āgatā vīravandite_ | 75 _antime tu yuge tāsāṃ prāptir matto bhaviṣyati_).

during imprint, albeit minor, in the ritual manuals of the Kashmirian Śaiva officiants.[23]

Both the Saiddhāntika and the non-Saiddhāntika scriptures offered the attainment of two goals: (1) the liberation of the soul from the beginningless cycle of birth and death (*mokṣaḥ*), insisting that this could be achieved only by those who followed their precepts, and (2) the bringing about of the lesser benefits termed *siddhiḥ*, such as the elimination of dangers (*śāntiḥ*), the restoration of health (*puṣṭiḥ*), and the warding off or destruction of enemies (*abhicāraḥ*); and they held that the pre-eminent or sole independent means of attaining these goals is not knowledge but a supramundane form of ritual empowered by visualization and other practices of a meditational character.

They taught a single ritual system, both in the ordering of their ceremonies and in the construction of each. All set out the same elaborate procedures for the initiation (*dīkṣā*) of recruits and the consecration (*abhiṣekaḥ*) of officiants, the same ceremonies for the installation of images and other substrates of worship (*pratiṣṭhā*), and the same rituals of obligatory regular worship (*nityakarma*) comprising the summoning of the deity into the person of the worshipper, the

[23] For Abhinavagupta's citations of the *Brahmayāmala* (and Jayaratha's lack of access to that text) see SANDERSON forthcoming *a*. The imprint in the manuals is the inclusion of Caṇḍā Kāpālinī and her nine-syllable Mantra (the root-Mantra of the *Brahmayāmala*) among the goddesses included among the recipients of oblations in the fire-sacrifice (*Agnikāryapaddhati* A, f. 77v1–7 and B, f. 38v8–39r1) and in the worship of the Goddess in the Tantric Śivarātrīpūjā (*Śivarātripūjāpaddhati*, exposures 70, l. 13–71, l. 11). We see it also in the use of Caṇḍā Kāpālinī and her four subordinates Raktā, Karālā, Caṇḍākṣī, and Mahocchuṣmā and their Dūtīs Karālī, Danturā, Bhīmavaktrā, and Mahābalā as deities of the Śrāddha lamp in the Kashmirian Śaivas' *śivadīpaśrāddham*, the Paddhati for which can be seen in photographic reproduction in CHANDRA 1984, pp. 236b–246d. The goddesses appear there in p. 237c9–10 and p. 238a8–10, with minor deformation: Caṇḍākṣī appears as Caṇḍākhyā, and Mahocchuṣmā as Mahodhmā; and HRĪṂ is substituted for HŪṂ and CAṆḌĪ for CAṆḌE in the root-Mantra ([OṂ] HŪṂ CAṆḌE KĀPĀLINI SVĀHĀ). In the fragmentary and disordered folios of the birch-bark manuscript of the Tantric *Śivarātripūjāpaddhati* listed in the bibliography the correct form CAṆḌE is preserved (exposure 71, ll. 4–10): OṂ HRĪṂ CAṆḌE KĀPĀLINI SVĀHĀ MAHĀLAKṢMYAMBĀPĀDUKĀBHYO NAMAḤ. *iti mūlavidyā*. OṂ HRĪṂ HṚDAYĀYA NAMAḤ. OṂ CAṆḌE ŚIRASE SVĀHĀ. OṂ KĀPĀ ŚIKHĀYAI VAUṢAṬ. OṂ LINI KAVACĀYA HUṂ. OṂ [SVĀ NETRE]BHYO VAUṢAṬ. OṂ HĀ ASTRĀYA PHAṬ. [*ity a*]*ṅgāni*. The error is the result of the lack of clear distinction in Kashmirian pronunciation of Sanskrit between *e* and *ī*, for which see footnote 355 on p. 338. A Nepalese compendium of scriptural passages on the worship of the goddess Siddhalakṣmī/Pratyaṅgirā (*Tridaśaḍāmarā⟨di⟩pratyaṅgirāviṣayakanānātantra*) contains one whose colophon identifies it as the 24th chapter of the *Umāyāmala* and others whose colophons assign them to the third *Ṣaṭka* of a *Rudrayāmala*. But there is a strong possibility that these attributions are fictitious.

deity's worship first there (*antaryāgaḥ*) and then externally (*bahiryāgaḥ*) by projection into a material substrate such as a Liṅga, Maṇḍala, or anthropomorphic image, followed by the repetition of the deity's Mantras (*japaḥ*) and their gratification with offerings in fire (*homaḥ*, *agnikāryam*), with inflections and elaborations of all these for the attainment of *siddhiḥ* (*kāmyakarma*). The features that differentiated the divisions of the Mantramārga, such as the choice of deity propitiated, the specific character of the visualizations (*dhyānam*), Mantras, Maṇḍalas, Mudrās, substrates of worship, and offerings that these choices entailed, were surface features that did not affect significantly this deeper structural unity.

Central in all this was the enactment of the belief that while brahmanical ritual can affect only the body or status of the individual, Śaiva ritual works directly on the soul, that through intense imagination reinforced by incantation, breath-control, and a choreography of hand gestures the soul itself can be grasped, manipulated, and transformed. This is the driving force of all the rituals of the Mantramārga, and it is most clearly displayed in the 'fusion with Śiva' (*śivayojanikā*) at the climax of initiation, when the officiant, seen not as an agent in his own right but as a vessel through which Śiva himself is acting, enters the initiand's body through the flow of the breath, takes hold of his soul, visualizing it as a point of brilliant light, draws it out and into his person with the return of the breath, fuses it with his own soul, and then, as he exhales, raises them both up as one to exit through the cranial aperture and unite with the deity.

The principal features that differentiate the two divisions are (1) that in the choice of offerings for the propitiation of the deity the rituals prescribed in the Saiddhāntika scriptures generally remained within the parameters of purity set by brahmanical convention, while those of the non-Saiddhāntika systems transgressed these parameters to a greater or lesser extent by requiring the inclusion of alcoholic and sanguinary offerings, in keeping with the special character of their deities; and (2) that the rituals of installation taught in the Siddhānta extended beyond the consecration of small moveable Liṅgas for the worship performed by initiates for their own purposes or those of individual clients to include the consecration of temples where worship was to be performed on a regular schedule for the public good, typically those established by royal patrons, and the installation in such temples of a large immoveable Liṅga which would serve as the principal embodiment of the deity, who was then individualized for legal purposes (*vyavahārārtham*) by the prefixing of the name of the

donor to *-īśvara*, as in Prakāśeśvara for a Śiva established by, or for the spiritual benefit of king Prakāśa[dharma],[24] thus allowing it to be treated in law as the owner of the benefactions in the form of land-revenue and other valuables that would sustain the cult. This involvement in the public domain led to the production of the specialized revelations known as Pratiṣṭhātantras that dealt exclusively with these rituals and such ancillary matters as iconometry, iconography, and the structure and layout of temple types, attached monastic residences, royal palaces, and towns.[25]

In later times in the Tamil South a new Saiddhāntika scriptural literature emerged under titles listed in early scriptural accounts of the Saiddhāntika canon.[26] This corpus was concerned primarily with the rituals to be performed before these temple images, modelled on those for personal worship but on a much more lavish scale, to be conducted by initiated and consecrated Śaiva officiants engaged for this purpose with the right to pass on their office to their descendants. But in the scriptures known to the Kashmirian exegetes, in the early Paddhatis, in South Indian sources up to at least the thirteenth century, and in the Śaiva works that have survived in Nepal from this early period, we find no accounts of such rituals. The role of the officiant presented in those texts extends no further than the consecration of the image before which the worship will be performed. Neither they nor those exegetes make any mention of the Śaiva officiant in the role of the temple priest after installation has been completed.[27]

[24]In A.D. 515 a temple for Śiva Prakāśeśvara was established in Daśapura by an official of the Aulikara Prakāśadharma. See Ramesh and Tewari 1983, l. 17, v. 22. I cite this as a very early example of what became universal practice in India and South-east Asia.

[25]The following Pratiṣṭhātantras cited in the Kashmirian exegesis survive (in Nepalese manuscripts): *Devyāmata*, *Mayasaṃgraha*, and *Piṅgalāmata*. Cited there in the *Bhāvacūḍāmaṇi* of Vidyākaṇṭha but not surviving to my knowledge are the *Nandikeśvaramata* (ff. 17v, 53r) and the *Pratiṣṭhāpārameśvara* (ff. 7r, 8r, 12r, 13v, 17v, 23r, 24v, 57v, 67r). To these early Pratiṣṭhātantras must be added the *Mohacūḍottara*, known to Somaśambhu in the late eleventh century (see p. 420).

[26]New South Indian scriptures are found under the titles of all the canonically listed Śivabhedas: *Kāmika*, *Yogaja*, *Kāraṇa*, *Cintya*, *Ajita*, *Dīpta*, *Sūkṣma*, *Aṃśumad*, *Sāhasra*, and *Suprabheda*. Yet others were circulated under the titles of Rudrabhedas: *Vijaya*, *Siddha*, *Raurava*, *Mukuṭa*, and *Vimala*.

[27]However, it is obvious that Saiddhāntika Śaiva officiants must have been functioning as priests in Śaiva temples before the emergence of the South Indian scriptures devoted to their rituals. The earliest possible evidence of which I am aware is found in the Kūram copper-plate inscription of Parameśvaravarman I of the Pallava dynasty of Kāñcī, who ruled from A.D. 668/9 to

The Kashmirian exegesis of the Mantramārga in both its divisions shows a deep and comprehensive knowledge of those of these traditions that were current in its time. Yet its perspective imposes a selective emphasis. In the scriptures initiates, and the officiants among them, are both married men and celibate ascetics; and the epigraphical record of royal patronage, mostly confined to the Saiddhāntika tradition, shows that the latter were a conspicuous and influential element, presiding over monastic establishments (*maṭhaḥ*) attached to temples, officiating as royal preceptors (*rājaguruḥ*), and bestowing initiation on their patrons.[28] But in the Kashmirian exegesis we are presented above all with the Śaivism of married householders, this being the status of the great majority of its authors.[29] The lineage of the most Śākta form of the religion does include some ascetics who, as we shall see, were observers of the Kāpālika Mahāvrata,[30] but the private and esoteric orientation of their religious practice means that they are not likely to have been engaged in the manner of the Saiddhāntikas in management of richly endowed religious foundations. The fact that this lineage is distinguished from all others known to us by the inclusion of female Gurus tends to the same conclusion.[31]

Furthermore, while the efficacity of ritual for *siddhiḥ* is nowhere challenged, the detail of such rituals is hardly touched upon. The emphasis is overwhelmingly on the Mantramārga as the means of liberation. The commentators have

690. This records the appointment of an Anantaśivācārya with hereditary rights to perform the worship (*devakarma*) and periodic renovations (*navakarma*) in the royal Śiva temple Vidyāvinītapallavaparameśvara (Mahalingam 1988, no. 46, ll. 55–56 and 84–89). Anantaśivācārya is a typical Saiddhāntika initiation-name. It is therefore probable that he was a Saiddhāntika; but it is not certain, since it is possible that such names were current among Śaiva priests before the Saiddhāntikas' advent. The Saiddhāntika Śaiva priests of South India are commonly referred to as Śivabrāhmaṇas in inscriptions and in the Saiddhāntika scriptural sources that defend their rights. References to them are numerous in the inscriptions of the Cola period. But the term Śivabrāhmaṇa occurs considerably earlier in the Tiruvallam inscription of Pallava Nandivarman III, dated in *c.* A.D. 863. Concerning a grant to the temple of Parameśvara of Tīkkālivallam it specifies that 500 *kāḍi* of paddy are for the Śivabrāhmaṇas who offer worship and services in the sanctum (Mahalingam 1988, no. 132, ll. 25–26: *tiruvuṇṇāḻigaiyuḷḷ=ār[ā]di[t]t-uppāśarikkum [śiva]brāhmaṇarkku nellu aiññūṟṟu-kkāḍiyum*). But in this case too we cannot exclude the possibility that the term Śivabrāhmaṇa predates its Saiddhāntika application.

[28] See Sanderson forthcoming *c*.

[29] For the existence of Saiddhāntika ascetics in Kashmir see p. 391.

[30] See pp. 252, 280, 291, and 292.

[31] For female Krama Gurus see p. 263 (Maṅgalā [Makāradevī]), footnote 92 on p. 263 (Rūpānandā), p. 273 (Keyūravatī, Madanikā, and Kalyāṇikā), p. 275 (Keyūravatī [Kakāradevī]), and p. 292 (Īśānī).

also tended to give less attention than the scriptures on which they have commented to meditation (*yogaḥ*) as a path of practice in its own right. The meditator (*yogī*) as opposed to the master of ritual worship (*karmī*) and the gnostic (*jñānī*) has shifted to the periphery of vision. This is very obvious in the works of the Kashmirian non-Saiddhāntikas. Their scriptures place great emphasis on the practice of visionary meditation, particularly as the means of attaining *siddhiḥ*, here understood primarily as the achieving of private supernatural powers such as clairvoyance, telepathy, and the ability to leave the body to enter other worlds. A whole culture of visionary experience has been pushed to the margins by the Kashmirian commentators or its accounts translated through creative exegesis into teachings of non-visionary liberating gnosis (*jñānam*); and with it have disappeared from the foreground the exotic ascetic observances (*vidyāvratam*, *puraścaryā*, *caryāvratam*) taught in the scriptures for those seeking to master the Mantras for such ends. This shift of focus arises from the nature of the commentators' social milieu, which is one of Śaiva brahmins eager to consolidate their religion on the level of high culture. It is this, I propose, that also predisposed them to devote much more attention than can be seen in their scriptures to formulating their metaphysical doctrines and to defending them against those of their opponents in the shared language of Indian philosophical argument.[32]

Concerning the social position of the post-scriptural Śaiva authors of Kashmir we have little information and what we have is confined to the non-Saiddhāntika authors. A number of those bear the title Rājānaka, which was given by the ruler to brahmin ministers and inherited by their descendants.[33] The Śākta Śaiva teacher Hrasvanātha, also called Vīranātha, was minister of war

[32] See also Sanderson 1985, p. 203.

[33] See *Rājataraṅgiṇī* 6.117: *sa pārthivatvamantritvamiśrayā ceṣṭayā sphuran | rājā rājānakaś ceti miśrāṃ evaṃ dhiyaṃ vyadhāt* 'Brilliant by reason of his conduct that combined the character of both king and minister he thus created the impression that he was both Rāja and Rājānaka'; 6.261. The title has been attributed to Utpaladeva, Abhinavagupta, Kṣemarāja, Jayaratha, Takṣakavarta, Bhullaka (*Svacchandoddyota*, vol. 5a, p. 211, ll. 9–10), Yogarāja, and Rāma (the author of the *Spandakārikāvivṛti*). In the *Āgamaḍambara*, p. 47,18–20, p. 49, 14–15 Saṃkarṣaṇa is made Bhaṭṭaśrī-Saṃkarṣaṇa by the king when he is appointed to a position in the administration. Kashmirian Śākta Śaiva authors whose names are so prefixed are Kallaṭa (e.g., Yogarāja, *Paramārthasāra*, p. 91), Bhāskara (author of the *Śivasūtravārtika*), Vāmana[datta]/Vīravāmanaka (*Spandanirṇaya*, p. 48, quoting his *Subodhodayamañjarī*, Yogarāja on *Paramārthasāra*, p. 146), Śitikaṇṭha (author of the *Kaulasūtra* [colophon: *kṛtir gurubhaṭṭaśrīśitikaṇṭhasyeti śubham*]), and Somānanda (Utpaladeva, *Īśvarapratyabhijñākārikāvṛtti* on 4.16).

and peace under king Yaśaskara (r. A.D. 939–948);[34] the innermost circle of the devotees of Abhinavagupta, the most famous and gifted of these Kashmirian exegetes, consisted of members of ministerial families, one a grandson of the same king's prime minister;[35] and his commentator Jayaratha reports that his patrilineal ancestors included ministers under Yaśaskara, Ananta (r. 1028–1063), Uccala (r. 1101–1111), and Rājadeva (r. 1213–1236), the last of these being his own father.[36] A connection with the milieu of the court is also suggested by contributions by these authors to belles-lettres and the theory of poetry, drama, dance, and music.[37] The humbler title Bhaṭṭa and the absence of evidence of any such high-cultural activities among the Saiddhāntikas both suggest that their social position was less elevated.

The Siddhānta

In this domain we have commentaries by Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha on the *Mṛgendra*, by his son Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha (II) on the *Mataṅgapārameśvara*, the *Kālottara* in its three hundred and fifty verse recension, and the first twelve chapters of the *Kiraṇa* (of which the commentary on the first six has been published), and references to a commentary, now lost, on the *Svāyambhuvasūtrasaṃgraha* (*Svāyambhuvoddyota*). Bhūtikaṇṭha, probably a member of this same lineage, is credited with a commentary on the *Kiraṇa*.[38]

[34] See p. 280.

[35] *Parātrīśikāvivaraṇa*, concluding verses 5–10 (A) and *Tantrāloka* 37.65–83 (B), concerning his disciples Karṇa (Vallabha, prime minister [*amātyāgraṇīḥ*] of Yaśaskara [A 5] → Śauri, who retired as a minister to devote himself to religion [B 75] → Karṇa), and his cousin Mandra, described as the wealthy and learned son of an unnamed minister (B 66). Śauri was the brother of Mandra's father and was married to Vatsalikā (A 6ab, B 75a [emending *bhrātā* to *bhartā*]), in a house provide by whom Abhinavagupta wrote his *Tantrāloka* (B 82).

[36] *Tantrālokaviveka*, concluding verses 8–41: Pūrṇamanoratha, minister of king Yaśaskara → Utpala[ratha] → Prakāśaratha → Sūryaratha → Utpalaratha, minister of Ananta, and disciple of his mother's brother Vibhūtidatta, grandson of an unnamed minister of finance → Śivaratha, minister of Uccala; his brother Sammaratha → Guṇaratha → Guṅgaratha → Śṛṅgāraratha, minister of Rājarāja (Rājadeva, r. 1213–1236), initiated by Subhaṭadatta, descendant of Vibhūtidatta and author of a lost commentary on the *Tantrāloka* → Jayaratha.

[37] Thus we have Abhinavagupta's commentaries on the *Dhvanyāloka* of Ānandavardhana (*-locana*), the *Bharatanāṭyaśāstra* (*Abhinavabhāratī*), and the *Ghaṭakarpara*, and Jayaratha's commentary (*-vimarśinī*) on the *Alaṃkārasarvasva* of Ruyyaka.

[38] Vaktraśambhu, *Mṛgendrapaddhatiṭīkā*, p. 208, ll. 12–17: *śrīmatkiraṇamṛgendramataṅga-svāyambhuvasūkṣmasvāyambhuvarauravādiṣu sarveṣu śāstreṣu garbhādhānādayaḥ *smṛtyukta-*

From Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha (II)'s pupil Bhaṭṭa Vidyākaṇṭha (II) we have an unpublished commentary (*Bhāvacūḍāmaṇi*) on the unpublished Pratiṣṭhātantra *Mayasaṃgraha*; and a commentary on another unpublished scripture of this kind, the *Piṅgalāmata*, is attributed by one source to Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha[39] and by another to Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha.[40] From these two authors also came a number of exegetical works on the *Svāyambhuvavṛtti* and *Rauravavṛtti*, commentaries by the early Saiddhāntika authority Sadyojyotis on the doctrinal teachings of the scriptures *Svāyambhuvasūtrasaṃgraha* and *Rauravasūtrasaṃgraha*. Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha's *Svāyambhuvavṛttiṭippaṇaka* on the former has not come to light, but of Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha's *Rauravavṛttiviveka* on the latter we have the *Mokṣakārikāvṛtti* and the *Paramokṣanirāsakārikāvṛtti*, and references to and citations from the *Mantravārtikavṛtti*, the *Āgamaviveka* (= *Sarvāgamaprāmāṇyopanyāsa*), and his commentary on the section dealing with Mudrās.[41] We also have his unpublished commentary (*-vivṛti*) on Sadyojyotis' *Tattvatrayanirṇaya*, which is an analysis of the ontology of the *Svāyambhuvasūtrasaṃgraha*[42] There was also a lengthy commentary (*bṛhaṭṭikā*) by Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha on the *Tattvasaṃgraha*, in which Sadyojyotis set out the ontology of the *Rauravasūtrasaṃgraha*; but this has not come to light. We know of it only from the South Indian Saiddhāntika Aghoraśiva, who tells us that he wrote his own short commentary (*laghuṭīkā*) on the *Tattvasaṃgraha* for the ben-

saṃskārāḥ (*smṛtyukta* conj. : *śrutyukta* Cod.) *dīkṣāmadhye śivamantrair bhaviṣyadbrāhmaṇajātipradakarmasaṃhārāy*oktā iti* (conj. : *oktāḥ* | Cod.) *śrīmatkiraṇavṛtti*kṛdbhūtikaṇṭhācāryeṇa* (*kṛd* em. : *kṛta* Cod.) *dīkṣāyām uktam*.

[39] Trilocanaśivācārya, *Somaśambhupaddhativyākhyā*, p. 99, ll. 13–15: *tad uktaṃ piṅgalāmataṭīkāyāṃ nārāyaṇakaṇṭhena pīṭhāntaṃ pīṭhavyāpīti*.

[40] The anonymous commentary *-vyākhyā* on the *Śivapūjāstava* of Jñānaśambhu, p. 90: *piṅgalāmatavṛttau rāmakaṇṭhenāpi "vyāpinyām ādhāraśaktyavasthāyāṃ sthitam" iti*, cited in Goodall 1998, p. xxvi. I thank him for reminding me of his report of this citation when I mentioned Trilocanaśiva's assertion that the work is by Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha. I see no hard evidence that would enable us to establish which of these two attributions is correct, but I incline to favour the first. Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha has not referred to the *Piṅgalāmata* in his surviving works, while his father cites five lines from it under its alias *Jayadrathādhikāra*, in *Mṛgendravṛtti*, *Kriyāpāda*, p. 47, ll. 8–13.

[41] On these commentaries that constituted or were parts of the *Rauravavṛttiviveka* and Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha's other works see Goodall 1998, pp. xviii–xxviii.

[42] See Goodall 2004, p. lxi. The *codex unicus* of this commentary has been located by Kei Kataoka and is being edited for publication by Diwakar Acharya, Kei Kataoka and Dominic Goodall, to whom I am very grateful for supplying me with a photocopy of the manuscript and his transcription in the form of an e-text.

efit of those whose understanding the longer work had taxed.[43] Finally, we have Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha's *Nareśvaraparīkṣāprakāśa*. This, a commentary on Sadyojyotis' philosophical treatise *Nareśvaraparīkṣā* 'An Enquiry into the Soul and God', is surely his most outstanding work. Transcending association with this or that individual scripture it provides a reasoned philosophical defence against the Buddhists, Mīmāṃsakas and others of what it takes to be the shared doctrinal position of all the scriptures. For while differences between individual scriptures in matters of ritual procedure (*kriyā*), meditation (*yogaḥ*), and rules of discipline (*caryā*) were recognized—indeed one was strictly enjoined to stay within the parameters of a single scripture in this regard—differences on the doctrinal level (*jñānam, vidyā*), though, of course, they existed, especially between earlier and later texts, could not be seen without throwing into doubt the unitary validity of the corpus and had therefore to be thought away, either through selective neglect or faith-driven creative exegesis.

Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha also composed a Paddhati, a systematic guide to the performance of the Saiddhāntika rituals, based on the *Kālottara*, now known only from references in his son's commentary on that scripture[44] and from an excerpt or paraphrase in the *Nityādisaṃgrahapaddhati*, an unpublished Kashmirian Paddhati in the form of a digest of Śaiva scriptural sources compiled by Rājānaka Takṣakavarta[45] at some time after the eleventh century.[46] A late South Indian source claims the composition of Paddhatis not only by Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha but also by other Gurus of this -kaṇṭha lineage: by Rāmakaṇṭha, Vaidyakaṇṭha, probably identical with Vidyākaṇṭha, Vibhūtikaṇṭha, probably one with the

[43] *Tattvasaṃgrahaṭīkā*, introductory verses 3–4.

[44] *Sārdhatriśatikālottaravṛtti*, pp. 28, 29, 36, 42, 58, and 59. In all these cases Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha introduces verses in the Anuṣṭubh metre by saying that they are "what his Guru has said on this [matter] in [his] Paddhati" (*yad uktam* [/ *proktam* / *tad idam uktam*] *asmadgurubhir atra paddhatau*).

[45] *Nityādisaṃgrahapaddhati*, f. 31r3–5: *paścād aśeṣatattva*vyāpitvād āhūya* (conj. : *vyāpitvām āhuyec* Cod.) *chivaṃ mūrtau uccārya *mūlamantraṃ* (em. : *mūlamantra* Cod.) *plutāntam udyantṛtāvalambanataḥ brahmādikāraṇeśvaraniṣevitebhyaḥ padebhya udgamya dhvaninidhanadhāmni *kramād vilīya* (conj. : *manāṅgrilīya* Cod.) *sṛṣṭikrameṇa vinivṛttya ciccittapavanavācakavācyānāṃ sāmarasyam anubhūya hṛtpuṇḍarīkamadhyāt sphuradanupamadhāmatārakākāram sauṣumṇena pathā taṃ saṃgṛhya ca śāntamudrayā nyaset. śrīnārāyaṇakaṇṭhenetyādiṣṭaṃ nijapaddhatau*. For the title of this digest see the final colophon (f. 75v14–15): *samāpteyaṃ nityādisaṃgrahābhidhānā paddhatiḥ kṛtis tatrabhavataḥ mahāmāheśvarācāryaśrīmattakṣakavartasyeti śivam*. In an intermediate colophon it is referred to simply as the *Nityādisaṅgraha* and described as extracted from the scriptures: *ity āgamoddhṛte nityādisaṃgrahe* (f. 24v4, etc.).

[46] On the question of Takṣakavarta's date see p. 420.

Bhūtikaṇṭha who composed a commentary on the *Kiraṇa*, and Śrīkaṇṭha, who is probably the scholar of this name who wrote the *Ratnatrayaparīkṣā*, a treatise of unknown scriptural affiliation.[47] A *Śrīkaṇṭhapaddhati*, perhaps by this scholar, has been quoted once by the South Indian Saiddhāntika Vaktraśambhu, in the twelfth century.[48]

It may be thought that Somaśambhu's famous Paddhati should be included in this account of Kashmirian Saiddhāntika literature. For the Rājānakas of Padmapura (Pampur, 34°02'35"N 74°53'53"E) have claimed Somaśambhu as one of their remote ancestors, at least from the fifteenth century onwards. But the claim is dubious. In the Kashmirian version of the final verses of his Paddhati he is said to have been a brahmin of the Gārgya Gotra,[49] while the Rājā-

[47]The source that lists these Paddhatis is the *Śaivabhūṣaṇa* of Pañcākṣarayogin (17th century). See Brunner 1963–1998, pt. 4, pp. xlv–xlvi. On the question of Śrīkaṇṭha's identity and position in the Kashmirian -kaṇṭha lineage see Sanderson forthcoming *b*.

[48]*Mṛgendrapaddhatiṭīkā*, p. 130, ll. 10–15: *śrīkaṇṭhapaddhatau* .... The name of the author of this work is given at the end of the manuscript in the wreckage of the following verse in the Śārdūlavikrīḍita metre (p. 253, ll. 10–15): *śrī*⟨ + + +⟩ *naṭeśvareṇa guruṇā vaktrādinā śambhunā śrīmacchaṃkarasūnunā viracitā ṭīkā samāptā* ⟨*mayā*⟩ | **śrīmacchrīmṛgarājarājapadavīprāptaprathāyāḥ* (*mṛgarājarājapadavī* conj. : *mṛ[ge]ndrarājapaddhatir iti* Cod. [probably by substitution of a marginal gloss]) **kṛter* (em. : *kṛtor* Cod.) | *ārādhyasya madīyapāśavipinacchede* (*madīya* em. : *dīya* Cod.) *kuṭhārātmanaḥ* 'Here ends the commentary composed by the Guru Śambhu-after-Vaktra, *a Naṭarāja [among ...(?)], son of the venerable Śaṅkara, on the composition known as the *Mṛgendrapaddhati* of the Worshipful Master who was the axe that served to cut through the forest of my bonds.' The expression *vaktrādinā śambhunā* ('Śambhu-after-Vaktra') is a periphrasis of a common type for the initiation-name Vaktraśambhu (= Vaktraśiva, Tatpuruṣaśiva, Puruṣaśiva); cf. *somaḥ śambhūttaraḥ* for Somaśambhu in footnote 50 on p. 246. The obvious emendation *madīya* for *dīya* makes him the pupil of Aghoraśiva, the author of this Paddhati on the *Mṛgendra*, who dated the completion of his *Kriyākramadyotikā* in Śaka 1080 (A.D. 1157/8). It is possible that -*naṭeśvareṇa* after the lacuna of three syllables gives his mundane name or part of it. But since we are told the author's initiation-name I have taken it to mean that he is praising himself as outstanding ('a [veritable] Naṭeśvara [Naṭarāja]') in some class lost in the lacuna, most probably the [Śaiva] learned. In favour of this hypothesis we can cite a parallel in a text of the same kind from the same region and community. The *Ātmārthapūjāpaddhati* refers to Prāsādaśiva, author of the *Prāsādapaddhati* as a Naṭarāja among Gurus (p. 4, ll. 1–2): *anyac cārutaraṃ kriyākaraṇakaṃ sanmaṇḍanaṃ nirmitaṃ prāsādākhyaśivena deśikanaṭeśena svanāmocitam* 'Another, most elegant aid in the performance of the rituals, an ornament of the virtuous, was composed by Prāsādaśiva, that Naṭarāja among Gurus, and named after him'.

[49]*Karmakāṇḍakramāvalī*, v. 1810c–1811: *gārgye kule samudito vitatāvadātavidyāviśeṣa*ku-śalaḥ* (em. : *kuśala* Ed.) *śrutaśīlavān yaḥ* | *śrīmān asau somaśivābhidhāno dikcakravālodaragītakīrtiḥ* | *śaivāgamajño munivṛndavandyaś cakre kriyākāṇḍapadakramāvalīm* 'The venerable Somaśiva (/Somaśambhu), born in the Gārgya Gotra, adept in his vast and pure higher knowl-

nakas of Padmapura tell us that their Gotra is the Gautama.[50] In any case,

edge, endowed with both learning and morality, his fame proclaimed through the world in all directions, master of the Śaiva scriptures, revered by the community of [Śaiva] ascetics, has composed [this] *Kriyākāṇḍapadakramāvalī*'.

[50]The claim that Somaśambhu was an early member of the Kashmirian lineage of the Rājānakas of Padmapura (the Rāzdāns of Pampur) and the report that their Gotra is that of Gautama is seen in the concluding verses of Rājānaka Ānanda's *Naiṣadhīyakāvyatattvavivṛti*, in **Rājānakavaṃśapraśaṃsā* A, f. 1, ll. 2–5, 10–11, f. 2, ll. 1–7 (vv. 12, 5, and 10–12): *asti śrīśāradāpīṭhaḥ *kaśmīrā* (B : *kaśmīra* A) *iti viśrutaḥ* | *vidyānāṃ muktibījānāṃ kṣetraṃ kṣetrajñasiddhidam* | 2 *āste padmapuraṃ tatra padmasadmapuropamam* | **māheśvaraiḥ* (em. Stein in marg. : *maheśvaraiḥ* AB) *śrīpatibhir bhūdevair upaśobhitam* | ……5 *jayanti jagati khyātā rājānakapadānvayāt* | *tatrābhijātās sadvidyā guravo* ***gautamānvayāḥ*** | ……10 **kaiyyaṭṭovaṭṭamammaṭṭakṣīrasvāmimukhair ayam* (B : *kaiyyaṭṭovaṭṭamammaṭṭa* em. : *kaiyyaṭṭhovaṭṭhamammaṭṭha* A) | *śataśākhīkṛto vaṃśo muktānām udayasthalī* | 11 *asminn anante vaṃśābdhau citprakāśair vikāsayan* | *lokaṃ *śambhūttaro* (B : *śambhubhuro* A : *śambhudharo* conj. Stein : *śambhuparo* conj. Stein in handwritten notes at the end of the transcript) *jajñe somaḥ soma ivāparaḥ* | 12 *nigrahānugrahaiḥ khyāto loke vigrahavāñ śivaḥ* | *yaś cakre śarmaṇe 'ṇūnāṃ śaivakarmakramāvalīm* 'There is the throne of the Goddess of Learning (Śāradā) known as Kashmir, the home of the sciences that lead to liberation, the bestower of success on souls. In it is Padmapura, the equal of the heaven of Brahmā, adorned by wealthy Śaiva brahmins. ……Victorious are its noble and wise Gurus of the Gautama Gotra, famed in the world by their possession of the title Rājānaka. ……This lineage, this source of liberated souls, has spread in countless branches through Kaiyaṭa, Uvaṭa, Mammaṭa, Kṣīrasvāmin and others. In the vast ocean of this lineage was born Soma, [his name] followed by -śambhu (*śambhūttaro …somaḥ*), who, like the moon (*somaḥ*) caused mankind to expand with the radiances of his consciousness, who, famed for both his chastisements [of the unobservant] and for the favour he showed [to the worthy by granting them initiation and instruction], was Śiva himself in human form, who composed the *Śaivakarmakramāvalī* for the welfare of souls'. It is only after this verse that the account of the lineage generation by generation begins, running from the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries. The claim that Somaśambhu was a member of this lineage had already been made in the fifteenth century in a similar encomium given by Rājānaka Śitikaṇṭha in his commentary on the *Bālabodhinī* of Jagaddhara in **Rājānakavaṃśapraśaṃsā* A, f. 9, l. 6–9 (vv. 2): *vidyātīrthavihāraśālini paraṃ śrīśāradāsaṃśraye kauberyā harito lalāṭatilake kaśmīradeśe 'bhaye* | *yac chrīpadmapuraṃ* (*yac chrī* corr. : *yaḥ śrī* AB) *purandarapuraprodyatprabhaṃ bhāsate* | *tatrācāryavaro babhūva bhagavān somaḥ sa somaprabhaḥ* 'In Padmapura, which shines with the great radiance of the heaven of Indra in the land of Kashmir that is secure from all dangers, the forehead mark of the north, the home of Śāradā, rich in learning, holy sites, and Vihāras, there was born the venerable Soma, radiant as the moon, the foremost of [Śaiva] Ācāryas'. Hélène Brunner, to whom I communicated these passages, took them (1963–1998, pt. 4, p. xlv) to be persuasive evidence that Somaśambhu was indeed a Kashmirian by birth and that the clash of Gotras was of no consequence since the verse that attributes the Gārgya Gotra to Somaśambhu appears only in the Kashmirian edition of the text and is therefore not authentic. However, one wonders what motive there could have been for a Kashmirian redactor to have inserted this false information. There are, incidentally, no Rāzdāns with the Gotra Gārgya.

even if Somaśambhu was from Kashmir, the Saiddhāntika Śaiva ritual system that he teaches is in no sense characteristic of that region. Somaśambhu wrote for a pan-Indian audience while holding office as the abbot of the prestigious Golakīmaṭha near Tripurī in Central India.

One set of features above all others may be said to mark out the Kashmirian Saiddhāntikas' exegesis from that of their Śākta contemporaries. This is its uncompromising ritualism, relative mundanity, and professionalism. For Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha the soul's state of bondage is one of ignorance, but he denies that knowledge, the usual means of liberation in Indian soteriologies, is able to eliminate that state. This is because its root cause is impurity (*malaḥ*), defined as an imperceptible, all-pervasive substance (*dravyam*) that prevents the deployment of the soul's innate omniscience and omnipotence. Being a substance it can be removed only by action (*vyāpāraḥ*), and the only action that can remove it is the ritual of Śaiva initiation performed by Śiva himself acting in the person of a consecrated officiant. Moreover, the liberation to be achieved through initiation is a future state, one that will become manifest only at death. So the question who *is* liberated does not arise for these Saiddhāntikas. The only issue is that of who *will* be liberated and that being dependent on whether or not one has been accepted for initiation is a matter entirely within the control of the Siddhānta's institutions. For the Śāktas too the performance of ritual and the bestowing of qualification through publicly verifiable ceremonies were important, but they were subordinated to a gnostic perspective that allowed the possibility of liberation and qualification to office through illumination alone, gradual or sudden, without the necessity of ritual. Moreover, the cause of bondage was defined simply as ignorance and therefore the state of liberation brought about by its removal could be seen as a goal that could be achieved before death. Of course, liberation through insight alone and recognition as a Guru without passing through visible ceremonies but by an internal and therefore unverifiable "consecration by the goddesses of one's own mind and senses", were seen as exceptional. But the possibility was there for charismatic individuals to enter and innovate in a way and to a degree that was hardly conceivable within the more institutionalized Siddhānta. Similarly, Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha is more restrictive than the Śāktas in his assessment of the criteria of selection for initiation, trenchantly opposing the lax theory of inferable grace that enabled the Śāktas to justify post-mortem initiations performed at the request of the deceased's relatives, the fervour of such requests, or simply the Guru's own desire to assist the dead being taken as valid signs that Śiva wished the ritual to

be performed.[51] This opposition between Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha and the Śāktas prompts the observation that while the Śaivism of the Śāktas was in general more esoteric and less public than that of the Siddhānta it nonetheless encompassed a spectrum of practice that extended further into the domain of social religion than the Saiddhāntikas felt able to go. The staider Siddhānta stressed in accordance with its metaphysical pluralism (*dvaitavādaḥ*) the primacy and irreducibility of individuals acting for their own benefit, so aligning itself in the wider context of religious values with the autonomism of the brahmanical Mīmāṃsaka ritualists.[52] Just as the Mīmāṃsakas' autonomism prevented them from providing an adequate account of the domain of social religion, where religious acts are performed by individuals as representatives of families or communities who expect to share the merit of those acts, so that the frequent assertions of shared merit in the literature have to be dismissed as not literally true (*arthavādaḥ*), so the Siddhānta, as it chose to draw closer to this polarity of brahmanical thought, found itself disinclined to justify those areas of established Śaiva practice in which individualism was blurred. The left, therefore, was enabled to outflank the Siddhānta on both sides by offering itself to Śaivas not merely as a higher, more esoteric kind of practice but also as better equipped to justify the more mundane faiths of the religion.[53]

The commentary on the Piṅgalāmata

Of the scriptures on which these Kashmirian Saiddhāntikas wrote or based Paddhatis, the *Rauravasūtrasaṃgraha*, the *Svāyambhuvasūtrasaṃgraha*, the *Mataṅgapārameśvara*, the *Kiraṇa*, the *Kālottara*, the *Mṛgendra*, and the *Mayasaṃgraha* are all texts of the Saiddhāntika canon, as we would expect. But the remaining scripture, the Pratiṣṭhātantra *Piṅgalāmata*, is not. For that work, of which several Nepalese manuscripts survive, connects itself and is indeed connected with the Śākta-inclined Yāmala tradition of the *Brahmayāmala* (*Picumata*).[54] That a commentary on such a text should be among the works

[51] On post-mortem initiation (*mṛtoddhāraḥ*) in Kashmir see Sanderson 2005b, pp. 264–267.

[52] On the Mīmāṃsakas' autonomism see Sanderson 1985, pp. 193–196.

[53] On the opposition between the two theories of liberation, through ritual and knowledge, in the Saiddhāntika and Śākta views, see Sanderson 1995, pp. 38–47, and on the opposed metaphysical doctrines that underly these theories see Sanderson 1992, pp. 282–291.

[54] *Piṅgalāmata*, f. 2v4: *asya tantrasya kā saṃjñā. piṅgalāmatasaṃjñā pratiṣṭhākalpaṃ jayadrathādhikāraṃ brahmayāmalasyāntaḥpātīti ca* …(f. 2v6:) *sa ca dvividhaḥ* (corr. : *dvividhaṃ* Cod.)

of these Saiddhāntikas may surprise. However, the procedures it teaches are for the most part exactly those that are the subject of Saiddhāntika texts of this kind as described above. It teaches non-Saiddhāntika ritual procedures and details of iconography specific to the Vāma, Yāmala, and Trika traditions, but only in addition to these.[55] As such it is not only a source relevant to Saiddhāntikas—and indeed it is much cited by them—[56] but also a valuable indication that the sep-

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kāmarūpy oḍayānī ca. ayaṃ ca kāmarūpī …(f. 3r3–5:) *idānīṃ brahmayāmalasyāntaḥpātīty āśaṅkā "daurvāsyaṃ paicikaṃ caiva sārasvatamataṃ tathā | jayadrathaṃ ca phetkāraṃ pañcamam parikīrtitam | raktādyaṃ lampaṭādyaṃ ca saptadhā brahmayāmalam" eteṣāṃ saptavidhabrahmayāmalānāṃ madhye kim iti. jayadratham etat* 'What is the name of this Tantra? The name is *Piṅgalāmata*. [Also known as the] *Jayadrathādhikāra* it is a text on the rituals of installation and is part of the *Brahmayāmala* [group]. …It is twofold: that of Kāmarūpa and that of Uḍḍiyāna. This is that of Kāmarūpa. …Now it will be asked which this is of the seven *Brahmayāmala* texts taught in the passage "The *Brahmayāmala* is sevenfold: the *Durvāsomata*, the *Pecikāmata*, the *Sarasvatīmata*, the *Jayadratha*, the *Phetkāramata* fifth, the *Raktāmata*, and the *Lampaṭāmata*". It is the *Jayadratha*.' Cf. *Jayadrathayāmala*, *Ṣaṭka* 1, f. 329r1–3 (40.163–165), on the Mata divisions of the *Brahmayāmala/Picumata*: *tad ekaṃ saptadhā bhinnaṃ brahmākhyaṃ śrāvakecchayā | raktādyaṃ pecikādyaṃ ca śrgālīmatam eva ca | śāmbaraṃ nīlakeśākhyaṃ bhāruṇḍākhyaṃ ca piṅgalam | śambaraṃ tu dvidhā bhinnaṃ bhedenotphullakena tu | evam etāni cāṣṭau ca matāni kathitāni tu | vistīrṇāni kuraṅgākṣi tantre 'smin brahmayāmale* 'This one *Brahma[yāmala]* has divided into seven to meet the wishes of those to whom it was to be taught: *Raktāmata*, *Pecikāmata*, *Śṛgālīmata/Pherāmata*, *Śambarāmata*, *Nīlakeśīmata*, *Bhāruṇḍāmata/Bhāruḍīmata*, and *Piṅgalāmata*, together with the *Utphullakamata* (for the *Śambarāmata* has this as one of its two divisions). Thus, O doe-eyed one, I have told you the eight extensive Mata texts that are within this Tantra *Brahmayāmala*'.

[55]The text does not refer to these traditions by name, but it gives the colours of their principal deities in the *Citrādhikāra*, its section on painted images (Parā, Parāparā, and Aparā [Trika]; Tumburu, Jayā, Vijayā, Ajitā, and Aparājitā [Vāma]; Bhairava, Raktā, Karālā, Caṇḍākṣī, and Mahochuṣmā [Yāmala]), f. 28r5–v6: (*Citrādhikāra*, v. 18:) *parā raktā jayā caiva svadūtyā saha sundari | sarve śuklāḥ samākhyātā ye cānye śubhasaṃbhavāḥ* …(20:) *raktavarṇāḥ smṛtā hy ete karālā vijayā tathā | aparā saha dūtyā ca ye cānye tatparicchadāḥ* …(22c–23b:) *ajitā caiva caṇḍākṣī dūtyā saha varānane | sarve pītāḥ samākhyātāḥ svaparigrahasaṃyutāḥ* …(24:) *parāparā mahocchuṣmā ajitā kiṃkarīyutā | kṛṣṇavarṇāḥ smṛtā hy etā yāś cānyās tatsamudbhavāḥ* …(33–36:) *raktādyāḥ patragā likhya bhairavaṃ karṇikopari | bhairavaṃ ca dhuraṃ kṛtvā paṅktisthās tās tu devatāḥ | catuṣkaṃ ca tathā ṣaṣṭhaṃ dvādaśātmaṃ ca ṣoḍaśam | caturviṃśaṃ likhed devaṃ vidhinānena suvrate | jayādyāś cakragās tadvat paṅktisthā vā likhet kramāt | nāvārūḍhāś ca vā likhyās tumburuḥ karṇadhārakaḥ | parādyāḥ śūlahastāś ca triśirās tu tripadmake | svaśāstroktāthavā likhya cakrasaṃsthātha paṅktigāḥ*.

[56]E.g., Vidyākaṇṭha, *Bhāvacūḍāmaṇi* ff. 4v, 8v, 21r, 24r, 25r, 25v, 35v, 37v, 40r, 43r, 43v, 44v, 50v, 53r, 53v, 55r, 57v, 61r, 61v, 62v, and 66r; *Somaśambhupaddhati*, pt. 4, p. 71, v. 6cd; p. 123, v. 143cd; Jñānaśiva, *Jñānaratnāvalī*, pp. 481, 485, 548, 563, and 567; *Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati*, *Kriyāpāda*, p. 369; Vaktraśambhu, *Mṛgendrapaddhatiṭīkā*, p. 238; Bhaṭṭa Śivottama, *Varuṇapaddhativṛtti*, p. 41.

aration and opposition between the Saiddhāntika and non-Saiddhāntika forms of Śaivism is less clear-cut than appears from reading the commentaries on the general Tantras. For those are restricted in their scope to one or other of the traditions, paying little or no attention to the others. Furthermore, the Kashmirian exegetes of the Saiddhāntika and Śākta-inclined Tantras developed mutually opposed metaphysical views, encouraging us to assume that this dichotomy on the level of learned theory must reflect an equally strict separation on the level of ritual practice among Śaiva officiants. While there may have been officiants limited to purely Saiddhāntika procedures there were certainly others who were not, as the existence of the *Piṅgalāmata* indicates.[57]

The Kālīkula

Kashmirians of the Śākta Śaiva division have given us exegesis in two traditions, the Kālīkula and the Trika, and, from the standpoint of those, on the cult of Tripurasundarī, and on two non-Saiddhāntika scriptures for the propitation of Bhairava and his consort that were the primary basis of the Kashmirian Śaiva Paddhatis, thus inserting their exegesis into the less esoteric domain of mainstream observance.

The Kālīkula texts teach the means of propitiating numerous forms of the goddess Kālī/Kālasaṃkarṣaṇī.[58] Within this literature we find a great mass of Kalpas that conform in their ritual structure to the standard type of the Mantramārga, that is to say, with a single goddess to be propitiated at the centre of a single retinue of secondary powers or emanations, but also a tradition of a different kind, known as the Krama or Great Teaching (Mahānaya, Mahārtha,

[57] In future work I hope to explore further the theme of the co-functionality of these Śaiva systems that we have too readily seen as though they were those of distinct schools or sects. Some evidence of this has already been presented. I have shown the input of the ritual system of the Dakṣiṇa *Svacchanda* into the early Saiddhāntika ritual manuals (Sanderson 2004, pp. 358–361 and footnote 27), the diversity of ritual systems, Saiddhāntika and non-Saiddhāntika, in the practice of the specialized Śaiva officiants whose duties are the subject of the *Netra* (Sanderson 2005b, pp. 245, 252–254), and the co-existence of Saiddhāntika, Dakṣiṇa, and Śākta ritual in the repertoire of the Śaiva officiant taught in the *Uttarabhāga* of the *Liṅgapurāṇa* (*ibid.*, pp. 235–236). For a summary classification of the Mantramārga into nine ritual systems see *ibid.*, p. 229, footnote 1.

[58] The post-scriptural Kashmirian literature regularly gives the name of this goddess as Kālasaṃkarṣiṇī, but the manuscripts of our scriptural sources always give it as Kālasaṃkarṣaṇī in keeping with common Aiśa usage for the feminine of *kṛt* derivatives in *-ana-*.

Mahāmnāya),[59] in which Kālī is worshipped as the central deity in a sequence of deity circles seen as embodying successive phases of her operation in the cosmic process conceived as those of a dynamic consciousness to be contemplated through the sequence of worship as the worshipper's own cyclical flow of awareness in the perception of objects.

Of the scriptures of the Kālīkula the following were known to the Kashmirians: the *Jayadrathayāmala*, the *Kālīkulapañcaśataka*, the *Kālīkulakramasadbhāva*, and the *[Devī-]sārdhaśatikā*. These, with the exception of the *[Devī-]sārdhaśataka* and the latter part of the *Kālīkulakramasadbhāva*, have survived in Nepalese manuscripts. Of the *Sārdhaśataka* only four verses have come down to us, giving the names of the thirteen Kālīs that form the circle of the Nameless (*anākhyacakram*), in which the Krama's worship culminates in the system of the *Kālīkulapañcaśataka*.[60]

In addition to these we have Nepalese manuscripts of other related Kālīkula scriptures: the *Devīdvyardhaśatikā*, a version of much of which has also been transmitted in the *Siddhakhaṇḍa* of the *Manthānabhairava*,[61] the composite *Yonigahvara*, which shares much material with the *Devīdvyardhaśatikā* and

[59]For the variety of terms used to denote this system see, e.g., (1) *Kālīkulakramasadbhāva*, f. 3v8 (3.4); Arṇasiṃha, *Mahānayaprakāśa*, f. 120v4–5 (v. 166): ***kramaśāsanam***; (2) *Kālīkulakramasadbhāva*, f. 6v6 (3.1): ***kramārthaḥ***; (3) *Tantrālokaviveka*, vol. 3, p. 189, l. 1: ***kramadarśanam***; (4) *Tantrālokaviveka*, vol. 3, p. 157, l. 7: ***kramanayaḥ***; (5) Trivandrum, *Mahānayaprakāśa* 1.2cd, 9.52a, *Spandanirṇaya*, p. 9, l. 3, p. 78, l. 16: ***mahārthaḥ***; (6) Arṇasiṃha, *Mahānayaprakāśa*, f. 120r2 (v. 159); *Tantrālokaviveka*, vol. 3, p. 193, l. 16: ***mahānayaḥ***; (7) Arṇasiṃha, *Mahānayaprakāśa*, f. 103v5 (v. 4), f. 121r1 (v. 167), commentary on Śitikaṇṭha's *Mahānayaprakāśa*, p. 141, ll. 12–13; Kṣemarāja, *Śivasūtravimarśinī*, p. 29, l. 7: ***mahāmnāyaḥ***; (8) Arṇasiṃha, *Mahānayaprakāśa*, f. 120r4–5 (v. 161), *Yonigahvara*, v. 492: ***mahāśāsanam***; (9) qu. in *Tantrālokaviveka*, vol. 3, p. 193, l. 16: ***kālīnayaḥ***; (10) *Kālikākulapañcaśataka*, f. 8r1 (2.52): ***kālikākramaḥ***; (11) Arṇasiṃha, *Mahānayaprakāśa*, f. 119v5 (v. 157), *Mahānayaprakāśa* (Triv.) 3.109: ***devatānayaḥ***; (12) qu. in *Tantrālokaviveka*, vol. 3, p. 196, l. 11, *Vijñānabhairavavivṛti*, p. 110, l. 15: ***devīnayaḥ***; (13) qu. in *Tantrālokaviveka*, vol. 3, p. 195, l. 14: ***atinayaḥ***, though the commentator on Śitikaṇṭha's *Mahānayaprakāśa* refers to the *atinayaḥ* as that of which the Krama teaching is the essence: *asmiṃś cātinayasārasarvasve kramārthe* (p. 126, ll. 11–12; cf. p. 141, ll. 12–13); and (14) Kṣemarāja, *Śivasūtravimarśinī*, p. 21, l. 5: ***rahasyāmnāyaḥ***.

[60]The verses have been quoted by Jayaratha in *Tantrālokaviveka*, vol. 3, p. 161, ll. 6–13. In l. 9 emend *svakālī* to *sukālī*. The passage is identical except for minor differences with *Devīdvyardhaśatikā*, ff. 14v7–15r5 (vv. 175c–179).

[61]*Manthānabhairava*, *Siddhakhaṇḍa*, ff. 179v1–186v3. This forms a chapter of 115 verses with the title *śrī-asitāvidyādhikāravarṇanakramodayaḥ*. In the *Devīdvyardhaśatikā* Bhairava asks the questions and the Goddess answers them. But here the roles have been reversed in line with the rest of the *Manthānabhairava*.

some with the *Kālīkulakramasadbhāva*, and the **Uttaragharāmnāya* that is a section of the *Ciñciṇīmatasārasamuccaya*[62] and includes two short texts, the *Kālikākramaślokadvādaśikā* and the *Kālikākramapañcāśikā*, which it describes as having been taught by the Siddha Niṣkriyānanda, also called Krodharāja, to the Siddha Vidyānanda, described as a denizen of the cremation-ground (*smaśānavāsī*).[63]

Several verses of a *Kālikākrama* have been quoted by Kṣemarāja. This should perhaps be added to the list of Kālīkula scriptural texts known to the Kashmirians, though the verses lack the vocatives indicative of dialogue and any of the Aiśa deviations from Paninian norms typical of such texts.[64]

The exegesis of the Jayadrathayāmala/Tantrarāja

The *Jayadrathayāmala*, comprising four parts, each of some six thousand stanzas (*Ṣaṭka*), is far larger in extent than the rest of the surviving literature of the Kālīkula combined, and at least the last three parts appear to have been redacted in Kashmir. The first part is earlier than the others, presents itelf as a complete work, and gives us no strong reason that I can see for assuming that it too is Kashmirian in origin.[65] Jayaratha quotes frequently from the first, third, and fourth quarters in his commentary on the *Tantrāloka*, without attribution[66] or

[62] *Ciñciṇīmatasārasamuccaya* ff. 20r8–24v3 (7.155–245). 7.155ab: *punar anyaṃ pravaksyāmi āmnāyagharam uttaram*.

[63] *Ciñciṇīmatasārasamuccaya*, f. 20v6–7 (7.164c–165a): *labhyate sma mahājñānaṃ vidyārājena suvrate | krodharājena vikhyātaṃ*; f. 21v3–4 (7.182–183): *śilācitir munivaras tasya putras tapodhanaḥ | yogābhyāsarato devi siddhaḥ śābararūpadhṛk | vidyānandeti vikhyāto mahāvīravaraḥ priye | śmaśānavāsī nityastho niśāṭanarataḥ param*; f. 21v7–8 (7.187c–188b): *tasya tuṣṭo munivaro niṣkriyānanda uttamaḥ | amoghavāṇyā tasyaiva saṃkrāntaṃ kālikākramam*; f. 24r3–4 (7.241): *śrīniṣkriyānandanāthena śābarasyaiva bhūtale | uktā pañcāśikā devī kālikākramam uttamam*.

[64] *Śivasūtravimarśinī*, p. 118, ll. 1–7 (the first verse has also been cited in *Netroddyota*, vol. 2, p. 202, ll. 2–3, and the first two verses in *Paramārthasāravivṛti*, p. 90, ll. 1–4); *Tantrālokaviveka*, vol. 2, p. 56, ll. 3–6; vol. 3, p. 390, ll. 9–12; p. 119, ll. 8–9; pp. 133, l. 12–134, l. 2; p. 133, ll. 9–10; and p. 139, ll. 9–10.

[65] On the independence of the first *Ṣaṭka* see Sanderson 2002, p. 2. For evidence of the Kashmirian origin of the rest of the text see Sanderson 2005b, pp. 278–283.

[66] *Ṣaṭka* 3, ff. 76v8–77r2 at *Tantrālokaviveka*, vol. 11, *Āhnika* 29, p. 92, ll. 15–19; f. 130r7–v1 *ibid.*, p. 66, ll. 15–16. *Ṣaṭka* 4: f. 121r2–6 *ibid.*, vol. 8, p. 186, ll. 14–5 and pp. 186, l. 17–187, l. 2; f. 123r7 *ibid.*, p. 63, l. 20; f. 199v2–3 *ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 103, ll. 16–17; f. 200v6–7 *ibid.*, p. 164, ll. 12–13; f. 200v7 *ibid.*, p. 145, l. 5; f. 206r4–5 *ibid.*, vol. 11, *Āhnika* 29, p. 71, ll. 5–6; f. 235v4 *ibid.*, p. 9, ll. 2–3; ff. 235v7–236r1 *ibid.*, p. 10, ll. 14–17.

under the name *Tantrarājabhaṭṭāraka*;[67] and it is probable that this is the *Rājatantra* that he says that the Guru Śṛṅgāra, his teacher's teacher (*paramaguruḥ*) and son of Rājānaka Dāśī, taught to his father, the minister Śṛṅgāraratha.[68]

The importance of this text in Kashmir is evident in the fact that a number of the forms of Kālī whose Kalpas it teaches have found their way beyond the esoteric context of this literature into the Paddhatis used by Kashmirian Śaiva officiants until recent times for the fire-sacrifice that accompanied their major ceremonies, being included in the section of that sacrifice reserved for the female deities (*devīnām ājyahomaḥ*). These Kālīs are Bhuvanamālinī, Pāpāntakāriṇī, Vidyāvidyeśvarī, Vāgbhaveśvarī, Vāgīśī, Siddhalakṣmī, Mantramātṛkā, Mantraḍāmarikā, Saptakoṭīśvarī, Bhāgyādhirohiṇī, and Nityākālī.[69] In the Paddhatis the sections devoted to each of these goddesses include passages from the Kalpas themselves to be recited for the goddesses' gratification (as *tarpaṇaślokāḥ*) and

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[67] *Ṣaṭka* 1: f. 29r8–9 at *Tantrālokaviveka*, vol. 5, p. 17, ll. 15–18; f. 29v1–2 *ibid.*, p. 18, ll. 1–4; f. 29v2–3 *ibid.*, ll. 6–7; 30v3–5 *ibid.*, ll. 9–11; f. 41r8–9 *ibid.*, p. 63, ll. 15–16; f. 41v2–4 *ibid.*, pp. 63, l. 18–64, l. 4. *Ṣaṭka* 3: f. 148r6–7 *ibid.*, p. 17, ll. 8–11; f. 148v1 *ibid.*, l. 12; f. 148v1 *ibid.*, l. 4; f. 148v1 *ibid.*, p. 18, l. 16; f. 153v1–2 *ibid.*, vol. 10, p. 211, ll. 14–18. *Ṣaṭka* 4: f. 59r3–5 *ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 189, ll. 19–16; f. 118v2 *ibid.*, vol. 11, *Āhnika* 29, p. 46, ll. 8–9; f. 120r2–3 *ibid.*, p. 41, ll. 9–10; f. 120r3 *ibid.*, l. 12; f. 120v6–7 *ibid.*, ll. 14–15; f. 124r2 *ibid.*, p. 43, l. 12; f. 124r3–4 *ibid.*, p. 44, ll. 4–7; f. 124r5–6 *ibid.*, p. 49, ll. 22–23; f. 124v6 *ibid.*, l. 15; f. 124v6 *ibid.*, l. 15; f. 125r1 *ibid.*, l. 17; f. 125r7–v1 *ibid.*, p. 51, ll. 3–4; f. 125v1–3 *ibid.*, p. 51, ll. 16–19; f. 125v3–4 *ibid.*, p. 53, ll. 15–18; f. 125v7–126r1 *ibid.*, p. 54, ll. 2–5; f. 126v5–6, p. 45, ll. 2–4; 127v1 *ibid.*, p. 52, l. 11; f. 127v2 *ibid.*, l. 13; f. 127v5–6 *ibid.*, ll. 15–18; f. 128r7 *ibid.*, p. 46, ll. 4–5; f. 130v2–3 *ibid.*, pp. 46, 18–19, l. 2; f. 130v5–6 *ibid.*, p. 48, ll. 18–12; f. 204v5–205r5 *ibid.*, p. 68, l. 14–69, l. 19.

[68] *Tantrālokaviveka*, concluding verse 36: *apy asya rājatantre cintayato rājatantram āsta guruḥ | dāśīrājānakajanmā śrīśṛṅgāro mamāpi paramaguruḥ* 'And Śṛṅgāra, son of Rājānaka Dāśī, who was also my Guru's Guru (*paramaguruḥ*), was the Guru in the *Rājatantra* of this [my father when he was] concerned with the king's governance'. The alternative is to take this to mean that Śṛṅgāra taught him the science of governance while he was concerned therewith. But that would be very flat and out of context, especially since Jayaratha declares him his own *paramaguruḥ*. It is more probable that Jayaratha has substituted *Rājatantra* 'the King Tantra' for the usual title *Tantrarāja* 'the King of Tantras' for the sake of a play on words.

[69] For the full sequence of goddesses that receive oblations in the Kashmirian Śaiva fire-sacrifice see SANDERSON 2002, pp. 22–23, footnote 19. They may be summarized as comprising Durgā forms, the local goddesses (Śārikā, Śāradā, Rājñī, and Jvālāmukhī), Tripurasundarī forms, these Kālīs of the Kālīkula, Caṇḍā Kāpālinī (from the *Picumata*), the Trika's Mālinī (Pūrvāmnāyeśvarī), Kubjikā (Paścimāmnāyeśvarī), and Lakṣmī forms whose origin is as yet unknown to me. The Paris manuscript of the *Agnikāryapaddhati* has added several goddesses taken from the later East Indian Śākta tradition, such as Tārā/Ekajaṭā (f. 80r5–v2) and Dakṣiṇākālī (f. 81r2–v3).

give the Mantras to be used, both the primary (*mūlamantraḥ*) and the six ancillaries (*ṣaḍ aṅgāni*), while making the oblations into the fire. This required accurate interpretation of the text of the *Jayadrathayāmala*, since that gives the Mantras in a coded form, whereas here they are set out undisguised. Where the source has no suitable visualization text (*dhyānam*) for a goddess, the Paddhatis make good the lack, since the ritual format requires such verses to be recited before the deity is summoned for worship in the fire and in some cases also while making the final oblation (*pūrṇāhutiḥ*).[70]

No comprehensive commentary on this text has survived in Kashmir or elsewhere. But we do have some explicit exegesis, and all of it is demonstrably or probably Kashmirian. We have the *Bhuvanamālinīkalpaviṣamapadavivṛti* of Śrīvatsa, a commentary on the chapter of the fourth *Ṣaṭka* that gives the Kalpa for the worship of Bhuvanamālinī. The worship of this goddess, also known as Dīkṣādevī, served among the Śaiva officiants of Kashmir as a brief substitute for the elaborate regular form of Śaiva initiation (*dīkṣā*), to be used in times of

[70](1) Bhuvanamālinī (Dīkṣādevī): *Jayadrathayāmala* (JY), *Ṣaṭka* 4, ff. 162r5–165r6 (*bhuvanamālinīvidhipaṭalaḥ*) → *Agnikāryapaddhati* (AKP) Paris (P), f. 64r7–v1; Göttingen MS (G), ff. 28v7–29r2 (contains JY 4, f. 162v4–162v5, vv. 12–14b); *Annapūrapūjāpaddhati*, f. 30v1–9 (contains JY 4, f. 164v5–6, vv. 56c–59b); *Kalādīkṣāpaddhati* (KDP) A, ff. 225v14–226v6 (contains the same). (2) Pāpāntakāriṇī: JY 4, ff. 142r4–143r1 (*pāpāntakīvidhipaṭalaḥ*) → AKP P, f. 64v1–11; AKP G, f. 29r2–8 (contains JY 4, f. 142v3–4); KDP A, ff. 226v15–227r12 (contains JY 4, f. 142v3–4, 4–5, vv. 11, 13–14b). (3) Vidyāvidyeśvarī: JY 2, ff. 106v5–126v6 (*vidyāvidyeśvarīcakravidhipaṭalaḥ*) → AKP P, f. 71r4–18; KDP B, f. 2v3; (4) Vāgbhaveśvarī: JY 3, ff. 118r4–121r2 (*vāgbhaveśīvidhipaṭalaḥ*) → AKP G, f. 33v10–12; KDP B, f. 2v3. (5) Vāgīśī: JY 4, ff. 158r5–159v3 (*vāgīśīkālīvidhipaṭalaḥ*) → AKP P, f. 71r5–6; AKP G, f. 33v11–12; KDP A, ff. 3v11–5r11 (*pustakavāgīśvarīpūjāvidhiḥ*); KDP B, f. 2r4–v19 (same; contains JY 4, f. 209r3–4, r5–v2, *pustakādhikārapaṭalaḥ*, vv. 20c–21, 23–29). (6) Siddhalakṣmī: JY 2, ff. 129r–131v6 → AKP P, ff. 73r5–74r9; AKP G ff. 35r9–36r5; KDP A, ff. 222v8–223v15; and AKP G, f. 37r4–38r6 (*tarpaṇaślokāḥ*, = JY 2, f. 129r2–5 [vv. 2–5]; f. 130r2–4 [vv. 37–42b], and f. 130r–v7 [vv. 43–53b, 64–65b]). (7) Mantramātṛkā: JY 3, ff. 69r3–72r4 (*pratyaṅgirāvidhipaṭalaḥ* [9]) → AKP P, f. 74r9–v4; AKP G, f. 36r5–13 (contains JY 3, f. 69r6–7, v. 6 [as *tarpaṇaślokaḥ*], and f. 70v4–5 [as visualization text]); and AKP G, f. 38r7– (*tarpaṇaślokāḥ*, = JY 3, f. 69r6–7, v. 6). (8) Mantraḍāmarikā: JY 3, ff. 72r4–75v5 (*pratyaṅgirāvidhipaṭalaḥ* [10]) → AKP P, f. 74v4–18; AKP G, f. 36r14–v8. (9) Saptakoṭīśvarī : JY 4, ff. 178v5–179v4 (last section of the *kuhakādividhipaṭalaḥ*) → AKP P, f. 75r1–15; AKP G, f. 36v8–37r4. (10) Bhāgyādhirohiṇī (Bhāgyakālī): JY 4, ff. 136v5–137v7 (*mahābhāgyodayavidhipaṭalaḥ*) → AKP P ff. 79v5–80r4; AKP G f. 38v11–16 (contains JY 4, f. 137r4, v. 11 [as *tarpaṇaślokaḥ*], and f. 137r6–v1, vv. 15–18 [as visualization text]). (11) Nityākālī: JY 4, ff. 150r7–151v1 (*nityākālīvidhipaṭalaḥ*) → AKP G f. 40r7–13 (contains JY 4, f. 151r7, v. 12c–13 [as visualization text]).

distress:[71]

> It may happen that he is unable to perform [the regular] initiation. This may occur if such things as the [necessary] offerings are lacking and if a circumstance such as a national disaster should arise. In that case he should adopt the following procedure. First he should bring fire in the manner taught for the *ṣaḍadhvadīkṣā*. Then, after [summoning and presenting the guest offerings to] this Dīkṣādevī and gratifying her [in the fire] with a thousand oblations, using her primary Mantra [HŪṂ BHUVANAMĀLINI HRĪṂ], [he should make oblations with] the Mantra for raising up [the soul], namely "OṂ HŪṂ HĀṂ HĪṂ HŪṂ HAIṂ HAUṂ HAḤ HŪṂ I perform the raising up of N". When this has been completed, he should first give the initiand the Mantra of Bhuvanamālinī. The Gurus say that the Mantras of Aghorabhaṭṭāraka [= Sakalasvacchanda], Niṣkalasvacchanda], and [Aghoreśvarī] should be bestowed on the initiand after that.[72]

Concerning its date we can say only that it was written after Utpaladeva (*fl. c.* 925–975), since it is imbued with the doctrines of the *Īśvarapratyabhijñākārikā* and quotes one of that author's Śaiva hymns.[73] Nothing reveals how soon after his time he wrote, but he is likely to have done so several generations later, since its colophon reports that its author was a descendant in the "great lineage of the learned author Bhaṭṭa Divākaravatsa", who was active around the middle of the tenth century.[74]

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[71] *Kalādīkṣāvidhi* A, f. 226r14–226v6: *yasya dravyādyabhāve sati deśopaplavādau ca kadācit sati dīkṣākṛtau śaktir nāsti tasyātrāyaṃ prayogaḥ. prathamaṃ ṣaḍadhvadīkṣoktakrameṇāgnim ānīya *śrīdīkṣādevīm* (corr. : *śrīdekṣādevīṃ* Cod.) *etāṃ svamūlamantreṇāsyā āhutisahasreṇa devīm etāṃ saṃtarpya paścāt* OṂ HŪṂ HĀṂ HĪṂ HŪṂ HAIṂ HAUṂ HAḤ HŪṂ AMUKASYODDHARAṆAṂ KAROMI SVĀHĀ *ity uddharaṇamantraḥ. *evaṃ* (corr. : *eve* Cod.) *kṛte ādau bhuvanamālinīmantraḥ śiṣyāya deyaḥ. tadanantaram aghorabhaṭṭārakaśrīniṣkalādayo mantrāḥ śiṣyasya pratipādyā iti guravaḥ*.

[72] These other Mantras are specified because they are three principal Mantras of the *Svacchanda*, the source that is the basis of the standard initiation procedure.

[73] *Bhuvanamālinīkalpaviṣamapadavivṛti*, f. 13r2–4: *sadā sṛṣṭivinodāya sadā sthitisukhāsine | sadā tribhuvanāhāratṛptāya svāmine nama* (= *Śivastotrāvalī* 20.9) *iti vidvadvarastutirūpayā yuktyā* ....

[74] *Bhuvanamālinīkalpaviṣamapadavivṛti*, f. 17r1–3 (colophon): *iti śrībhuvanamālinīkalpe viṣamapadavivṛtiḥ saṃpūrṇā. kṛtiḥ śrīmadbhaṭṭaśāstrakaradivākaravatsaprasṛtamahākulaprasūtadvijavarapaṇḍitaśrīvastasyeti śivam. bhadraṃ paśyema pracarema bhadram*. No manuscript of a work by Bhaṭṭa Divākaravatsa has come down to us. But verses from two works of his are preserved in quotations in other works: a philosophico-devotional hymn with the title *Kakṣyāstotra*, of which we have a number of verses (quoted in Bhāgavatotpala's *Spandapradīpikā*, pp. 90, 103; and *Pratyabhijñāhṛdaya* on *Sūtra* 18)—this reveals him to have been a Pāñcarātrika

There is also an anonymous *Jayadrathayāmalaprastāramantrasaṃgraha* preserved in Nepalese manuscripts. Covering the whole text, it comments on and decodes the passages that set out the Mantras (*mantroddhāraḥ*) of its many Kalpas, and, since in some parts the *Jayadrathayāmala* describes diagrams (*prastāraḥ*) in which the letters of the syllabary are arranged in patterns so that any can be identified cryptically by referring to it as that which is above or below another or between two others, it also provides drawings of these.[75]

The manuscripts of this useful text preface it with the *Tantrarājatantrāvatārastotra*, an elegant hymn by an Ācārya Viśvāvarta,[76] which summarizes the first *Ṣaṭka*'s account of its place in the Śaiva canon and its differentiation through the process of transmission (*avatāraḥ*) from its transcendental source to mankind, and hymns what it takes to be the principal Kālīs of its four parts: Kālasaṃkarṣaṇī in the first *Ṣaṭka*, Siddhalakṣmī in the second, Sāraśakti manifest as the three 1000-syllable Vidyās (Trailokyaḍāmarā, Matacakreśvarī/Mateśvarī, and Ghoraghoratarā) in the third, and, in the fourth, Sid-

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influenced by Kashmirian Śaiva non-dualism—and a *Vivekāñjana*, the opening and closing Pādas of a verse or verses of which have been quoted by Abhinavagupta in *Īśvarapratyabhijñāvimarśinī*, vol. 1, p. 10. The approximate limits of his date are established by his knowledge of Kallaṭa (*c.* 875+), the influence of whose *Spandakārikā* (1.1ab: *yasyonmeṣanimeṣābhyāṃ jagataḥ pralayodayau*) is evident in the verse of the *Kakṣyāstotra* quoted in *Spandapradīpikā*, p. 90 (*tvadāśayonmeṣanimeṣamātramayau jagatsargalayāv itīdṛk*), and by his works having been cited by Abhinavagupta (dated works 990+) and Bhāgavatotpala. That he was a Pāñcarātrika, like Bhāgavatotpala, is apparent from the verse quoted in the latter's *Spandapradīpikā*, p. 103, which interprets the Pāñcarātrika *ṣāḍguṇyam* and the nature of *avidyā*. Śrīvatsa's short work contains nothing that necessitates the conclusion that its author is identical with the Śrīvatsa who composed the *Cidgaganacandrikā*.

[75] The text as transmitted has no introductory or concluding verses. It begins (A, f. 3v3; B, f. 3v7 [for what precedes see footnote 76]): *oṃ svasti* | *oṃ namaḥ śivādibhyo gurubhyaḥ* | *śrījayadrathayāmalāc caturviṃśatisāhasrāt ṣaṭka*catuṣṭayāt* (conj. : *catuṣṭayā* AB) **prastāramantrasaṃgrahaṃ* (em. : *prastāraṃ mantrasaṃgrahaṃ* AB) *likhyate*. The title I have proposed is based on this alone. This is the work given the title *Jayadrathayāmalamantroddhāraṭippaṇī* in Sanderson 1990, p. 84. That name was taken from the catalogue card accompanying the NGMPP microfilm of manuscript B. It is not found in the text itself, but is probably based on the colophons at the end of the treatment of each *Ṣaṭka*, which refer to what precedes each as the *mantroddhāraṭippakam* on that *Ṣaṭka*. The meaning of *prastāramantrasaṃgrahaḥ* is 'A Digest of the Code-diagrams and Mantras' and of *mantroddhāraṭippaṇī* 'An Annotation of [the Passages Consisting of] the Extraction of Mantras'.

[76] The colophon of Viśvāvarta's hymn (A, f. 3r7–v1: *śrītantrarājatantrāvatārastotraṃ kṛtiḥ śrīmadācāryaviśvāvartapādānām*) is followed by unattributed verses that encode the nine-syllable Vidyā of Kālasaṃkarṣaṇī (= *Devīdvyardhaśatikā*, f. 8v2–4 [vv. 88–91b]). The *Jayadrathayāmalaprastāramantrasaṃgraha* then begins as stated in footnote 75.

dhayogeśvarī and the Krama's culminating circle (*śāktaṃ cakram*) of the thirteen Kālīs, twelve surrounding and mirroring their source.[77]

[77] *Tantrarājatantrāvatārastotra* A, f. 2v7–3r7; B, f. 3r4–v6 (vv. 21–27 [last verse]): *bibharti bhedāṃś caturo 'vatārapravṛttikālīkramasaṃhṛtīnām | catuṣṭayenākhilatuṣṭaye yaḥ śrītantrarājaṃ tam ahaṃ prapadye | 22 *śrīmadbhairavato 'dhigamya* (em. : *bhairavatādhigamya* AB) *vidhivad devī *sarasvaty alaṃ* (em. : *saratyaṃla* AB) *yāṃ tārkṣyāya jagāda so 'pi bhagavacchukrāya yām *abhyadhāt* (B : *abhyadhān* A) | *dattā tena mayāya martyahitakṛt prākskandham āśritya yā vidyā saptadaśākṣarā jayati sā* ***śrīkālasaṃkarṣaṇī*** | 23 *yaḥ pārvatīpatihimādrisutādaśāsyasindhukṣitīśvaravarakramato 'vatīrṇaḥ* | **skandhaṃ* (corr. : *skaṃdha* A) *dvitīyam avalambya rahasyabhedo vidyāprapañcanicitaḥ sa jayaty anantaḥ* | 24 *jayati sakalasaṃpadvāmanāmānusāriprakaṭitaśubhasiddhiḥ sadguruvyaktaśuddhiḥ* | *vividhaviditavidyāratnakośāgamāgryaprasṛtasitapatākāvibhramā* ****siddhalakṣmīḥ*** (A : *siddhilakṣmīḥ* B) | 25 *ugraṃ śāntaṃ tadubhayam iti tryātmakaṃ yatsvarūpaṃ tisro vidyāḥ sthitim upagatās tāḥ sahasrārṇa*mānāḥ* (A : *mānaḥ* B) | *vācyaṃ tāsāṃ mahitamahasāṃ bhāti devītrayaṃ *yat tasy†āḥsoṅgaḥ†* (*yadyasyāḥsoṅgaḥ* A : *yadyasyāḥsyerkuḥ* B) *khalu vijayate kāpi* ***sārākhyaśaktiḥ*** | 26 *ṣaṭcakrādikulasthitiprakaṭanī *ṣaṭkoṇacakrodarād yā ṣaṭkāraṇabhedinī* (A : *ṣaṭkoṇacakro* [...] *bhedinī* B) *samuditā ṣaḍbodha*saṃbodhinī* (B : *saṃbodhanī* A) | *ṣaṇmudrārucirā ṣaḍadhvajananī ṣāḍguṇyapūrṇākramā* | *vande tāṃ samayaprapūraṇaparāṃ* ****śrīsiddhayogeśvarīm*** (A : *śrīsiddhilakṣmīśvarīṃ* B) | 27 *yasyāvāritavīryam †āvivaritaḥ†*sargāntam* (A : *svarggāntam* B) *ā sargato bhogaṃ dātum udātta eva mahimā devīpadaprāptidaḥ* | *dhatte yan mukurāvalivyatikaravyaktaikavaktropamāṃ* ***śāktaṃ cakram*** *apakramaṃ paramayā devyā *tad iddhaṃ numaḥ* (em. : *tad iddhaṃ namaḥ* A : *tadivyaṃmamaḥ* B). The four divisions of v. 21 are the text's four parts of 6000 verses each (*ṣaṭkāni*), assigned here to the four phases of the Krama in the order *pravṛttiḥ* (= *sṛṣṭikramaḥ*), *avatāraḥ* (= *sthitikramaḥ*), *saṃhṛtiḥ* (= *saṃhārakramaḥ*), and *kālīkramaḥ* (= *anākhyakramaḥ*), the order of enunciation in the verse being for the metre. The two divisions (*prākskandhaḥ* and *dvitīyaskandhaḥ*) of vv. 22 and 23 are the first *Ṣaṭka* and the rest respectively, the former, originally a self-contained work on the cult of Kālasaṃkarṣaṇī, and the latter a supplementary collection of Kalpas (procedures for the worship) of numerous ancillary Mantra-goddesses (*vidyāḥ*) of a more esoteric, Kaula character (v. 23: *rahasyabhedo vidyāprapañcanicitaḥ*). The Kalpa of Siddhalakṣmī (v. 24) is at the end of the second *Ṣaṭka* (ff. 129r1–132v3). The Kalpas of the three goddesses described here as the aspects of a single 'Sāraśakti' (v. 25), are in *Ṣaṭka* 3: that of Trailokaḍāmarā is chapters 2–7 (ff. 5v4–69r3), that of Matacakreśvarī/Mateśvarī is chapters 11–14 (ff. 75v5–107v1), and that of Ghoraghoratarā is chapters 17–23 (ff. 121r2–169r8). The Kalpa of Siddhayogeśvarī 'for rectifying defects in one's observance' (v. 26: *samayapūraṇaparā*) is chapter [80] (ff. 215r7–219v6) of the fourth *Ṣaṭka*. The *śāktaṃ cakram* [of the thirteen Kālīs] (v. 27) is taught in chapter [4] of the same (*Kālīkramavidhi*) (ff. 57v2–61v5). Viśvāvarta's comparison of this circle to a single face reflected in [twelve] mirrors is based on vv. 67c–68 of this chapter (f. 60r5–6): *dhyātvā svadhāmni *vitate* (em. : *vitato* Cod. : *vitata* qu. in *Jayadrathayāmalaprastāramantrasaṃgraha* [JYP] MS A) *pūjanīyātha maṇḍale* | *tadvad devyaḥ prapūjyaiva dhyeyāḥ sarvāḥ yathārthavat* | *pratibhedagatā saikā devadevī karaṅkiṇī*. The Maṇḍala here is a circle surrounded by twelve others within a four-doored square (ff. 59v2–3): *saṃlikhya maṇḍalaṃ devi *bhramadvādaśasaṃmitam* (*bhrama* qu. in JYPMS A, f. 57v4 : *mahā* Cod.) | *madhye trayodaśaṃ kāryaṃ rāśivarṇasamanvitam* | *raktena rajasā devi *caturlekhaṃ*

Though these two texts have come down to us, like the *Jayadrathayāmala* itself, only in Nepalese manuscripts, it is probable that they too were composed in Kashmir. In the case of the hymn this is indicated by the author's name. Names ending in -āvarta, -varta, -āvaṭṭa, or -vaṭṭa are a Kashmirian peculiarity, and that beginning with Viśva- is common.[78] That the *-prastāramantrasaṃgraha* too is Kashmirian is suggested not merely by its transmission with the hymn of Viśvāvarta but also by the fact that it quotes the *Spandakārikā* of the Kashmirian Kallaṭa.[79]

To these sources we can add an unattributed inclusion and brief explanation of five verses from the chapter of the fourth *Ṣaṭka* on sixteen centres in the meditator's body found in the *Ṣaṭcakranirṇaya* (A), a short Kashmirian treatise of unknown authorship and date on this and other series of such centres.[80]

Finally, a section of Abhinavagupta's *Tantrāloka*, though it is a work of the Trika, is a Paddhati based on the *Mādhavakula*. That too, as Jayaratha asserts and the Nepalese manuscripts confirm, is part of the *Jayadrathayāmala*'s fourth *Ṣaṭka*.[81] Jayaratha justifies its inclusion in this text on the Trika by saying that

(qu. in JYPᴍs A, f. 57v5 : *caturlekhyaṃ* Cod.) *prapūrayet* | *caturdvārasamāyuktaṃ tatra pūjyaṃ kramottamam*.

[78] I am aware of eleven other Kashmirians bearing such names: (1) Takṣakavarta, author of the *Nityādisaṃgrahapaddhati*; (2–3) two Rayāvaṭṭas (*Rājataraṅgiṇī* 7.1480 [a brahmin] and 8.322 [a lamp-bearer]); (4) Nāgavaṭṭa (*ibid.*, 8.664 [a military commander and son of a Kāyastha]); (5) Loṣṭāvaṭṭa (*ibid.*, 7.1295 [a soldier]); (6) Madhurāvaṭṭa (*ibid.*, 7.766 [a cavalry commander]); (7) Viśvāvarta, who named the hymns redacted by Rāma and Ādityarāja from Utpaladeva's *Śivastotrāvalīvivṛti*, p. 2; (8) a Śākta Viśvāvarta, pupil of Īśvaraśiva (Jayaratha, *Vāmakeśvarīmatavivaraṇa*, p. 36); (9) Viśvavarta, the father of Maṅkha (*Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* 3.35; there the metre requires the second vowel to be short; but in the colophon of the 25th Sarga he is Viśvāvarta: *śrīrājānakaviśvāvartasūnor mahākaviśrīrājānakamaṅkhakasya*); and (10–11) two Viśvāvaṭṭas (*Rājataraṅgiṇī* 7.337 [a brahmin], 7.617 etc.).

[79] *Jayadrathayāmalaprastāramantrasaṃgraha* A, f. 17r2–5, B, f. 18r1–5: *bhāsvarūpā prakāśamayī prāṇāpānarūpā vyākhyātā. niṣkalā prāṇāpānakalāmadhyodaye somasūryayor bhakṣaṇārthaṃ *yadā* (conj. : *yātā* AB) *gatā tadā sā kālagrāsaikaghasmarety uktā. tad uktam: "yām avasthāṃ samālambya yad ayaṃ mama *vakṣyati* (B : *vakṣyate* A) | **tad avaśyaṃ* (em. : *tadāvaśyaṃ* AB) **kariṣye 'ham* (em. : *kariśye tam* AB) *iti saṃkalpya tiṣṭhati* | **tām* (em. : *tam* AB) *āśrityordhvamārgeṇa candrasūryāv ubhāv api* | *sauṣumṇe 'dhvany *astam ito* (em. : *astamite* AB) *hitvā brahmāṇḍagocaram* | *tadā tasmin mahāvyomni pralīnaśaśibhāskare* | *sauṣuptapadavan mūḍhaḥ prabuddhaḥ syād *anāvṛtaḥ* (em. : *anāvṛtam* AB)" *ity arthaḥ*. The passage quoted is *Spandakārikā* 1.23–25 in Kṣemarāja's numeration.

[80] *Jayadrathayāmala*, *Ṣaṭka* 4, f. 113v4–7, *kālikule kālikramabhedaḥ*, vv. 1–8 → *Ṣaṭcakranirṇaya* A, f. 2r19–v7 (vv. 30–35). The prose commentary follows: ff. 2v7–3r18.

[81] The Paddhati is *Tantrāloka* 29.56–77. The source is *Jayadrathayāmala*, *Ṣaṭka* 4, ff. 117v5–135v2 (*kālikulapaṭalaḥ*). Abhinavagupta himself does not mention that it is and since the *Jayad-*

there were Gurus in Kashmir whose tradition combined the teachings of the *Mādhavakula* with those of the *Devyāyāmala*,[82] a Trika scripture that no doubt lent itself to this fusion since it teaches the worship of the Kālīkula's Kālasaṃkarṣaṇī as a fourth goddess transcending the Trika's three and, like this *Ṣaṭka*, was probably Kashmirian.[83]

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rathayāmala suggests that it has incorporated the *Mādhavakula* it is conceivable that Abhinavagupta knew this Kālīkula scripture in an independent form (see SANDERSON 2002, p. 2, and notes 11 to 14). The work is introduced at the end of the preceding Paṭala (f. 117v3–4): *etat kulakramaṃ sarvaṃ mahāmādhavake kule | vadiṣyāmi punar bhadre tava mandaramūrdhani | vistareṇātirabhasā⟨t⟩* 'On a future occasion, on the summit of the Mandara mountain, I shall eagerly tell you at length this whole procedure of Kaula worship in the *Mahāmādhavakula*'. The opening of the dialogue at the beginning of our text is as follows (ff. 117v6–118r): *kathayasva mahādeva sūcitaṃ yat tvayādhunā | *tantraṃ* (em. : *tatvaṃ* Cod.) *tan mādhavakulaṃ vaktavyaṃ tatra *bhairava* (em. : *bhairavi* Cod.) | *saṃkṣepeṇa samākhyāhi tantre 'smin sarahasyakam | yena sampūrṇatā *cāsya* (em. : *vāsya* Cod.) **tantrasya bhavati* (em. : *taṃtresya bhagavati* Cod.) *prabho | śrībhairava uvāca: śṛṇuṣva kathayiṣyāmi tantrarājasya madhyataḥ | yathā tan mādhavakulaṃ vaktavyaṃ mandaropari* 'Tell me now, O Mahādeva, the Tantra *Mādhavakula* that you will teach me there, O Bhairava. Explain it to me, O Lord, together with its secret teachings in a short form within this Tantra so that that may be complete. Bhairava replied: Hear, I shall [indeed] teach [you] within [this] *Tantrarāja* about the *Mādhavakula* that I shall teach you on Mandara'. At the end of the chapter Bhairava says (f. 135r7–v1): *evaṃ samāsataḥ proktaṃ tantre 'smin tava śobhane | etad eva hi saṃkṣepān mandarāgre ca mūrdhani | bhūyo vakṣyāmi subhage mahāmādhavake kule | kālīkulam idaṃ guhyaṃ mukhapāramparāgatam* 'Thus, O fair one, I have taught you this within this Tantra in summary form, in few words. On the summit of Mandara, in the *Mahāmādhavakula*, O beautiful one, I shall teach you again this secret Kālīkula that has come down through oral transmission.'

[82] *Tantrālokaviveka* on 29.56: *atra hi keṣāṃcana gurūṇāṃ śrīdevyāyāmalaśrīmādhavakulārthasaṃmelanayā sampradāyaḥ samasti.*

[83] My reason for proposing that the *Devyāyāmala* is Kashmirian is as follows. Several Śaiva scriptures rule that one should not engage a Śaiva officiant of any of eight countries whose names begin with the letter K. In an unidentified non-Saiddhāntika scripture quoted by the Saiddhāntika Jñānaśiva they are Kāśmīra, Kosala, Kāñcī, Kaliṅga, Kāmarūpa, Kāverī, Koṅkaṇa, and Kaccha (*Jñānaratnāvalī*, p. 314): *kāśmīrakauśalāḥ kāñcīkaliṅgāḥ kāmarūpajāḥ | kāverīkoṅkaṇodbhūtā *kacchadeśasamudbhavāḥ* (*kaccha* em. : *kañca* Cod.) | *tathānye 'pi *surāṣṭrīyāḥ* (conj. : *surāṣṭrāyā* Cod.) **kusaṅgā uñchavṛttayaḥ* (conj. : *kuśasaṅgacchavṛttayaḥ* Cod.) | *viprādivarṇāś catvāro gurutve nādhikāriṇaḥ*; and the same eight are given in the *Piṅgalāmata*, f. 5r7–v1: *kapūrvāṣṭavinirmuktau anyadeśodbhavāv api | *kāmarūkacchakāśmīrau* (*kāmarūkaccha* em. : *kāmarūpaccha* Cod.) *kāliṅgau koṅkaṇodbhavau | kāñcikosala*kāverīrāṣṭrajāv* (*kāverī* em. : *kāveryau* Cod.) *api varjayet*. There are duals here because the text applies this restriction to both Gurus and Sādhakas. The Kāmarū (= Kāmarūpa) of my emendation *kāmarūkaccha-* is also seen in the *Kulakrīḍāvatāra* as quoted in *Tantrālokaviveka*, vol. 11, *Āhnika* 29, p. 29, l. 14 (*varadevasya kāmarū*) and is supported by Chinese *kemolou* and the traveller Ibn Battuta's Kāmru/Kāmrū/Kāmrūn (see PELLIOT 1904, pp. 181–

The Krama Exegesis

Of the other Kālīkula scriptures to which Kashmirian authors bear witness, the *Kālīkulapañcaśataka* and the *Kālīkulakramasadbhāva* are the principal scriptural authorities of the Krama. The *Jayadrathayāmala* contains Krama materials and presents them as the Kālīkula's most fundamental teachings, but they are embedded there in a mass of Kalpas of the common Mantramārgic type.[84] Here the Krama alone is presented, and this was no doubt also the case in the lost *Devīsārdhaśataka*, as it is in the *Devīdvyardhaśatikā* and *Yonigahvara*. These texts are focused on setting out the Mantras, deities, and offerings of the successive phases of Krama worship and they differ in fundamental respects from the Mantramārgic standard. They teach no rituals of initiation and consecration—the post-scriptural Krama tradition envisaged initiation through the simple act of consuming a sacrament in the form of the Kaula 'nectars' (*caruprāśanam*)—,[85] no hand-postures (Mudrās), no visualizations of the constituent deities' forms, no fire-sacrifice, and none of the elaborate ascetic observances (*kaṣṭasādhanam*) characteristic of the Mantramārgic Kalpas of the *Jayadrathayāmala*. Moreover, the texts are presented as instruction given by the Goddess Bhairavī to Bhairava, in an inversion of the normal gender of teacher

82). Now, the *Devyāyāmala* too has a list of eight countries beginning with K whose Gurus are to be avoided. It is as in the first two sources quoted here with the difference that it drops Kāśmīra and inserts Karṇāṭa in its place (*Tantrālokaviveka* on 23.14): *kāñcikosalakarṇāṭāḥ kaliṅgāḥ kāmarūpajāḥ | kuṅkuṇodbhavakāverīkacchadeśasamudbhavāḥ | ete varjyāḥ*, a revision most likely to be the work of a Kashmirian. A similar manipulation is seen in the version of the list of the eight Ks given in the Saiddhāntika *Vijayatantra* quoted in the *Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati*, *Kriyāpāda* 11, pp. 96, l. 25–97, l. 1: *karṇāṭakakaliṅgākhyakacchakāśmīravāsinaḥ | koṅkaṇāḥ karahāṭāś ca kāmbojāḥ kāmarūpiṇaḥ | kakārāṣṭakasaṃjñās te deśā deśikavarjitāḥ*. Since this is probably a work of the Tamil country it is striking that it has dropped Kāñcī and Kāverī, which encompass that region.

[84]In the *Jayadrathayāmala* Krama teachings are found in the second *Ṣaṭka* in the Kalpa of Vīryakālī (ff. 96v8–100r9), in the third in the consecutive *avyapadeśyakālīvidhiḥ*, *devīsvarūpanirūpaṇavidhiḥ*, and *devīkramapaṭalaḥ* (ff. 215r6–226r3), and in the fourth in the *kālīkramavidhiḥ* (ff. 57v2–61v5), and the consecutive *sālambakramavidhibhedaḥ*, *nirālambakramapūjāvidhipaṭalaḥ*, *ādyayāgavidhikramārthapūjāpaṭalaḥ*, and *vīratāṇḍavavidhikramajñānapaṭalaḥ* (ff. 200v7–208r6). Initiation before the Maṇḍala of the thirteen Kālīs (1+12) is taught here in the *kālīkramavidhiḥ*. It is this set of identical Kālīs that Viśvāvarta hymns in the last verse of his *Tantrarājatantrāvatārastotra*, implying that the teachings of the Tantra culminate here (27cd: *dhatte yan mukurāvalivyatikaravyaktaikavaktropamāṃ śāktaṃ cakram apakramam paramayā devyā tad iddhaṃ numaḥ* 'I sing the praise of the sequence-transcending circle of powers animated by the supreme Goddess that resembles a single face appearing in contact with a series of mirrors'.

[85]For the identification of these substances and their role in this initiatory trial of non-dual awareness see Sanderson 2005a, pp. 110–114 (footnote 63).

and pupil in the non-Saiddhāntika Śaiva dialogues, formulating for his benefit a secret oral tradition concealed in the innermost awareness of the Yoginīs of Uḍḍiyāna, the Pīṭha of the North (*uttarapīṭhaḥ*), on the occasion of their assembling there in the Karavīra cremation ground to worship her.[86]

> In the North is the great Pīṭha called Oḍḍiyāna, the best all Pīṭhas, the resort of Siddhas and Yoginīs. In this fair and excellent Pīṭha is the Karavīra cremation ground. …In this fearsome cremation ground thronged by great Bhairavas …in this most fearsome circle thronged with great Mātṛs rests the supreme goddess Kālī in the limit of the state of self-awareness, standing on Bhairava, devouring the power of Mahākāla, void in form, infinite, with eight embodiments, auspicious, adorned by fifty Rudras and attended by sixty-four [Yoginīs]. Indra, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Rudra, Īśvara, Sadāśiva Mahādeva, and Bhairava, the seventh, are ever present in their entirety as the 'dead' [i.e., as the transcended deities that form the throne] of that Goddess.[87] …Bhairava said [to her]: O Goddess, Why

[86] *Kālīkulakramasadbhāva*, f. 1r4–5 (1.1–2): *śrīmaduttaradigbhāge pīṭhaṃ pīṭhavaraṃ mahat* | **oḍḍiyānābhidhānaṃ tu* (em. : *oḍḍiyānābhidhānan te* Cod.) *siddhayoginisevitam* | *tasmin pīṭha*vare* (em. : *vane* Cod.) *ramye śmaśānaṃ karavīrakam*; f. 1r9 (1.9ab), f. 1v1–3 (1.17–20): 9 *tasmin pitṛvane ghore mahābhairavasaṃkule* | ……17 *tasmiṃś cakre mahāghore *mahāmātṛbhi* (corr. [Aiśa] : *mahāmātṛbhiḥ* Cod.) *saṃkule* | *svavimarśadaśāntasthā tiṣṭhate parameśvarī* | 18 *kālī tu bhairavārūḍhā mahākālakalāśinī* | *vyomarūpā anantākhyā aṣṭamūrtidharā śivā* | 19 *pañcāśadrudrakhacitā *catuḥṣaṣṭisusevitā* (conj. : *catuḥṣaṣṭistusevitā* Cod.) | *indro brahmā tathā viṣṇū rudra īśvara eva ca* | 20 *sadāśivo *mahādevo* (conj. : *mahādevyā* Cod.) *bhairavaś caiva saptamaḥ* | *pretatve saṃsthitā nityaṃ tasyā devyās tu sarvataḥ*; f. 2r6–8 (1.42c–44b): *śrībhairava uvāca: asmin pīṭhe mahāvīr⟨air⟩ vīravīrais tu saṃkule* | 43 *kimartham āgatāḥ sarve *catuḥṣaṣṭir* (corr. : *catuḥṣaṣṭī* Cod.) *mahābalāḥ* | *yoginīvīravīreśyo vīrajāḥ parameśvari* | 44 **tvadārādhanasaṃsaktā* (em. : *tvayārādhanasaṃśaktā* Cod.) **mahāyāgendrasotsukāḥ* (em. : *mahāyogendrasotsukaḥ* Cod.); f. 2r11–12 (1.49c–51b): *pṛcchāmi paramaṃ devi svavimarśabalena tu* | 50 **agragās tu parāḥ devyāḥ* (corr. : *agragā tu parā devyā* Cod.) *saṃhārakaraṇa*kṣamāḥ* (corr. : *kṣamā* Cod.) | *sarvās tās tu mahābhāgāḥ *svecchayā* (em. : *svacchayā* Cod.) **viśvabhakṣikāḥ* (em. : *viśvabhakṣakī* Cod.) | 51 *tathāpi hṛdgataṃ tāsāṃ* (corr. : *tāsā* Cod.) *praśnam asti *mahādhiye* (conj. [Aiśa] : *mahādhiya* Cod.) | *guptaṃ tu paramaṃ divyaṃ *kimarthaṃ suravandite* (conj. [or *vīravandite*] : *kimarthanacavandite* Cod.); f. 2v10–3r2 (1.67c–72b): *atyantamohajālena veṣṭito 'haṃ tu *sundari* (corr. : *sundarī* Cod.) | 68 *mamārthe 'nugrahaṃ samyak kuru tattvena *bhāmini* (corr. : *bhāminī* Cod.) | *vadasva paramaṃ guhyam apratarkyam aninditam* | 69 *yoginīhṛdayāvasthaṃ prakaṭaṃ kuru *śaṅkari* (corr. : *saṃkari* Cod.) | *tithivelāvinirmuktaṃ deśakālādivarjitam* | 70 *sthānasaṃketakair muktaṃ nakṣatraiś ca grahais tathā* | *mudrāmantravinirmuktaṃ rajoraṅgādibhis tathā* | 71 *akṣataiś ca tilair nityam agnikarmeṇa varjitam* | *āhvānādivinirmuktaṃ vratacaryādikais tathā* | 72 *recakaiḥ pūrakaiś caiva kumbhakaiś ca viśeṣataḥ*.

[87] Cf. *Kālīkulapañcaśataka* A, f. 1v3–4 (1.3): *śrīmaduttarapīṭhasya śmaśān[aṃ karavī]rakam* | *pūjitaṃ devadevena śivena paramātmanā*; f. 1v5 (1.7–8b): *tatrasthā bhairavī bhīmā sthūlasūkṣmānuvartinī* | *pīṭheśvarībhiḥ saṃyuktā siddhaiś ca parivāritā* | *mahānandasamāviṣṭā mahā-*

> have all the sixty-four Vīra-born mighty Vīravīreśīs among the Yoginīs come to this Pīṭha thronged with Mahāvīras and the foremost of Vīras, devoted to your propitiation and eager to celebrate the Great Sacrifice? …I ask about the ultimate, O Goddess, through the power of my self-awareness. Standing before [us] are all the greatest and most venerable goddesses, capable of withdrawing [the world], who devour all things by their will [alone]. Yet, wise one, the [answer to my] question still hides within their hearts. O you who are venerated by the gods, why have they continued to conceal the ultimate celestial [secret]? …O beautiful one, I am enveloped by a net of total delusion. O radiant [goddess], truly show your favour for my sake. Tell me the perfect, unthinkable, ultimate secret. Make plain, O Śaṅkarī, what remains hidden in the heart of the Yoginīs, [the practice] that is free of [restriction by] lunar day and [auspicious] hour, without [specified] place or time, free of the conventions of [sacred] sites, without Mudrās and Mantras, the coloured powders [of the initiation Maṇḍala] and all other [paraphernalia of ritual], the fire-sacrifice and [oblations of] unhusked grains and sesame seeds, the summoning [of the deities] and other [ritual forms], the post-initiatory ascetic observance and other [ancillary practices], above all free of the exhalations, inhalations and retentions [of breath-restraint].

The Krama teaching is seen as the explication of the dynamic structure of the ultimate reality embodied and made manifest in that sacrificial assembly, and the process of Krama worship is seen as the means of realizing it through re-enactment.[88]

No commentaries on these texts survive, and we have no evidence that any existed,[89] but there is nonetheless a rich body of texts based upon them in

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ghorogranāśanī 'The cremation ground of the northen Pīṭha is the Karavīra, venerated by the supreme soul Śiva, the god of the gods. In it is fearsome Bhairavī, who permeates the gross and the subtle, accompanied by the Pīṭheśvarīs and surrounded by Siddhas, immersed in absolute bliss, the destroyer of Mahāghorogra[bhairava]'.

[88]The notion that the programme of worship re-enacts the primal sacrifice is also implied in related Kālīkula scriptural sources. We see it in the *Mahākaravīrayāga* (f. 1v1–2 [1.1–2]): **mahāsiddhasamākīrṇe* (*mahāsiddha* em. : *mahāsiddhi* Cod.) *śmaśāne karavīrake* | **mahāvṛndamahāsphāre* (*sphāre* conj. : *sphāra* Cod.) *prakāśānandakojjvale* | **nirvartite* (em. : *nivvatyate*) *mahācakre yāge tridaśaḍāmare* | *sāmarasyasthitaṃ devaṃ pṛcchate kulasundarī*; in the *Tridaśaḍāmara* (B, f. 1v3–5 [81.5–6]): *pūrvaṃ gauri mahāghore śmaśāne karavīrake* | *ārādhito 'haṃ devībhir yāge saṃpūjanāya ca* | *tvāṃ *corusaṃsthāṃ* (*coru* A [cf. B, f. 2r2–3 (81.13c): *ūruṃ paśyāmi tvacchūnyaṃ*] : *cāru* B) *kṛtvā tu yātas tatra varānane* | *catuḥṣaṣṭis tu *yāḥ koṭyaḥ* (conj : *yā koṭyā* B : *ye koṭyā* A) *śākinyādyā mahābalāḥ* | *yajñabhāgaṃ prayacchanti caruṃ kṛtvā svabāndhavān*; in the Śivarātri aetiology of the *Dūtiḍāmara* and the Kashmirian sources presented in Sanderson 2005b, pp. 285–288; and in the Ḍāmaramaṇḍala (*ḍāmarayāgaḥ*) of the *Devyāyāmala* (see *Tantrāloka* 3.70cd; 15.335cd; 13.351cd; 30.54c–55b; and 31.100cd).

[89]Jayaratha refers to the interpretation of two verses of the first by an Ojarāja, otherwise unknown, saying that his reading of the text at this point is incorrect (*Tantrālokaviveka*, vol. 12, p. 197, ll. 4–11). It is possible that this interpretation was part of a commentary on the text.

the form of esoteric hymns and treatises setting out the course of the Krama's meditative worship composed by Gurus in the lineage of this tradition. The earliest of them is Jñānanetra[nātha], also known as Śivānanda[nātha]. It was believed that he had received the Krama revelation in Uḍḍiyāna directly from its Yoginīs, known as the Pīṭheśvarīs,[90] or from their leader (*cakranāyikā*) Maṅgalā, also called Vīrasiṃhā Svāminī,[91] and all Krama authors who speak of their lineage trace it back to him.[92] Jayaratha calls him the Promulgator

The two verses quoted are a variant of *Kālīkulapañcaśataka* A, f. 12r4–5 (3.29–30): *amṛtārṇaṃ tu brahmārṇaṃ tripiṇḍaṃ brahma satparam | sā devī sa śivas tu ca viśva⟨ṃ⟩ tasyānyavistaraḥ | granthakoṭisahasrāṇām etat sāraṃ vicintayet | prabhāvo 'sya na śakyeta vaktuṃ kalpāyutair api*. Perhaps Ojarāja was following this reading.

[90] *Tantrālokaviveka*, vol. 3, p. 19, ll. 7–8, quoting Abhinavagupta's *Kramakeli*: *pīṭheśvarībhya *uttarapīṭhe* (em. : *uttarapīṭha* Ed.) *labdhopadeśāc chrīśivānandāt* . . . . On the Pīṭheśvarīs as transmitters of revelation see also footnotes 87 on p. 261, 312 on p. 326, 330 on p. 333, 364 on p. 343, 374 on p. 345, and 376 on p. 346.

[91] Arṇasiṃha, *Mahānayaprakāśa*, f. 117v2–3 (v. 136): *ayaṃ* (em. : *idaṃ* Cod.) *śrīvīrasiṃhākhyasvāminyā saṃprakāśitaḥ | śrījñānanetranāthasya vṛndacakrodayaḥ paraḥ*; *Mahānayaprakāśa* (Triv.) 7.86ab: *vīrasiṃhāsanastheyaṃ devī paramamaṅgalā*.

[92] There is an exception in a section of the composite *Yonigahvara*. Though that text attributes its revelation to Jñānanetra this part, written in a lower register of Sanskrit than the rest, claims to have been put together by one Oghānanda, who received the teaching from a Yoginī called Rūpānandā, who had received it from Vīrasiṃhā Svāminī (ff. 34v3–35r2 [492–496]): *samyak mahāśāsanasaṃpradāyaṃ pūjākathāsaṃkramapūrvam evaṃ | saṃprāpya kaulottarasārabhūtam abhūtapūrvam atha *kāraṇādeḥ* (conj. : *kāraṇādīṃ* Cod.) | 493 *devī śrīvīra*siṃhākhyā* (corr. : *saṃhākhyā* Cod.) *svāminī *prasphuṭā* (corr. : *prasphaṭā* Cod.) *bhuvi | tatpādapadmayugalāt prāptaṃ caiva mahānayam* | 494 **śrīrūpānandābhidhā* (em. : *śrīrūpānandavidhā* Cod.) *devī dattaṃ tasya prasādataḥ | tayā dattaṃ svaśiṣyasya oghānandābhidhānataḥ* | 495 *dattaṃ parāmṛtarasaṃ mahāśāsanam uttamam | tenedaṃ racitaṃ sarvaṃ yathāprāptaṃ *guror* (conj. : *gurur* Cod.) *mukhāt* | 496 *saṃpradāyaṃ *susaṃbandhaṃ* (conj. : *susammbadhaṃ* Cod.) *sarahasyaṃ mukhāgamaṃ | racitaṃ guruvākyena svasaṃtānahitāya ca* 'Having thus duly received the unprecedented tradition of the Great Teaching that is the essence of the Kaula Uttar[āmnāy]a from the first of the Cause-deities through worship, oral instruction, and direct transmission, the holy Vīrasiṃhasvāminī became visible on earth. From the two lotuses that were her feet the holy Rūpānandā received the Great Teaching, given by her favour. She gave the supreme Great Teaching that contains the joy of the highest nectar to her disciple Oghānanda; and he composed all this exactly as he had received it from his Guru. At his Guru's command he composed the well-constructed tradition, the oral transmission with its secrets, for the benefit of his spiritual descendants'. The Sanskrit of this passage is exceptional for its use of nom./acc. sg. neuter of the past participle passive as an active verbal predicate with past sense; see also here f. 36v5: *tad eva cakraṃ tu punar dṛṣṭaṃ devī* 'Once again the Goddess beheld that same circle'; f. 37r1–2: **punar ūrdhvaṃ* (corr. : *punaḥ ūrddha* Cod.) **nirīkṣantī* (corr. : *nirīkṣanti* Cod.) *dṛṣṭam anyaṃ kutūhalam* 'Gazing up again, she saw another wonder'. This construction is common in late Buddhist Sanskrit.

(*avatārakanāthaḥ*),[93] and this term indicates that he saw him as having received and propagated the Krama scriptures themselves. For the term *avatārakaḥ* is used to denote a divine or semi-devine promulgator of scripture throughout the Śaiva Mantramārga and Jayaratha uses the same expression when referring to Macchandanātha,[94]saying that he was the *avatārakaḥ* of the Kula teachings in the Pīṭha Kāmarūpa in the present Kali Age after receiving them directly from Bhairavī.[95] Only one of the Krama scriptures, the *Yonigahvara*, claims that it was revealed by Jñānanetra;[96] but it is probable that the same claim was made for the *Kālīkulapañcaśataka* and *Kālīkulakramasadbhāva*. For the chapter colophons of both say that they emerged in the Pīṭha of the North and were promulgated by the venerable Nātha (Śrīnātha).[97] This too is an epithet of Jñānanetra in the literature of the Krama:[98]

[93] *Tantrālokaviveka*, vol. 3, p. 195, ll. 1–2: *śrīmadavatārakanāthena*; p. 197, ll. 8–9: *śrīmad-avatārakanāthasyāpi*.

[94] Macchanda is also known as Matsyendra, Macchaghna, and Mīnanātha. The name Macchaghna means 'fisherman' (←OIA *matsyaghnaḥ*) and Macchanda is probably derived from the MIA synonym *macchaṃdha-* (←*macchabaṃdha-*). Matsyendra can be explained as a false Sanskritization of Macchanda and Mīnanātha as a synonym of Matsyendra.

[95] *Tantrālokaviveka*, vol. 1, p. 24, ll. 7–12: *kulaprakriyāyāḥ prakriyāntarebhyaḥ prādhānyād "bhairavyā bhairavāt prāptaṃ yogaṃ *prāpya* (em. : *vyāpya* Ed.) *tataḥ priye | tatsakāśāt tu siddhena mīnākhyena varānane | kāmarūpe mahāpīṭhe macchandena mahātmanā" ityādinirūpitasthityā tadavatārakaṃ turyanātham eva tāvat prathamaṃ kīrtayati* 'Because the Kaula system is superior to all others he refers first to the Nātha of the Fourth [Age], who promulgated it, as taught in such passages as "Beloved, the [corpus that teaches the Kaula] Yoga was received in its entirety by Bhairavī from Bhairava, and then from her by the great Siddha Macchanda, known as Mīna[nātha], in the great Pīṭha of Kāmarūpa"'. Colophons of scriptures of the Kula do indeed refer to them as promulgated by him: e.g. (1) *Kulapañcāśikā*, f. 6v5 (end): *iti kulapañcāśikāyāṃ śrīmanmats⟨y⟩end⟨r⟩apādāvatāre*; (2) *Guhyasiddhi*, f. 20r6–7: *śrīmacchagnapādāvatārite śrīkāmākhyāvinirgataḥ guhyasiddhiṣaṣṭhamaḥ paṭala⟨ḥ⟩*; (3) *Ūrmikaulārṇava* A, f. 27r7–9: *iti *śrīnīlatantre* (*nīla* em. : *nīra* A) *śrīmadūrmikaulārṇave mahāśāstre lakṣapādoddhṛte paramarahasye śrībhogahastakramāmnāye śrīkaulagiripīṭhavinirgate śrīmīnanāthāvatārite ṣaṭśatādhikaśate kulakaulanirṇaye karmakośavicāro nāma tṛtīya⟨ḥ⟩ paṭalaḥ*; (4) *Kaulajñānanirṇaya*, p. 80: *iti jñānanirṇaye mahāyoginīkaule śrīmatsyendrapādāvatārite candradvīpavinirgate trayoviṃśatitamaḥ paṭalaḥ*; and (5) *Kulānanda*, p. 113: *matsyendrapādāvatāritaṃ kulānandaṃ*.

[96] *Yonigahvara*, f. 1v2–3 (vv. 1–2): *śrīmaduttarapīṭhe tu śmaśāne karavīrake | sarvayoginimelāpe [+ + + + ni]rāmaye | 2 yonigahvaram uddhṛtya mantrasadbhāvam uttamam | śrījñānanetranāthena bhūtale saṃprakāśitam*.

[97] *Kālīkulapañcaśataka* colophons: *śrīmaduttarapīṭhodbhūte śrīśrīnāthāvatārite śrīkālikākule pañcaśate*; *Kālīkulakramasadbhāva* colophons: *śrīmaduttarapīṭhavinirgate śrīnāthapādāvatārite śrīkālikākulasadbhāve*.

[98] Old Kashmiri *Mahānayaprakāśa* 3.9: *nāthe *panavapīṭha* (em. : *pavanapīṭha* Ed.) **ādiṣṭe* (em. : *ādiṣṭo* Ed.) | *bahi andara paramāthuka *mona* (em. : *mauna* Ed.) | *avatāre bhūtadayāviṣṭe* (em. : *bhūtadayāviṣṭo* Ed.) | *so-ye kamasamudāyu vamona*.

> The Nātha after being taught in the Praṇavapīṭha (Oḍḍiyāna) was filled with compassion for living beings and as the promulgator emitted the internal and external silence of ultimate reality as the corpus of the Krama.[99]

Uḍḍiyāna and Kashmir

Uḍḍiyāna, also written Oḍḍiyāna, U/Oḍiyāna, U/Oḍyāna, and U/Oḍḍayana, was the petty kingdom known to the Chinese as Wuzhangna (Jap. Ujōna) and to the Tibetans as U rgyan or O rgyan, located west-north-west of Kashmir to the north of Peshawar in what is now Pakistan. Its capital on the river Swāt beyond the Indus[100] was only about 150 miles from the capital of Kashmir as the crow flies, but it was considerably further for a traveller, who on account of the mountains that intervene would need about a month to make the circuitous and arduous journey on foot from one to the other.[101] It has also been located in eastern India, in Kāñcī in the Far South, near Kashgar in Chinese Turkestan, and even in the Urgensh region south of the Aral sea in Uzbekistan.[102] But

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[99] See the Sanskrit commentary thereon: *śrīmanmakāradevyāḥ pīṭhavare prāptādeśena śrījñānanetranāthena …* 'Jñānanetranātha, who received the teaching in the best of the Pīṭhas from the goddess M [Maṅgalā] …'. See also the commentary on the Old Kashmiri *Mahānayaprakāśa*, p. 73, ll. 6–8: **devagurumantrasvātmanāṃ* (em. [reconstructed from the Old Kashmiri on which this is the gloss: *dyugurumantra-āpa*] : *deva … svātma …* Cod.) *vastuta aikyam. ādipīṭhādiṣṭa⟨ḥ⟩* ***śrīnāthas*** *tu devagurubhāgavyavasthām ekasyaivākhaṇḍacitsvarūpasya yad ādideśa tat sarvais tathaivābhivandyopāsyate*. For the expression Praṇavapīṭha [= Oṃkārapīṭha] for Oḍḍiyāna see also Trivandrum *Mahānayaprakāśa* 2.35c-37; and *ibid.*, p. 60, l. 10–11; Arṇasiṃha, *Mahānayaprakāsa*, f. 119r5–v1 (v. 153ab): *udgīthapīṭhajā śrīmanmaṅgalānandanirbharā*.

[100] According to Xuanzang (602–664, India 629–641) (trans. Beal 1884, vol. 1, p. 118) and the New History of the Tang of Ouyang Xiu (1007–72) and Song Qi (998–1061) (*Xin Tangshu*, chap. 221a, p. 12r, transl. Chavannes 1969, pp. 128–129), Wuzhangna's seat of government was at Mengjieli. It is probable, as Beal has suggested (*ibid.*, p. 121, footnote 9), that this was Mangora (/Mingāora, Maṅglavor, Maṅgalāvor ← Maṅgalāpura), which is located at 34°46'34"N 72°21'40"E.

[101] The Tibetan pilgrim U rgyan pa rin chen dpal (A.D. 1230–1309) gives an account of his own return from O rgyan to Kashmir in his *O rgyan lam yig*. It took him 25 days to travel by the most convenient route from the heart of O rgyan to Rdo rje mu la at the western extremity of the valley of Kashmir; see the translation (Tucci 1940, p. 58). Rdo rje mu la is surely a Tibetan rendering of *Vajramūla, and that is surely a Buddhist assimilation of the toponym Varāhamūla (mod. Varahmul/Bārāmūla) (34°12'00"N 74°21'00"E), since the latter is situated above the gorge through with the river Jhelum leaves the valley in the West. From Baramula he went on to the capital Pravarapura/Srinagar (34°05'00"N 74°50'00"E), which would have required two more days' travel, as testified by Al-Bīrūnī (Sachau 1964, vol. 1, p. 207).

[102] Eastern India (Assam/Bengal/Orissa) has been proposed by Haraprasad Shastri and Benoytosh Bhattacharya (see *Sādhanamālā*, vol. 2, pp. xxxvii–xxxix), Kashgar by Sylvain Lévi

the evidence offered for these counter-theories is negligible and they have been able to multiply only because of the apparent lack of references to the location of Uḍḍiyāna in known Sanskrit sources. However, such references exist, and though they do not locate the place exactly, they are sufficient to conclude that it was in the vicinity of Kashmir. The *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* mentions it with Kapiśa, Balkh, and Kashmir as one of several regions in the North where certain Mantras are effective;[103] a Jaina historical text, the *Kumārapālaprabodhaprabandha*, has the Caulukya king Kumārapāla include it with Kashmir and Jālandhara in an expedition to the Himalayan region from Gujarat;[104] and the eighth-century inscription on the base of the Gaṇeśa statue from Gardēz, 60 miles south of Kabul, states that it was installed by Khiṅgala, the Śāhi ruler of Oḍyāna.[105] Finally, the *Kālīkulakramasadbhāva* refers to Uḍḍiyāna not merely as the Pīṭha of the North (*uttarapīṭhaḥ*)—the North of that expression, seen in other Krama texts, might be suspected of being non-geographical—but explicitly as located in the northern region.[106]

(*ibid.*, p. xxxvii), Kāñcī by Lokesh Chandra (1979), and Urgensh by Herbert Guenther (1994, p. 26, footnote 58).

[103] *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* 30.2c–3, speaking of the Uṣṇīṣarājamantras: **kāpiśe* (em. : *kāviśe* Ed.) **balakhe* (conj. : *vakhale* Ed.) *caiva *uḍiyāne* (corr. : *udiyāne* Ed.) *samantataḥ* | *kaśmīre sindhudeśe ca himavatparvatasaṃdhiṣu* | **uttarāṃ diśim āśritya* (em. [cf. 10.10c; 19.99b: *uttarāṃ diśim āśrayet*] : *uttarāṃ diśi niḥsṛtya* Ed.) *mantrāḥ siddhyanti śreyasāḥ* '[These] excellent Mantras can be mastered in the North: in Kāpiśa, Balkh, throughout Uḍiyāna, in Kashmir, Sindh, and in the valleys of the Himalaya'.

[104] *Kumārapālacaritasaṃgraha*, p. 54: *athottarāṃ diśaṃ prati pratasthe. tatra kāśmīroḍḍiyānajālandharasapādalakṣaparvatakhasādideśān āhimācalam asādhayat* 'Then he set out towards the North. There he reached Kashmir, Uḍḍiyāna, Jālandhara, the Siwaliks, Khasadeśa [in western Nepal], and other regions up as far as the Himālaya'.

[105] …*pratiṣṭhāpitam idaṃ mahāvināyaka paramabhaṭṭārakamahārājādhirājaśrīṣāhikhiṃgalodyānaṣāhipādaiḥ*) 'This Mahāvināyaka was established by the Supreme Lord and Emperor, Śāhi Khiṅgala, the Śāhi of Oḍyāna'. See the reproduction of the ink estampage in Kuwayama 1991, p. 274, fig. 3. I agree with the reading proposed by Kuwayama in consulation with H. Nakatani, except that I see *khiṃgalauḍyāna* rather than *khiṃgālauḍyāna*. I also accept Kuwayama's interpretation of the date as falling in a.d. 765.

[106] *Kālīkulakramasadbhāva* 1.1: *śrīmaduttaradigbhāge pīṭhaṃ pīṭhavaraṃ mahat* | *oḍḍiyānābhidhānaṃ tu siddhayoginisevitam* 'In the northern region is the great Pīṭha called Oḍḍiyāna, the best of Pīṭhas, the resort of Siddhas and Yoginīs' → *Mahānayaprakāśa* (Triv.) 2.36–37: *mahācakrakramo yo 'yaṃ kathyamāno yathāyatham *yatrāntarnetranāthasya* (conj. : *atrāntarnetranāthasya* Ed.) *prakaṭānubhavo *'bhavat* (em. : *'bhavan* Ed.) | *tad oḍyānaṃ* (em. : *tatodhyānaṃ* Cod. : *tato dhyātaṃ* conj. Ed.) *mahat* (conj. : *tu tat* Ed.) *pīṭhaṃ sarvapīṭhottamaṃ bahiḥ* | *yoginīsiddhasaṃsevyam uttarasyāṃ diśi sthitam* 'In the external world it is Oḍyāna, the great Pīṭha, the best of all Pīṭhas, the resort of Siddhas and Yoginīs, located in the northern region,

The identity of Uḍḍiyāna, then, is beyond reasonable doubt. It can also be shown that what the Kashmirian Krama knows of the place is exact. For the goddess Maṅgalā and the Karavīra cremation ground were indeed proper to it, these two facts being independently attested by the Tibetan U rgyan pa rin chen dpal (1230–1309), who visited it from Pu raṅs in Western Tibet. He tells us in his 'Guide to Uḍḍiyāna' (*O rgyan lam yig*) that in the heart of the region, before the entrance to the town, there was a sandal-wood statue of the goddess Maṅgalā (*maṅgaladevī*).[107] He also visited the cremation ground to the east of the town and records that it was called *bhir sma sha*.[108] This is surely a

in which this great sequence of the circles that I am relating as it truly is was directly experienced by the Nātha of the Inner Eye [Jñānanetra]'.

[107] *O rgyan lam yig*, p. 97, ll. 30–34: *de nas nyi ma phyed kyis dhu ma tha lar sleb. de u rgyan sprul pa'i gnas kyi ngo bo. gnas de mthong ba tsam gyis, 'ur nas rtsis med la song 'dug. de'i mdun na mang ga la dhevī bya ba tsan tan las rang byon pa'i rje btsun ma gzhugs.*. 'After half a day we reached Dhumathala. This is the heart of Uḍḍiyāna, the land of miraculous power. When we saw that place our cries were beyond counting. Before it there dwells a self-born [image] of the goddess Maṅgaladevī made of sandal-wood'; *ibid.*, p. 98, ll. 7–9: *gnas de la mi khyim lnga brgya tsam 'dug. bud med thams cad kyis sprul bsgyur shes. khyed su yin byas rnal 'byor ma zhes zer 'dug. mang ga la dhevi drung du nyal bsdad nas bud med gcig na re mo la 'dod pa sten lo ngas dbyug pa gcig brgyab pas bros song.* 'In this place there are about five hundred houses. All the women know the art of miraculous transformation. If you ask them who they are they say that they are Yoginīs. While I was lying down to sleep in the presence of Maṅgaladevī a certain female said [to me] "Enjoy a woman". In reply I struck her with [my] staff and she went running off'; p. 97, ll. 5–8: *ngas rgyang nas mthong u rgyan gyi sa cha bags chags 'thug par 'dug. sa de rnams su tha mal gyi rtogs pa re re tsam byung ma khad la phra men sha za'i mkha 'gro ma du ma mdun du rengs la sleb bza'i zer ba 'dug* 'When I saw the land of Uḍḍiyāna from a distance my residual memory traces were aroused. In these regions as soon as any spiritual insight arises [in one], however commonplace, many *phra men ma* flesh-eating Ḍākinīs turn up alone in front of one and stay as one's 'wife'".

[108] *O rgyan lam rig*, p. 99, ll. 2–3: *gnas de'i shar la bhir sma sha zhes pa dur khrod brgyad kyi *ya gcig* (conj. : *ya ba* corr. Tucci : *gya ba* Cod.) *phag rgod dang dug sprul dang dur bya dang ka ka dang lce spyang la sogs pa gdug pa'i mkha 'gro sprin ltar 'du pa 'jigs su rung ba skyo bung byed pa yod. de nas byang cung zad na o ka sha briksha ces pa shing brgyad kyi ya gcig yod. dur khrod de las cung zad lho na dhu mun khu ces pa zhin skyong rdo las rang byung ba yod. shing de'i rtsar la ka pa la bho jon zhes pa'i rdo gcig la tshangs pa drag sogs rdo la rang byung du byon pa yod.* 'To the east of that place is one of the eight cremation-grounds, called [Kara]vīraśmaśā[na], thronged with a frightening cloud-like horde of malevolent Ḍākinīs [in the form of] wild boars, poisonous snakes, vultures, crows, jackals, and the like. A little to its north there is one of the eight trees, called Okaśavṛkṣa [*recte* Aśokavṛkṣa]. A little to the south of that cremation-ground is a natural stone Kṣetrapāla named *Dhumunkhu (?). Near the tree, on a single rock called Kapālabhojon [*recte* Kapālabhājana or Kapālabhojana] are natural stone [embodiments of] Brahmā, Rudra, and other [deities]'.

deformation of *vīraśmaśānam* for *karavīraśmaśānam*, confirming that the Kashmirian tradition is accurate in this regard too. It is not probable that he was drawing on a Buddhist literary tradition rather than reporting, directly or indirectly, local usage heard *in situ*. For where Uḍḍiyāna's cremation ground is identified in Buddhist tradition, as it is as one of those venerated in association with eight sacred places in the ritual system of Heruka and Vajrayoginī, it is called Aṭṭaṭṭahāsa.[109] Moreover, U rgyan pa shows no inclination to superimpose Buddhist readings in such cases. He also relates a visit to the Śākta Pīṭha of Jālandhara and reports the name of the cremation ground there to be Lang gur,[110] which is a close approximation of Laṅkuṭa, the name given in the *Kumārīkhaṇḍa* of the Śākta *Manthānabhairava*.[111]

It is not implausible that Jñānanetra should have propitiated Kālī in Uḍḍiyāna. There is no very strong evidence that he did, but Jñānanetra himself does tell us that he had his revelation of the nature of the goddess in "the great cremation ground" (*mahāśmaśānam*),[112] and if this was meant to be understood geographically rather than esoterically then in a Krama context it most probably referred to Karavīra. Moreover, the practice of seeking revelation by propitiating the goddess during a period of ascetic retreat at a remote Pīṭha is attested elsewhere in the Krama's literature. Śrīvatsa, the author of the *Cidgaganacandrikā*,

[109] *Karaṅkatoraṇakrama* of Dhyāyīpāda in the *Guhyasamayasādhanamālā*, f. 113v4: *oḍḍiyānadvāre aṭṭaṭṭahāsaṃ śmaśānaṃ*.

[110] *O rgyan lam rig*, p. 93, ll. 14–16: *de'i *dur khrod* (em. Tucci : *khrod*) *lang gur zhes pa na pha bong thod pa 'dra ba la rje btsun ma rang byong bzhugs* 'In its cremation ground called Lang gur there stays a self-created [image of] the goddess near a big skull-shaped boulder'.

[111] *Manthānabhairava*, *Kumārīkhaṇḍa*, f. 18v3–4: *evaṃ dakṣiṇapīṭhaṃ tu oḍḍiyāṇād vinirgatam | śmaśānaṃ tatra †codyānaṃ† laṅkuṭaṃ nāma bhīṣaṇam* 'Thus from Oḍḍiyāna came forth the southern Pīṭha. †…† a terrible cremation-ground there called Laṅkuṭa'; and f. 18v5: *īdṛg jālandharaṃ pīṭhaṃ j⟨v⟩ālāvvā tatra viśrutā* 'Such is the Pīṭha Jālandhara. There there is the famed Mother Jvālā'.

I am aware of one other Buddhist reference to Karavīra in connection with Uḍḍiyāna. This is in the *Grub thob brgyad bcu rtsa bzhi'i lo rgyus*, the collection of legends of the eighty-four Siddhas, which the monk Smon grub śes rab claims to have heard directly from bla ma chen po Mi 'jigs sbyin pa (*Mahāguru Abhayadatta), an Indian of Campā, and then rendered into Tibetan. There we are told that when the Siddha Kambala went to Mālapura (Maṅgalapura [Dowman 1985, p. 180]), the capital of Uḍḍiyāna, he spent time in a cave called Panawa (*recte* Praṇava?) in a place called Karavīra (Robinson 1979, p. 141, ll. 2–3): *sras kyis nub phyogs* ***o rgyan*** *gyi mā la pu ra bya ba na grong khyer 'bum tsho phyed dang gsum yod par phyin pa dang | de na yul* ***ka ra bī ra*** *zhes bya ba na | pa na wa zhes bya ba'i dgon pa na ta la tse phug bya ba'i phug pa yod sar bzhugs nas sgrub pa byas pas*.

[112] *Kālikāstotra*, v.19. See p. 272.

reports that he propitiated Kālī in Pūrṇapīṭha,[113] and, on a mythological level, the frame-story of the *Kālikākramapañcāśikā* relates that this text is the teaching that was transmitted by Niṣkriyānanda through a [disembodied] voice to the cremation-ground dwelling Siddha Vidyānanda when he was propitiating the goddess in a cave in the mountains of the Pīṭha Śrīśaila in Andhra.[114]

However, even if this detail is true, the evidence at our disposal does not permit us to suppose that the claim of revelation in Uḍḍiyāna idealizes a process of cultural influence in which a tradition already established in that region was assimilated by Jñānanetra and then introduced into Kashmir. Nor is there is anything in our sources to suggest that a connection with the place was maintained after Jñānanetra, probably himself a Kashmirian brahmin, had passed on his knowledge to his Kashmirian successors. The author of one of the later works of this tradition might be taken to be writing in Uḍḍiyāna rather than Kashmir, since he speaks in an introductory verse of the knowledge of the Krama "here in Uḍḍiyāna".[115] But since the author is writing a Sanskrit commentary on a text in Old Kashmiri he is evidently a Kashmirian and writing for a Kashmirian audience. It is preferable, therefore, to take this as evidence that for the followers of the Krama the original toponym had come to denote Kashmir itself, or that its meaning had been extended to include it, or, most plausibly, that the author is referring to a sacred site in Kashmir that had been identified with the original location, either Biḍ^{a}r in the south-east of the valley or, more probably, Hār^{a}parbuth in the capital.[116]

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[113] See p. 298.

[114] *Kālikākramapañcāśikā*, f. 21v4–8 (7.182–188): *śilācitir munivaras tasya putras tapodhanaḥ* | *yogābhyāsarato devi siddhaḥ śābararūpadhṛk* | 183 *vidyānandeti vikhyāto mahāvīravaraḥ priye* | *śmaśānavāsī nityastho niśāṭanarataḥ param* | 184 *siddhayogīndravīraś ca cakracāre ratipriyaḥ* | *śivapīṭhaṃ mahādevi śrīśailaṃ devatāpriyam* | 185 *tasya uttaradigbhāge nānāśikharaparvate* | *tatra hemamayī divyā guhā siddhasurārcitā* | 186 *tatrārādhanakaṃ kṛtvā vidyāśābaram uttamam* | *karoti bhaktiṃ yogīndro niṣkriyajñānavāñchinaḥ* | 187 *bhaktiṃ tīvratarāṃ divyāṃ kṛtvā śābararūpadhṛk* | *tasya tuṣṭo munivaro niṣkriyānanda uttamaḥ* | 188 *amoghavāṇyā tasyaiva saṃkrāntaṃ kālikākramam* | *vāmājñānaṃ tu kathitaṃ pañcāśadbhūmikākramam*.

[115] Commentary on the *Mahānayaprakāśa* of Śitikaṇṭha, p. 2, l. 3: *pīṭhe 'sminn uḍḍiyāne param aparamalaṃ jñānam asty ugracaryā* 'Here in the Pīṭha Uḍḍiyāna is the highest knowledge, free of the impurity of the other, [together with] the awesome practice [of Krama worship]'.

[116] A Kashmirian Tīrthamāhātmya, the *Nandikṣetrāvatāra*, states (f. 11v, v. 55) that by the command of Maheśānī Oḍḍiyāna is present in Kashmir itself (along with the other three Pīṭhas, Pūrṇagiri, Kāmarāja [*sic*], and Jālandhara). A gloss in the margin of the manuscript tells us that this Kashmirian Oḍḍiyāna is Bheḍar. This must be the large Agrahāra called Bheḍara in Skt. that Kalhaṇa tells us was founded by king Bālāditya (*Rājataraṅgiṇī* 3.481) and which Stein (1979,

The Kālikāstotra

From Jñānanetra we have only a single work, the *Kālikāstotra*, which survives in both Kashmirian and Nepalese manuscripts.[117] In twenty Āryā verses he invokes Kālī's nature as pure, non-dual, all-projecting consciousness:[118]

> Supreme, O Goddess, is your formless nature that takes the form of the three worlds, free of the concepts of the existent and the non-existent, unlimited by adjuncts, to be attained in the purest awareness. Supreme indeed is your stainless non-dual nature, that one and multiform pervades the world that flows out [within it, yet is] free of change, its name the true ground of consciousness.

and touches on the phases of a system of worship of the constituent powers of this nature that will be set out in detail only in the works of his successors.[119] In

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vol. 1, p. 115) identifies with the present Biḍ^{a}r, a large village in the Bring Pargaṇa(33°35'N 75°20'E). But a more plausible location is the hill Hār^{a}parbuth (Śārikāparvata, Pradyumnagiri) in Srinagar. For that is called Oṃkārapīṭha(/Praṇavapīṭha) in the *Śārikāpariccheda* (f. 2r3, v. 1: *oṃkārapīṭham etad vai pīṭhaṃ pradyumnakaṃ param*); f. 3r1: *praṇavākhyasya pīṭhasya*), as is Uḍḍiyāna in Krama sources; see footnote 12 on p. 234 and 99 on p. 265. This a more plausible location because it is in a prominent position, rising in the old capital some 125 metres above the floor of the valley, and has been a site of the worship of the Goddess since early times, principally of Śārikā/Cakreśvarī, who gives the hill its name, but also of other goddesses, notably Kālī and Siddhalakṣmī. The daily five-kilometre circumbulation (*parikramaḥ*) of the shrines on the hill was a conspicuous feature of piety among the Kashmirian brahmins (*Śārikāpariccheda* f. 3r1: *praṇavākhyasya pīṭhasya paridakṣiṇataḥ priye | sa yāti śivasāyujyaṃ yatra gatvā na śocate*) and deep attachment to their Śaktipīṭha (*Śārikāpariccheda* f. 2r6: *śaktipīṭhātmakaḥ prokto vedāsyaḥ praṇavaḥ paraḥ*) has led them in their present diaspora to establish a replica of the temple of Śārikā on a hill, renamed Hār^{a}parbuth, in Anangpur village, Faridabad, south of Delhi.

[117] I have not seen Kashmirian manuscripts of the text but it is probable that one at least exists since it has been published in Kashmir in booklets for devotional use; see *Stutisaṃgraha* and *Śrīgurustuti* in the bibliography. In the quotations that follow I have cited only the readings of the second, that of the first being identical with it but for the addition of numerous minor errors. A line of a verse by Śrīnātha has been quoted by Kṣemarāja in *Śivasūtravimarśinī*, p. 92, ll. 10–12: *yathoktaṃ śrīśrīnāthapādaiḥ 'śrayet svātantryaśaktiṃ svāṃ sā śrīkālī parā kalā' iti* 'As the venerable Śrīnātha has said, "He should take hold of his own power of autonomy. That is Kālī, the highest power"'. This is perhaps from another, lost work by Jñānanetra.

[118] *Kālikāstotra*, f. 90v1–3 (v. 1): *sitatarasaṃvidavāpyaṃ sadasatkalanāvihīnam anupādhi | jayati jagattrayarūpaṃ *nīrūpaṃ* (Ed. : *nairūpaṃ* Cod.) *devi te rūpam* | 2 *ekam anekākāraṃ *prasṛtajagadvyāpti* (*prasṛta* Ed. : *prasṛti* Cod) *vikṛtiparihīnam | jayati tavādvayarūpaṃ vimalam alaṃ citsvarūpākhyam*.

[119] For a brief, unannotated account of the phases of this worship see Sanderson 1988, pp. 695–698 (= 1990, pp. 164–167) and Sanderson in the discussion after Goudriaan 1986, p. 164.

verse 17 he invokes the first of these phases, that of the goddess's embodiment as the Pīṭha:[120]

> Supreme is your embodiment as the venerable Pīṭha[. For it is] replete with the pervasive power of the gnosis that flashes forth through the circles of the Bhūcarī, Dikcarī, Gocarī, and Khecarī goddesses, and [in its culmination] is one with the matchless state of rest [in the ground of consciousness].

In verses 3–4 and 16 he alludes to the five phases that follow, (1) the Five Flows (*pañcavāhacakram*), (2) Illumination (*prakāśacakram*), (3) Bliss (*ānandacakram*), (4) Embodiment (*mūrticakram*), and (5) the Celestial Order (*divyaughaḥ*), elsewhere termed the circle of the Multitude (*vṛndacakram*) or Śākinīs (*śākinīcakram*), comprising the sixty-four Siddhās and their leader Maṅgalā:[121]

> Supreme is the unique (*kim api*) act, surging up within, in which you assume your form through your pure creative urge, the shining forth of that consciousness absolute and spontaneous [as the cycle of the Five Flows]. Then when you have projected all Time [through the circles of Illumination and Bliss] and [your] terrible manifestation as the [introverting] ego through the [circle of] Embodiment you eliminate this [ego through the rise of the circle of the Multitude *vṛndacakram*] and so accomplish liberation.

and:[122]

> Supreme is the Mother [Kālī] who saves the world, pouring forth the Celestial Order by dividing each of her thirteen forms into five.

In verses 8–9 he alludes to the four phases that follow these five: the three phases of Emission, Stasis, and Withdrawal (*sṛṣṭicakram*, *sthiticakram*, and *saṃhāracakram*), and the thirteen Kālīs of the phase of the Nameless (*anākhyacakram*) in which the course of worship ends:[123]

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[120] *Kālikāstotra*, f. 92r4–5 (v. 17): *bhūdiggokhagadevīcakralasajjñānavibhavaparipūrṇam* | *nirupama*viśrāntimayaṃ* (Ed. : *viś[r]āntamayaṃ* Cod.) *śrīpīṭhaṃ jayati te *rūpam* (Ed. : *pīṭhaṃ* Cod.).

[121] *Kālikāstotra*, f. 90v3–5 (vv. 3–4): *jayati tavocchalad *antaḥ svacchecchayā* (Ed. : *asvecchacchayā* Cod.) *svavigrahagrahaṇam* | *kim api niruttarasahajasvarūpasaṃvitprakāśamayam* | 3 *vāntvā samastakālaṃ *mūrtyāhaṃkāraghoramūrtim api* (Cod. : *bhūtyā jhaṃkāraghoramūrttim api* Ed.) | *nigraham *asmin* (Ed. : *api* Cod.) *kṛtvānugraham api kurvatī jayasi*.

[122] *Kālikāstotra*, f. 92r3–7 (v. 16): *ṛtumunisaṃkhyaṃ rūpaṃ vibhajya pañcaprakāram ekaikam* | *divyaugham udgirantī jayati *jagattāriṇī* (Ed. : *jattāriṇī* Cod.) *jananī*.

[123] *Kālikāstotra*, f. 91r4–v1 (vv. 8–9): **ekaṃ* (Ed. : *evaṃ* Cod.) *svarūparūpaṃ prasarasthitivilayabhedatas trividham* | *pratyekam udayasaṃsthitilaya*viśramataś* (*viśramataś* Ed. : *viśrāmataś* Cod.) *caturvidhaṃ tad api* | 9 *iti vasupañcakasaṃkhyaṃ vidhāya sahajasvarūpam ātmīyam* | *viśvavivartāvartapravartakaṃ jayati te rūpam*.

> The unitary nature of [your] essence becomes triple in the aspects of Emission, Stasis, and Withdrawal; and each of these assumes four aspects through Emission, Stasis, Withdrawal, and Rest. Supreme is your form that by thus dividing your spontaneous essence into twelve sets in motion the whirl that is your unfolding (*vivartaḥ*) as the world.

In verses 5 and 18 he venerates the last of these:[124]

> Supreme are you, O Kālī, who, after dividing the body of Time into twelve, make that same nature shine forth within yourself as one.[125]

and:[126]

> I praise the absolutely transcendent Goddess within that ground that lies within the state [of the Nameless] in which withdrawal itself is withdrawn, who is untouched by the prolixities of the existent and non-existent that she projects, [yet is] manifest in everything at every moment.

He closes with a prayer that now that this nature of the Goddess has been revealed to him it may be realized by all beings:[127]

> O mother, by your favour, may these three worlds appropriate the nature of the Goddess that rests within the transcendental void, as I experienced it in the great cremation ground. Thus I, Śiva, have expressed praise of my own nature by force of the state of true immersion. O Maṅgalā, may it benefit the whole world that is itself myself.

In this hymn he draws on both of the principal Krama scriptures. Thus, for example, he takes the circle of the Multitude from the *Kālīkulakramasadbhāva*, and the circle of the thirteen [Kālīs] from the *Kālīkulapañcaśataka*.[128] Nor has

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[124] *Kālikāstotra*, ff. 90v5–91r1 (v. 5): *kālasya kāli dehaṃ vibhajya munipañca*saṃkhyayābhinnam* (em. : *saṃkhyayā bhinnam* Ed. [Cod., of course, allows both interpretations]) | *svasmin virājamānaṃ tad rūpaṃ kurvatī jayasi*.

[125] He intends us to understand that this manifestation of the twelve Kālīs as one is the thirteenth Kālī worshipped at their centre.

[126] *Kālikāstotra*, ff. 92r5–v1 (v. 18): *pralayalayāntarabhūmau vilasitasadasatprapañcahīnām* | **devīṃ* (Cod. : *devi* Ed.) *niruttaratarāṃ naumi sadā sarvataḥ *prakaṭām* (Ed. : *prakaṭaṃ* Cod.).

[127] *Kālikāstotra*, f. 92v1–4 (v. 19–20): **yādṛṅ mahāśmaśāne dṛṣṭaṃ devyāḥ svarūpam *akulastham* (Ed. : *akulaṃsthaṃ* Cod.) | *tādṛg jagattrayam idaṃ bhavatu tavāmba prasādena* | 20 *itthaṃ svarūpastutir abhyadhāyi samyaksamāveśadaśāvaśena* | *mayā śivenāstu śivāya samyaṅ mamaiva viśvasya tu *maṅgalākhye* (Cod. : *maṅgalāya* Ed.).

[128] The phase of the 64 (+1) is taught in the *Kālīkulakramasadbhāva* (Paṭala 2: *catuḥṣaṣṭivibhā⟨gā⟩vatāraḥ*) but not in the *Kālīkulapañcaśataka*, while the phase of the 13 [Kālīs] is derived from the *Kālīkulapañcaśataka* (Paṭala 5), the *Kālīkulakramasadbhāva* teaching the worship

he simply cobbled together elements from the two. The result, to judge from the more detailed accounts to be seen in the works of his successors, is a harmonious and original whole carefully designed to express a coherent model of the cyclical unfolding and reversion of cognition pervaded by its non-sequential core, producing perhaps for the first time in Śaivism a model for a form of contemplative ritual entirely fashioned by and subservient to the terms of a doctrine of liberating gnosis.[129]

A passage from a lost text on the Krama lineages quoted by Jayaratha, which I shall call the *Kramavaṃśāvalī*, asserts that Jñānanetra had seventeen disciples, some of whom came in time to initiate others, so establishing their own lineages. According to Jayaratha himself the total was at least nineteen.[130]

The Kramastotra of Eraka

Abhinavagupta relates that three of these disciples, the Yoginīs Keyūravatī, Madanikā, and Kalyāṇikā—it is the last two that raise Jayaratha's count—passed on the teaching that Jñānanetra had received to Govindarāja, Bhānuka, and Eraka:[131]

First the venerable, excellent Vīra Govindarāja, of auspicious name, second

of seventeen Kālīs in this phase. When in verse 9cd (f. 91r5–v1) he speaks of the circle of the Kālīs as setting in motion the whirl of the [her] unfolding as the world he echoes *Kālīkulapañcaśataka* A, f. 27v4 (7.27ab): *tadvivartaḥ smṛto jyotiḥpuñjaś cakreśipūrvagaḥ* 'The mass of radiance beginning with the leader of the circle [of Kālīs] is her unfolding (*vivartaḥ*)'.

[129] See also Sanderson 1995, pp. 90–91

[130] *Tantrālokaviveka*, vol. 3, p. 195, ll. 1–11: *kiṃ ca śrīmadavatārakanāthena śrīkakāradevīvac chrīmadanikāśrīkalyāṇike cānugṛhīte ity apy ato 'vasitam. tad eṣa 'kramakulacatuṣṭayāśrayabhedābhedopadeśato nāthaḥ | saptadaśaiva śiṣyān itthaṃ cakre savaṃśanirvaṃśān' iti niyamo na nyāyyaḥ śiṣyadvayasyāsyāparigaṇanād anyasyāpi saṃbhāvyamānatvāt* 'Moreover, it is also determined on the evidence of this source [the *Kramakeli* of Abhinavagupta] that the revered Promulgator initiated not only Kakāradevī [Keyūravatī] but also the venerable Madanikā and Kalyāṇikā. So the limit expressed in the following passage is not justified: "Thus the Nātha [Jñānanetra] initiated precisely seventeen disciples in the teaching of duality-cum-noduality that rests on the four phases of the Krama, who themselves had or did not have disciples of their own". For its author has failed to count these two disciples and there may well have been another'.

[131] *Tantrālokaviveka*, vol. 3, p. 192, ll. 3–9, quoting Abhinavagupta's *Kramakeli*: *yad uktaṃ tatraivānena yathā* ('As [Abhinavagupta] has said in that same work'): *ekaḥ śrīmān vīravaraḥ sugṛhītanāmadheyo govindarājābhidhānaḥ śrībhānukābhidhāno dvitīyaḥ śrīmān erakasamākhyas tṛtīyaḥ samam evopadeśaṃ pīṭheśvarībhya uttarapīṭhe* (em. : *uttarapīṭha* Ed.) *labdhopadeśac chrīśivānandanāthāl labdhānugrahābhyaḥ śrīkeyūravatīśrīmadanikāśrīkalyāṇikābhyaḥ prāpnuvantaḥ*.

> Bhānuka, and third Eraka received together the teaching from Keyūravatī, Madanikā, and Kalyāṇikā, all three of whom had been initiated by Śivānandanātha,[132] who had received the teaching in the Northern Pīṭha from the Pīṭheśvarīs.

Eraka first strove for *siddhiḥ* but later resolved to benefit mankind by passing on the esoteric teaching in the form of a hymn:[133]

> As for the venerable Eraka, he strove for *siddhiḥ*, until having achieved it he reflected as follows: "What is the value of the supernatural rewards that I have undergone this great hardship to attain? Why did I not devote myself exclusively, as my [two] fellow pupils did, to the spiritual upliftment of those who might have come to me as disciples. For: 'Even on the level of Sadāśiva [to which those who seek reward ascend] Mahograkālī with her ferocious frown of fury will come in time to destroy. Realizing this one should ascend to the ultimate state and forcibly enter the Goddess Kālasaṃkarṣiṇī [/who withdraws even Sadāśiva]'. So let me now benefit mankind by spreading through [this] hymn the esoteric teaching that I have held hidden in my mind".

This hymn was the *Kramastotra*, which later authors refer to reverentially as the *Kramastotrabhaṭṭāraka*, using an honorific otherwise reserved for scriptures.[134] Unfortunately no manuscript of the text has reached us. All we have

[132] Śivānandanātha is Jñānanetranātha's alias; cf. Arṇasiṃha. *Mahānayaprakāśa*, f. 119v1–2 (v. 154ab): *tataḥ śrīmacchivānandanāthaguruvaraṃ sadā | lokottaramahājñānacakṣuṣaṃ praṇamāmy aham* 'Next I offer homage to the foremost of Gurus, the venerable Śivānandanātha, who possessed at all times the eye of the supramundane, great knowledge'. The expression *-jñānacakṣuṣaṃ* is evidently intended to allude to his other name, Jñānanetra, which Arṇasiṃha uses in f. 117v2–3 (v. 136): *śrījñānanetranāthasya* (see footnote 91 on p. 263).

[133] *Tantrālokaviveka*, vol. 3, p. 193, ll. 1–11: *śrīmān erakas tu siddhyai prāyatata yāvat siddhaḥ sann evaṃ manasā samarthayate sma. kiṃ bhogair yad ayaṃ mahān kleśo mayānubhūtaḥ. katham ahaṃ sabrahmacārivad yāvajjīvaṃ prapannalokoddharaṇamātrapara eva nābhavaṃ yataḥ śrīmatsadāśivapade' pi mahograkālī bhīmotkaṭabhrukuṭir eṣyati bhaṅgabhūmiḥ | ity ākalayya paramāṃ sthitim etya kālasaṃkarṣiṇīṃ bhagavatīm haṭhato 'dhitiṣṭhet. tad idānīm api nijabhāvagatarahasyopadeśaṃ stotramukhenāpi tāvat prasārayaṃl lokān anugṛhṇīyām iti*. That the whole passage, beginning from *ekaḥ śrīmān vīravaraḥ* and ending here with *lokān anugṛhṇīyām iti*, is direct quotation from Abhinavagupta's *Kramakeli* is confirmed by the fact that Kṣemarāja attributes the first half of the verse cited here to that work in *Śivastotrāvalivivṛti*, p. 159, ll. 17–18 (l. 16: *yathoktam asmadgurubhiḥ kramakelau* 'As has been said by my Guru in the *Kramakeli*').

[134] We find it in Kashmirian sources in the following: *Kramasadbhāvabhaṭṭāraka* (= *Kālīkulakramasadbhāva*), *Tantrarājabhaṭṭāraka* (= *Jayadrathayāmala*), *Mṛtyujidbhaṭṭāraka* (= *Netra*), *Vijñānabhaṭṭāraka* (= *Vijñānabhairava*), *Sarvavīrabhaṭṭāraka*, and *Svatantrabhaṭṭāraka* (= *Svacchanda*).

are quotations in the works of others of its verses on twelve out of the thirteen Kālīs of the phase of the Nameless,[135] and five citations of verses or single lines on (1) the activation of the seed-syllable KHPHREṂ[136] as the contemplation of the progressive dissolution of the content of cognition into the sky of consciousness (*cidākāśaḥ*), (2) on the rise of [the goddess in consciousnesss as] the Mantra dissolving all differentiated cognitions,[137] (3) on the single radiance that permeates the object, means, and agent of cognition, (4) on the inexpressible essence of all verbalization, and (5) on the inner fusion of light and bliss.[138]

Keyūravatī

Later Krama Gurus trace their initiatory lineage back to Jñānanetra through the Yoginī Keyūravatī alone, who thus occupies a position of particular reverence in the tradition as the conduit through which the teachings of Jñānanetra reached all subsequent Gurus. Nor does Abhinavagupta's account, though it adds Madanikā and Kalyāṇikā, claim any independence for them as the source of individual lineages, simply merging them somewhat implausibly with Keyūravatī as co-initiators. No work is attributed to her in spite of her eminence, or to any other of the known female Gurus of this tradition; but the **Kramavaṃśāvalī* reports that she had three disciples, all of whom began their own teaching lineages. Jayaratha raises the total to six, by adding Govindarāja and Bhānuka on the authority of Abhinavagupta, and a certain Naverakanātha on the authority of a citation from a lost work.[139]

Hrasvanātha (/Vāmana/Vāmanadatta/Vīranātha)

The transmission that reached these later Gurus passed from her through the Vīra Hrasvanātha, also called Vāmana, Vīravāmanaka, Vāmanavīra, and Vīranā-

[135] For the citations of these verses see footnote 204 on p. 297.

[136] This syllable opens the principal Krama Mantra, the nine-syllable Vidyā of Kālasaṃkarṣaṇī: KHPHREṂ MAHĀCAṆḌAYOGEŚVAṚ. For this verse and a translation see p. 363.

[137] For this verse and a translation see p. 362.

[138] These five citations are respectively in (1) *Tantrālokaviveka* on 4.191cd, (2) *Mahārthamañjarīparimala* on v. 49, (3) *Mahānayaprakāśa* (Triv.) 6.27; *Vijñānabhairavavivṛti*, p. 140; (4) *Mahārthamañjarīparimala* on v. 39; and (5) *ibid.*, on v. 44, partially in *Spandasaṃdoha*, p. 10, l. 15–11, 1 (*yathoktaṃ …siddhapādaiḥ*).

[139] *Tantrālokaviveka*, vol. 3, pp. 195, l. 16–196, l. 9.

tha.[140] Jayaratha tells us that Hrasvanātha composed a commentary (*-vivaraṇa*) on Eraka's *Kramastotra*, and claims to have seen a manuscript of it written in his own hand.[141] But no trace survives beyond this single mention, nor of any of the other commentaries on the same whose existence he reports.[142] Of his work we have a single verse from an unidentified source, which speaks of "that supramundane fire-sacrifice in which the fuel is the forest of dualities and the human sacrifice (*mahāpaśuḥ*) Death himself".[143]

We also have two short texts: the *Svabodhodayamañjarī* and the *Dvayasaṃpattivārtika*, also known as the *Bodhavilāsa*. The last verse of the former declares that it is the work of Vāmanadatta, the son of Harṣadatta 'a lion in the forest of the Mīmāṃsā'.[144] In the closing verse of the latter the author does not

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[140](1) Vāmana: *Tantrālokaviveka*, vol. 3, p. 196, 15–16, quoting from a lost work by one Somarāja a passage on his teacher Hrasvanātha: *śrīmadvāmanabhānuḥ kramakamalavikāsane caturaḥ* 'The venerable Vāmana, a [veritable] sun able to cause the lotuses of the lineage to unfold'; and Arṇasiṃha, *Mahānayaprakāśa*, f. 119v3–5 (v. 156): *mahāvīravaro yo 'sau śrīmadvāmanasaṃjñakaḥ | devīdhāmni sadārūḍhas taṃ vande kramabhāskaram* 'I praise the best among the best of Vīras, Vāmana by name, that sun to [the lotuses of] the Krama [lineage], who was constantly immersed in the radiance of the Goddess'; (2) Vīravāmanaka: Yogarāja, *Paramārthasāravivṛti*, p. 146, l. 15: *yathāha bhaṭṭaśrīvīravāmanakaḥ*; (3) Vāmanavīra: *Mahānayaprakāśa* (Triv.), 8.27c: *etadvimarśasaṃbhūtavīrāvalyāditarpaṇāt | āsīd *vāmanavīrasya* (em. : *vāmanavīryasya* Ed.) **vidveṣastambhanādikam* (conj. : *yadviṣṇustambhanādikam* Cod.); and (4) Vīranātha: *Tantrālokaviveka*, vol. 3, p. 196, ll. 10–13: *śrīhrasvanāthasyāpi "śrīvīranāthapādaiḥ pañca ca devīnaye kṛtāḥ śiṣyāḥ" iti na pañcaiva śiṣyāḥ* 'Nor is it true of Hrasvanātha that he had only five disciples, as is stated in the verse "The venerable Vīranātha initiated five disciples in the Devīnaya"'.

[141] *Tantrālokaviveka*, vol. 3, p. 203, ll. 13–15, speaking of a second verse on Yamakālī in that hymn: *athāyam api bhavatkalpita eva śloka iti cen naitat śrīhrasvanāthenāpi svalipivivaraṇe 'sya dṛṣṭatvāt* 'If it is claimed that this verse too is my work [rather than Eraka's], I reply that this cannot be so, because Hrasvanātha too bears witness to this verse in his commentary in his own hand'.

[142] *Tantrālokaviveka*, vol. 3, p. 203, ll. 15–16: *sarveṣām eva ca vivaraṇakṛtām atra pratipadaṃ pāṭhānāṃ ślokānāṃ ⟨ca⟩ vyatyāso dṛśyate. ity asmaddṛṣṭa eva pāṭhe ka ivāyaṃ pradveṣaḥ* 'Moreover, we find that all the authors of commentaries have inversions of readings and verses at every step in this [work]. So why, I wonder, should there be this special hostility to the reading that I have seen?'

[143]Yogarāja, *Paramārthasāravivṛti*, p. 146, l. 15: *yathāha bhaṭṭaśrīvīravāmanakaḥ: yatrendhanaṃ dvaitavanaṃ mṛtyur eva mahāpaśuḥ | alaukikena yajñena tena nityaṃ yajāmahe*. For the meaning of *mahāpaśuḥ* see *Svacchandoddyota*, vol. 2, p. 7: *mahāpaśuḥ puruṣapaśuḥ* 'a *mahāpaśuḥ* is a human sacrificial victim'.

[144]*Svabodhodayamañjarī* A, f. 8r9–11; B, f. 5v7–9 (v. 44): *mīmāṃsāvanasiṃhasya harṣadattasya sūnunā | kṛtā vāmanadattena svabodhodayamañjarī*.

state his name but identifies himself simply as the son of Harṣadatta 'a lion in the forest of the Mīmāṃsā and a native of Ṭākadeśa'.[145] The -datta of the name would hinder us from identifying this author with the Krama's Vāmana *alias* Hrasvanātha, were it not that Śiva[svāmin] Upādhyāya quotes the second text as the work of Vāmananātha at one place,[146] and as that of Hrasvanātha, son of Harṣadatta, at another.[147] Abhinavagupta quotes the same as the work of Śrī-Vāmana,[148] and Kṣemarāja quotes the first as that of Bhaṭṭaśrī-Vāmana,[149] while Yogarāja, the pupil of Kṣemarāja, attributes the verse cited above on the supramundane fire-sacrifice to Bhaṭṭaśrī-Vīravāmanaka.[150]

The purpose and content of the *Svabodhodayamañjarī* is the teaching of a series of purely mental practices to bring about liberation-in-life through the dissolution of contracted awareness (*manaḥ, cittam*) by means of insight (*niścayaḥ*) into the emptiness of objective and mental phenomena[151] and reversion into the uncontracted inner ground by observing the process of the arising and dying away of cognition, especially where the latter is particularly intense, as in the perception of the beautiful and meditation on the sensation of orgasm:

> One may meditate on any beautiful sound that one hears until ceasing it brings about the cessation of mind. In the same way one may meditate on the beauty of the visible and other [objects of the senses]. After the object-perception has dissolved one should let one's awareness remain empty, with no memory of it, full only of the sense of one's own immediate being.[152]
> ……

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[145] *Dvayasaṃpattivārtika* A, f. 8v24 and upper margin; B, ff. 6v9–7r1 (v. 23): *ṭākadeśasamudbhūto mīmāṃsāvanakesarī | harṣadatteti nāmnā tu tasya sūnor iyaṃ kṛtiḥ.*

[146] *Vijñānabhairavavivṛti*, p. 78, ll. 1–2: *dvayasaṃpattikāras tu vāmananātho ….*

[147] *Vijñānabhairavavivṛti*, p. 90, ll. 14–17: *śrīhrasvanāthena harṣadattasūnunā 'ahaṃkāramayī bhūmir' *ityādinā dvayasaṃpattau* (corr. : *ityadinā advayasaṃpattau* Ed.). The citation is *Dvayasaṃpattivārtika* A, f. 8r18–19; B, f. 6r8 (v. 5a).

[148] *Parātrīśikāvivaraṇa*, p. 198, ll. 13–14: *eṣa eva śrīvāmana*viracite dvayasaṃpattivārtike* (*viracite dvaya* corr. : *viracite advaya* Ed.) *upadeśanayo boddhavyaḥ.*

[149] *Spandanirṇaya*, p. 48, ll. 14–7: *bhaṭṭaśrīvāmanenāpy uktam 'ālambya saṃvidaṃ yasmāt saṃvedyaṃ na svabhāvataḥ | tasmāt saṃviditaṃ sarvam iti saṃvinmayo bhaved' iti*. 'Bhaṭṭaśrī-Vāmana too has said: "One can become flooded with consciousness by [contemplating] the fact that since the objects of knowledge exist not in themselves but only in dependence on cognition everything is known"'. This is *Svabodhodayamañjarī* A, f. 7v19–20 (v. 32).

[150] See footnote 143 on p. 276.

[151] See, e.g., v. 32 translated in footnote 149.

[152] *Svabodhodayamañjarī* A, f. 7r11–14; B, f. 3r4–7 (vv. 15–16): *yad yan manoharaṃ kiṃcic chrutigocaram āgatam | ekāgraṃ bhāvayet tāvad yāval līnaṃ nirodhakṛt | rūpādīnāṃ tathaivetthaṃ bhāvayed ramaṇīyatām | vilīnān *na* (A : *nā* B) *smaret paścād ātmabhāvopabṛṃhitaḥ.*

> One should direct one's attention at the climax of love-making to the point between the penis and the navel. As the bliss of orgasm fades one will suddenly be freed of all perturbation.[153]
>
> ……
>
> If a person's awareness dissolves into the self in every moment through these methods he becomes liberated-in-life, having reached the full reality of consciousness.[154]

The defining feature of these methods, which sets them apart from the meditation practices of the brahmanical tradition and indeed from those taught in much of the Śaiva Mantramārga, has been expressed by the author as follows:[155]

> The ancients taught that the cessation [of the activities of the mind and senses] comes about through the method of cultivating distaste for them. I shall teach [here] how that cessation can be achieved effortlessly.

and by Abhinavagupta in an oblique reference to the text:[156]

> To explain, the Guru has taught in many ways in his treatise that it is by an effortless detachment that the activities of the senses dissolve. [For] the more they are forcibly restrained, the more they rise in ever new forms.

As for the *Dvayasaṃpattivārtika*, that is an explanation of two verses, ascribed to oral transmission (*vaktrāgamaḥ*),[157] on the attainment of liberation-

[153] *Svabodhodayamañjarī* B, f. 5r6–7 (lacking in A) (v. 38): *nābhimeḍhrāntare cittaṃ *suratānte* (corr. : *svaratānte* B) *vinikṣipet | līyamāne ratānande nistaraṅgaḥ kṣaṇaṃ bhavet*.

[154] *Svabodhodayamañjarī* A, f. 8r7–9; B, f. 5v5–7 (v. 43): *itthaṃ pratikṣaṇaṃ yasya cittam ātmani līyate | sa labdhabodhasadbhāvo jīvanmukto vidhīyate*.

[155] *Svabodhodayamañjarī* A, f. 7r6–7; B, ff. 2v9–3r1 (v. 12): *pūrvair nirodhaḥ kathito vairāgyābhyāsayogataḥ | ayatnena nirodho 'yam asmābhir upadiśyate*.

[156] *Mālinīvijayavārtika* 2.111–12: *tathā hi gurur ādikṣad bahudhā svakaśāsane | anādaraviraktyaiva galantīndriyavṛttayaḥ | yāvat tu viniyamyante tāvat tāvad vikurvate*.

[157] *Dvayasaṃpattivārtika* A, f. 8r17–18; B, f. 5v6–7 (v. 4ab): *ślokadvayam idaṃ yasmāc chivavaktrāgamoditam*. Gnoli (1974, p. 454) takes *śivavaktrāgamoditam* to mean 'stated in the scriptures from the very mouth of Śiva' ('state dette nell'*āgama* dalla stessa bocca di Śiva'). However, the term *vaktrāgamaḥ* and its synonyms such as *vaktrāmnāyaḥ* and *mukhāgamaḥ* mean oral teaching as opposed to teaching in the form of scripture; see, e.g., *Devīdvyardhaśatikā*, f. 12r4–5 (v. 139ab): *paścāc *chṛṇuṣvaiva* (em. : *chṛṇuṣvava* Cod.) *mahopadeśaṃ vaktrāgame ya⟨t⟩ sthita khecarīṣu*; f. 3v6–7 (v. 31cd): **mukhāgamam idaṃ* (conj. : *mukhāgamami* Cod.) *devi khecarīṇāṃ hṛdi sthitam*; *Kālīkulakramasadbhāva*, f. 4r12–v1 (3.29cd): *tena vaktreṇa vaksyāmi vaktrāmnāyakramāgatam*; *Kālīkulapañcaśataka* A, f. 2v1 (1.18ab): *mukhāgamavidhānena vaktrādvaktrakrameṇa tu*; *Chummāsaṃketaprakāśa*, f. 9v6 (v. 142): *saṃcāru | mukhānmukhakramāyātaḥ sarvasaṃkalpavarjitaḥ | vaktrāmnāyaḥ paro yo 'yaṃ sa saṃcāro 'mitaḥ sthitaḥ*;

in-life (*vyutthāne śivatvam*) through meditative fusion of the two urges, introvertive and extrovertive, of uncontracted consciousness.

These practices and their description contain no elements that link them directly to outward features specific to the Krama. Indeed many are drawn from the *Vijñānabhairava* rather than any scripture of the Kālīkula. Nonetheless, their spirit is precisely that which animates the Krama; and this proximity is particularly clear in the practice of observing the arising and reversion of sensual cognition, from initial excitation to final quiescence. We cannot conclude, therefore, from the abstract character of these instructions that they must have been written by an author other than Hrasvanātha. Moreover, both works are connected with the oral tradition of the Siddhas, an expression for the enlightened that is mostly applied in the Kashmirian literature to masters of the Krama. The author of the anonymous *Mahānayaprakāśa* when citing the first verse of the *Svabodhodayamañjarī* refers to it or the whole work as *siddhamukhāmnāyaḥ* 'the oral teachings of the Siddhas'.[158] The author himself refers to those teachings in that work[159] and at the end of his *Dvayasaṃpattivārtika* identifies them as his source. Moreover, he declares that those who achieve success by following the path that he has formulated on their basis will attain the *yoginīpadam*, the domain of the Yoginīs, which is to say the state that they embody or, which comes to the same, the state that they hold in their awareness and transmit to others.[160] This too is consistent with a Krama background, though it does not

Vātūlanāthasūtravṛtti, p. 19, ll. 1–2: *mahāmelāpasamaye sūtropanibaddho vaktrāmnāyaḥ prakāśitaḥ*; *Tantrāloka* 6.252ab: *iti kālatattvam uditaṃ śāstramukhāgamanijānubhavasiddham*. This leads me to question the reading *śiva-*. For the oral teaching of Śiva *is* his scriptures and the expression *śivavaktrāgama-* is therefore pleonastic. Moreover, as GNOLI's translation shows, it supposes an awkward ellipsis: 'scriptures by/from Śiva's mouth' for 'scriptures *uttered* by Śiva's mouth'. I therefore suspect that the manuscripts have transmitted a corruption of *siddhavaktrāgamoditam* 'taught in the oral transmission of the Siddhas'. That reading would make better sense, and it would be in keeping with the author's statement at the end of the work that it is the oral teachings of the Siddhas that he has formulated (see footnote 160).

[158] *Mahānayaprakāśa* (Triv.) 9.52–53: …*iti siddhamukhāmnāyayuktyā* ….

[159] *Svabodhodayamañjarī* B, f. 5r1–2 (v. 35): *vāmadakṣiṇasaṃcārabindudvayanigharṣaṇāt | dvādaśānte mahāśaktiḥ siddhair uktā mukhāgame* 'The Siddhas have taught in their oral teachings that the Great Power [becomes manifest] in the Dvādaśānta through the friction of the two drops in the flows of the left and right [channels of the breath]'.

[160] *Dvayasaṃpattivārtika* A, f. 8v23–24 and left margin; B, f. 6v8–9 (v. 22): *iti siddhamukhodgītaṃ svayam evam udāhṛtam | mārgeṇānena saṃsiddhā labhante yoginīpadam* 'Thus I have formulated in my own words the oral teaching of the Siddhas. Those who achieve success by this path attain the Yoginī's domain'.

prove it conclusively. Finally, the *Svabodhodayamañjarī*, though infrequently cited in the Kashmirian literature, is, as we shall see, one of the few texts cited by Kashmirian authors of the Krama. I see no good reason therefore to deny that these two texts are the work of Hrasvanātha/Vāmana.

Some have asserted that the author of these works is the Vāmanadatta who wrote the long philosophical hymn to Viṣṇu (**Viṣṇustuti*) rooted in the Pāñcarātrika tradition of the *Sātvatasaṃhitā* that has been referred to as the *Saṃvitprakāśa*, though that appears to be the title only of the first of a series of Prakaraṇas contained in the work.[161] But that position is refuted by the hymn itself. For while the author of the Śaiva works describes himself as the son of Harṣadatta, a Mīmāṃsaka of Ṭākadeśa in the northern Panjab, the author of this Pāñcarātrika work describes himself as a Kashmirian of the Ekāyana lineage, whose father was Devadatta, son of Rātradatta.[162]

Hrasvanātha and Cakrabhānu

Hrasvanātha initiated five disciples according to the **Kramavaṃśāvalī* and six according to Jayaratha.[163] The foremost of these was Cakrabhānu, whom Krama tradition reports to have been an ascetic following the [Kāpālika] observance as a skull-carrying denizen of the cremation ground (*mahāvratadharaḥ*).[164]

Now the Kashmirian historian Kalhaṇa reports in his *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, written between 1148/49 and 1149/50, that a brahmin ascetic of this name was punished by King Yaśaskara (r. A.D. 939–948) for transgressing the limits of brahmanical conduct (*atyācāraḥ*) in a *cakramelakaḥ*. He also reports the claim of the Gurus of this tradition that the Yogin Vīranātha, who, he tells us, was Yaśaskara's minister of war and peace and Cakrabhānu's maternal uncle, took

[161] This assertion is seen in GNOLI 1974, p. 453 and 1989, p. 125; and TORELLA 1994, p. 482.

[162] *Saṃvitprakāśa*, f. 5r6–9 (vv. 153–155, end): *rātradattir devadatto ratnādevyāṃ yam ātmajam | lebhe vāmanadattākhyaṃ tatstutyā prīyate hariḥ | ṣaṣṭyuttaraṃ ślokaśatam idaṃ bodhaṃ vināpi yaḥ | paṭhen madhuripor agre bhaktyā mokṣaṃ sa gacchati | ekāyane prasūtasya kaśmīreṣu dvijanmanaḥ | kṛtir vāmanadattasya seyaṃ bhagavadāśrayā. iti saṃvitprakāśanāma prathamaṃ prakaraṇam* 'Hari delights in the hymn of Vāmanadatta, whom Devadatta, son of Rātradatta, obtained as his son by Ratnādevī. Whoever recites these 160 verses in the presence of Viṣṇu with devotion, even if he does not understand them, attains liberation. This work on the Lord is Vāmanadatta's, a brahmin born in Kashmir in the Ekāyana [lineage]. Here ends the first Prakaraṇa, called the *Saṃvitprakāśa*'.

[163] *Tantrālokaviveka*, vol. 3, pp. 193, l. 16–197, l. 4.

[164] See Arṇasiṃha's *Mahānayaprakāśa*, v. 156 in footnote 194 on p. 292.

revenge by performing a ritual of chastisement (*nigrahakarma*) that caused the king's death:[165]

> The king, having committed himself vigorously to the task of supervising the caste-classes and [brahmanical] disciplines discovered that a brahmin ascetic called Cakrabhānu had transgressed prescribed brahmanical conduct in a *cakramelakaḥ* and, being submissive to his religious obligations as a king, punished him by branding his forehead with the shape of a dog's foot. The [Śākta] Gurus, promoting their standing by [pointing to] the power of their predecessors, confidently proclaim that in his fury at this the Yogin Vīranātha, who was the king's own minister of war and peace and Cakrabhānu's maternal uncle, performed [a ritual of] chastisement against him. The story that they themselves have put about is that [as a result] the king died at the end of seven days.[166] But how can that be reasonable when [in fact] what killed him was the illness from which he had long been suffering?

I propose that this is the Cakrabhānu of our Krama lineage and that Vīranātha, his maternal uncle and Yaśakara's minister, is none of other than his Guru Hrasvanātha. For, as we have seen, Hrasvanātha was also known as Vīranātha in the Krama's literature, and the placing of these events in Yaśaskara's

[165]Kalhaṇa, *Rājataraṅgiṇī* 6.108–112: *varṇāśramapratyavekṣābaddhakakṣyaḥ kṣitīśvaraḥ | cakrabhānvabhidhaṃ cakramelake dvijatāpasam | kṛtātyācāram ālokya *rājadharmavaśaṃvadaḥ* (em. : *rājā dharmavaśaṃvadaḥ* Ed.) | *nijagrāha śvapādena lalāṭataṭam aṅkayan | tanmātulena tadroṣād vīranāthena yoginā | sāṃdhivigrahikeṇātha sa svenaiva nyagṛhyata | pūrvācāryaprabhāveṇa svamāhātmyādhiropaṇam | prakhyāpayadbhir gurubhiḥ śraddhayeti yad ucyate | tatkhyāpitaiva saptāhāt sa vipanna iti śrutiḥ | dīrghavyādhihate tasminn upapattiḥ kathaṃ bhavet*. I have proposed the emendation *rājadharmavaśaṃvadaḥ* for the reading *rājā dharmavaśaṃvadaḥ* seen in Stein's edition because it both removes the defect of the subject's being stated twice in the same sentence (*kṣitīśvaraḥ* and *rājā*) and provides an apt adjectival qualification of the former ('submissive to his religious obligations as a king'), *rājadharmaḥ* being a term of art for the special obligations imposed on rulers by the Dharmaśāstra, which include that of ensuring the punishment of wrongdoers.

[166]Texts of the Mantramārga regularly specify seven days as the period for which a fire-sacrifice for such a *siddhiḥ* must be maintained, saying that its effect comes about at the end of that time; see, e.g., *Kubjikāmata* 23.151: *sadā kruddhena kartavyaṃ nigrahaṃ saptavāsaraiḥ*; *Picumata*, f. 70v4 (14.226cd): *saptarātreṇa deveśi mārayed *ripupuṅgavaṃ* (*ripu* conj. : *vapu* Cod.); *Picumata*, f. 251r3 (55.58ab): *rājānan tu vaśaṃ kuryāt saptarātrā⟨n⟩ na saṃśayaḥ*; *Vīṇāśikha* 198c–199b: *juhuyāt saptarātraṃ tu yasya nāmnā tu sādhakaḥ | vidviṣṭo dṛśyate loke eṣa vidveṣaṇaṃ param*; *Uḍḍāmareśvara* 1.51cd: *saptarātraprayogena sarvaśatrupraṇāśanam*. It is for this reason that I have understood Kalhaṇa's use of the verb *ni-gṛh-* (*nyagṛhyata*) to refer to the kind of ritual known as a *nigrahakarma*, as in the first of these examples of seven-day hostile ceremonies.

reign accords, as we shall see, with other evidence of the chronology of these Gurus.[167] Moreover, the *cakramelakaḥ* to which Kalhaṇa refers and that Stein tentatively suggested in his translation of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* might be a place-name, is in fact a Kaula ritual, 'a gathering (*-melakaḥ*) of a circle (*cakra-*)' of male initiates and low-caste Yoginīs with a strongly orgiastic character.

The ritual is set out in detail as one of the Krama's periodic ceremonies in the *Kālīkulakramārcana* of Vimalaprabodha, the Guru of the Nepalese king Arimalla (r. 1200–1216),[168] under the name *cakrakrīḍā*.[169] The sponsor invites the Guru and male initiates of the three grades to a house together with sixteen, eight, or four Yoginīs of specified castes, mostly or exclusively low, beneath the rank of Śūdra.[170] He sets up a [wine-]pot, worships the Goddess in it with the

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[167] See p. 412.

[168] That Vimalaprabodha was the Guru of Arimalla is stated in the colophon reported by Petech (1984, pp. 81–82) of a manuscript of the *Amṛteśvarapūjā* of Abhayamalla, Arimalla's successor, penned in A.D. 1216. It describes Arimalla as *śrīmadvimalaprabodhapādaprasādāl labdhābhiṣeka-* 'consecrated by the favour of the venerable Guru Vimalaprabodha'.

[169] *Kālīkulakramārcana* ff. 20r2–21r1, 21r5–v3: *athācāryasādhakaputrakasamayijanān yoginīkulasahitān āmantrayet. yathā brāhmaṇī paukkasī dhvajinī antyajā cakriṇī *chippiṇī* (corr. : *chippiṇa* Cod.) *saunakī kṣatriṇī mātaṅgī carmakārī dhīvarī mahāmati⟨ḥ⟩ śūdrī vaiśyī veśyā dhāvakī nartakī ity uttamayoginīkulam. dhīvarī dhvajinī chippiṇī paukkasī carmakārī antyajā naṭī veśyā iti madhyamayoginīkulam. dhīvarī dhvajinī chippiṇī paukkasī ity adhamayoginīkulam. yathā śobhanagṛhe kumbhaṃ saṃsthāpya sveṣṭakramasahitāṃ tatra devīṃ saṃpūjya pañcavāhamaṇḍalopari balipātraṃ niveśya samayahṛdayena tāḍanaprokṣaṇanirīkṣaṇābhyukṣaṇasamīkaraṇādikaṃ sthānasya kṛtvā āsanāni saṃsthāpya pratyekaikāsane pañcakālāsanān saṃpūjya guhyahṛdayena pādaprakṣālana*pūrvakaṃ* (corr. : *pūrvvaka* Cod.) *tatrāsane upaveśayet. upaviṣṭe sati mahāsamayahṛdayena vāmāvartakrameṇa dvārād dvāraṃ yāvad avicchinnāṃ *surādhārāṃ* (corr. : *suradhārāṃ* Cod.) *dadyāt. tata ācāryaṃ guruparamparāyātaṃ siddhakrameṇa saṃpūjya sādhakān vīrakrameṇa putrakān pīṭhakrameṇa samayinaḥ kṣetrakrameṇa *yoginīś* (corr. : *yoginī* Cod.) *catuḥkramābhyantare pratyekaikakramaikena pūjayet. tilakakajjalasindūrapuṣpavastrālaṃkāraṃ yathākrameṇa svasvavidyayā dattvā pātrāṇi jyeṣṭhānukrameṇa pañcāmṛtādisahitāni pañcavāhamaṇḍalopari purataḥ sthāpayet. khānapānalehyacoṣyādikaṃ guhyahṛdayābhimantritaṃ purataḥ sthāpayitvā samayacchommakaṃ sarvaiḥ saha bhāṣed yathā* hā hā *sṛṣṭau* hiṭi hiṭi *sthitau* kre kre *saṃhāre* āra āra *anākhye* kuluru kuluru *bhāsāyām. upasaṃhārasaṃkhyākrameṇa devatātarpaṇaṃ kṛtvā samayabaliṃ dadyāt. …* (f. 21r1–5). *tataḥ pūrvoktāṃ vai *bhāṣāṃ* (corr. : *bhāsāṃ* Cod.) *samuccārya pātrāṇi dāpayet, vāmahastena gṛhṇīyāt. ādau śaktes tadanantaraṃ sarveṣāṃ. evaṃ tridhā. pūrvasaṃskṛtacarukaṃ lelihāmudrayā *pradīpaṃ* (conj. : *paridīpaṃ* Cod.) *ca bhakṣaṇīyam. tadante yathāsukhena śrīkramasadbhāvoktakrameṇa cakrakrīḍā. samāptyante pañcavāhaṃ saṃpūjya dakṣāvartena dhārāṃ nipātya madhyānte samayabaliṃ dattvā cakrasthānaṃ gomayenopalipya puṣpeṇa pūjayet. iti cakrakrīḍāvidhiḥ.*

[170] The source of the list of sixteen Yoginīs is *Kālīkulakramasadbhāva*, f. 10r12–12 (4.47c–49): *brāhmaṇī *pukkasī* (*puṣkasī* Cod.) *caiva dhvajinī antyajā tathā* | 48 *cakriṇī ca tathā *chippī*

deities of his preferred Krama phase, places the vessel for the bali offering on a Maṇḍala diagram in which he has worshipped the [goddesses of the] Five Flows (*pañcavāhamaṇḍalam*), ritually prepares the ground of the site, sets out seats for each of the guests on it, installs and worships the five deities from Brahmā to Sadāśiva on each, so transforming them into thrones for the installation of Bhairavas or goddesses, washes the feet of each guest, invites them to be seated, pours a continuous stream of liquor around the periphery of the site from door to door, moving from right to left, and worships the Guru, Sādhakas, Putrakas, and Samayins with the Mantras of the Siddhas, Vīras, Pīṭhas, and Kṣetras respectively, and the Yoginīs with the Mantras of the four phases from Emission to the Nameless, one for each, so that the Mantra of each phase is used four times if they are sixteen. Then he gives each a forehead mark, collyrium for the eyes, vermilion powder, flowers, cloth, and other offerings, using the Mantra with which each has been worshipped, sets before them cups [of wine] with the five nectars and the rest[171] on the Five Flow Maṇḍala in the order of their seniority, together with various foods and drinks, addressing each of the guests with the arcane utterances known as *chommakāni* for each of the five phases, from Emission to the Nameless and the Pure Light (*bhāsā*).[172] After gratifying

(corr. : *chippi* Cod.) *śauṇikī* (em. : *śauṇḍikī* Cod.) **kṣatriyī* (corr. : *kṣatrīṇī* Cod.) *tathā* | *mātaṅgī carmakārī ca dhīvarī ca mahāmate* | 49 *śūdrī *vaiśyī* (corr. : *vaiśā* Cod.) *tathā veśyā *dhāvakī* (em. : *vāyakī* Cod.) *nartakī tathā* | *etās tu pūjayet tatra jātyahaṃkāravarjitaḥ* 'He should worship without pride of caste [Yoginīs of] the following [groups]: brahmin, Pukkasa untouchable, liquor-seller, Antyaja untouchable, potter, dyer, butcher, Kṣatriya, Mātaṅga untouchable, leather-worker, fisherman, O wise one, Śūdra, Vaiśya, courtesan, washerman, and dancer.' Vimalaprabodha's *mahāmatiḥ*, which appears to raise the total to seventeen, is due to a misconstrual of the vocative *mahāmate* in 4.48d. The same verses are *Yonigahvara*, f. 9r3–5 (vv. 113–115b), which support the emendations *pukkasī*, *śauṇikī*, and *kṣatriyī* but have *kaṇḍukī* (corr. : *kandukī* Cod.) 'barber, f.' in place of *cakriṇī* and the error *mahāmatiḥ*. They are followed by a verse specifying the Yoginīs to be invited in the option of four as in the *Kālīkulakramārcana* (115c–116b): *catvāri-m-athavā pūjyā yathāvibhavavistaraiḥ* | *dhīvarī dhvajinī chippī pukkasī ca caturthikā* 'Or he may worship four, as abundantly as his resources allow, one from each of the following castes: fisherman, liquor-seller, dyer, and Pukkasa untouchable'. For *chippī* 'dyer' or 'cloth-printer' see the evidently cognate words with this meaning in various Indo-Aryan languages in Turner 1966–71, p. 273b (4994) under **chapp-* (/ **chipp-*) 'to press'.

[171] For the identity of the body-products called the five 'jewels' or 'nectars' see Sanderson 2005a, pp. 110–114 (footnote 63).

[172] These five *chommakāni* are as follows: HĀ HĀ, HIṬI HIṬI, KRE KRE, ĀRA ĀRA, and KULURU KULURU. I propose that their language is Dravidian: (1) with HĀ HĀ for Emission/Creation cf. Tamil *ā-* 'to come into existence'; (2) with HIṬI HIṬI for Stasis/Maintenance cf. Tulu *hiḍi* 'a hold, grasp, handful', Kannaḍa *piḍi* 'to seize, catch, grasp'; Tamil *piṭi* 'to grasp, cling to'; (3) with KRE

the Krama's deities in the order of progressive withdrawal he presents a food offering on the ground to placate the classes of male supernaturals that inhabit the Śākta power-sites and the various classes of non-human Yoginīs, ending with an invocation to the Goddess. With the same *chommakāni* he passes the guests the wine cups with his left hand, refilling them twice, serving the principal Yoginī first and then the rest.[173] They should also eat the sacramental substances and the dough lamps (*dīpacaruḥ*) that are considered a substitute for human flesh.[174] After that, group revelry (*cakrakrīḍā*) should follow. When it has ended the sponsor should worship the goddesses of the Five Flows, pour out another stream of wine around the periphery, this time from left to right, place a second food offering on the ground at the edge of the central area, purify the site by smearing it with cow-dung mixed with water, and then honour it with the offering of a flower at its centre.

An idea of the revelry envisaged may be gained from the fourth *Ṣaṭka* of the *Jayadrathayāmala*, where the ritual, described immediately after chapters devoted to Krama worship,[175] is termed a *vīramelāpaḥ* 'a gathering of Vīras':[176]

KRE for Withdrawal cf. Tamil *karai* 'to dissolve, become gradually attenuated'; (4) with ĀRA ĀRA for the Nameless, in which the three preceding phases are transcended in a state of blissful pervasion, cf. Tamil *ār* 'to become full, be satisfied', Kannaḍa *ār* 'to abound, be filled'; and (5) with KULURU KULURU for the Pure Light, representing final quiescence, cf. Tamil *kuḷir* 'to feel cool, get numbed (as in death), satisfied', 'to sit, rest', Kannaḍa *kuḷir* to be cool or cold'; and Malayalam *kuḷir*, *kuḷur* 'coldness, cool, refreshing'.

[173]Vimalaprabodha's text says 'first the Śakti and then all' (*ādau śaktes tadanantaraṃ sarveṣām*). I surmise that the Śakti is the the consort of the Guru.

[174]On the *dīpacaruḥ* see *Tantrālokaviveka*, vol. 11 (*Āhnika* 29), p. 51, ll. 16–19 (quoting *Jayadrathayāmala*, *Ṣaṭka* 4, f. 125v1–3 [for *ādhāra-* there read *ādhāre*]). For its being a substitute for human flesh see *Tantrālokaviveka*, vol. 11 (*Āhnika* 29), p. 39, l. 11.

[175]See footnote 84 on p. 260.

[176]*Jayadrathayāmala*, *Ṣaṭka* 4, ff. 206v3–207v5 (*Vīratāṇḍavavidhipaṭala*, vv. 5–30b): *āśritya śaraṇaṃ guptaṃ sarvabādhāvivarjitam* | *suśobhaṃ *kusumāmodasudhūpagandhamantharam* (*kusumāmoda* em. : *kumbhamāmoda* Cod.) | 6 *kulaparvaṃ samāsādya vīramelāpam ācaret* | *nimantrayet tataḥ sarve bhairavācārapālakāḥ* | 7 *samayajñā devibhaktāḥ saṃtuṣṭāḥ kramatatparāḥ* | *samayinaḥ putrakāś ca sādhakā deśikāḥ pare* | 8 *yoginyo yāḥ prabuddhāś ca *bhaktā vā tadalābhataḥ* (em. : *bhaktāpātādalabhataḥ* Cod.) | **ānīya vāpy asahitān tāmbūlādiyutān kuru* (conj. : *ānīya tāpyasahatāṃvrūtādiyutāṃ kuru* Cod.) | 9 *āsanāny atra deyāni *yathāvat* (em. : *yathā tat* Cod.) *kramayogataḥ* | *pūjyāni praṇavenaiva gandhadhūpasragādibhiḥ* | 10 **tatropaveśayet* (em. : *tatopaveśayet* Cod.) *samyag yathācakraniyogataḥ* | *gurūṇāṃ prathamaṃ cakraṃ sādhakānāṃ dvitīyakam* | 11 *tṛtīyaṃ putrākāṇaṃ syāc caturthaṃ *samayiṣv atha* (em. : *samayeṣv atha* Cod.) | *yoginīnāṃ pañcamaṃ syād evaṃ kuryāt krameṇa ca* | 12 *sarvavīrasamāyoge tatra āvartayed giriḥ* | *pañcāśārṇa*mayīṃ śaktiṃ* (em. : *mayā śaktiḥ* Cod.) *kālī sā sakalāvyayā* | 13 *navavīrasamāyogas* (em. : *nacavīrasamā-*

On the day sacred to the Lineage [of his Mother-goddess the sponsor] should celebrate a Vīramelāpa in a pleasant, secluded house that is free of all disturbances and full of the scent of flowers, fine incense, and fragrant powders. He should invite all those who maintain the observance of Bhairava, who know the discipline, are devoted to the Goddess, contented, intent on the Krama, Samayins, Putrakas, Sādhakas, Gurus, and Yoginīs, the last enlightened or, if such cannot be found, at least devout. When he has brought those [initiates there, together with the Yoginīs] *or even without them (_conj._) he should provide them with betel nuts and the like and offer them seats in the proper order [of precedence]. He should [first] worship these seats with the Praṇava (OṂ),

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yogaṃ Cod.) _tasyāntaḥ pravijṛmbhate_ | _tena tad vīramelāpaṃ pūjayet *parameśvari_ (corr. : _parameśvarī_ Cod.) | 14 _arghaiḥ puṣpais tathā dhūpaiś candanāgurucarcitaiḥ_ | _pratyekam arcayet tatra yathāvibhavayogataḥ_ | 15 _praticakrasya madhyasthaṃ pūjayen *madyabhairavam_ (em. : _madhyabhairavaṃ_ Cod.) | _kṛṣṇalohitaraktākṣaṃ paramāmodavāsitam_ | 16 _mahānandakaraṃ śreṣṭhaṃ jagadunmādakārakam_ | _evaṃ saṃpūjya madhyasthaṃ pātrāṇy eṣāṃ prapūrayet_ | 17 _mahākusumapūrṇāni pañca*ratnānvitāni_ (conj. : _ratnacitāni_ Cod.) _ca_ | _paścād vividham āhāra⟨ṃ⟩ teṣāṃ deyam atandritam_ | 18 _yad yasyābhimataṃ devi tat tasya *vitare 'sakṛt_ (conj. [Aiśa] : _vicaret sakṛt_ Cod.) | _nānā māṃsāni citrāṇi bhakṣyāṇy uccāvacāni ca_ | 19 _lehya*peyāni_ (corr. : _pehyāni_ Cod.) _cūṣyāṇi pānāni vividhāni ca_ | _kaṭutiktakaṣāyāni madhurāmlāni yāni ca_ | 20 _evamādi-anekaiś ca tarpayec cakrapañcakam_ | _madhyāhne bhūya saṃtarpya yāvad ānanda*mantharam_ (em. : _manthanaṃ_ Cod.) | 21 _tato hy arghais tathā geyair vīṇāvaṃśasvanais tathā_ | _*śrotrotsavakaraiś_ (tent. conj. : _śrotrodakakaraiś_ Cod.) _citrais tarpayec cakrapañcakam_ | 22 _tatas taccakragā raśmyaḥ prollasanti sutejitāḥ_ | _sphuranti mahadānandā vilāsaśatasaṃkulā⟨ḥ⟩_ | _nṛtyanti ca hasanty uccaiḥ valganti krīḍanotsukāḥ_ | 23 _patanti dhāvanti *vamanti_ (conj. : _vasanti_ Cod.) _sarve vepanti khidyanti layanti tatra_ | _jalpanti mantrāṇi rahasyam anye sanmarmayuktāni vacāṃsi cānye_ | 24 _*chekoktayaś_ (conj. : _kekoktapaś_ Cod.) _cāpi vicitrarūpāḥ parasparaṃ te pravadanti devi_ | _kecic ca †kekāracanāvir eti †kecic ca mudrāvalim ārabhante_ | 25ab _kecic ca kaulāgamajair vilāsaiḥ saṃsthānakair nartanam ārabhante_ | 26 _kecit tāṇḍavam ārabhanti subhaṭāḥ kecic ca †sarvoddhatāḥ †kecid bhairavabhāvanāhitamanā jalpanti *kāvyaṃ_ (conj. : _kālaṃ_ Cod.) _pare_ | _kecid *bāhum anekadhā_ (tent. conj. : _dvādaśanekadhā_ Cod.) _pracalitaṃ kurvanti tatroccakaiḥ kecid rodanatatparāḥ kim aparaṃ kecid †vrajanty āvilam†_ | 27 _kecit *pañcavilāsajaṃ_ (_jaṃ_ conj. : _jā_ Cod.) _rasavaraṃ bhuñjanti tatrotsukāḥ ke cit†prāvaraṇāni cakravaraṇaiḥ†*saṃdarśayanty_ (corr. : _saṃdarśayaty_ Cod.) _udbhaṭaṃ_ | _kecic †cakravinirgatena†sahasā svadeham ālambati_ | _kecid vāntam *adanti_ (conj. : _athaṃvi_ Cod.) _ghora*vapuṣaḥ_ (conj. : _vapuṣaṃ_ Cod.) _*kecit tu hy atyutkaṭam_ (conj. : _kā cittruṭantotkaṭaṃ_ Cod.) | _ke cin maithunam ārabhanti ca pibanty atrodbhavaṃ nirbharāḥ_ | 28 _evaṃ vīravarendravandyacaraṇe melāpam atyuttamam_ | _vīrākhyaṃ pravitatya raśminikarān uccaiḥ samutpadyate dṛṣṭvā yat prabhavanti tatkrama*parā_ (conj. : _varā_ Cod.) _kiṃ vā *bahu_ (em. : _bahur_ Cod.) _varṇyate_ | _saṃcārakramanirbharāḥ priyatame *parve tathaikāśayāḥ_ (conj. [Aiśa] : _paṃcaitathaikāśayā_ Cod.) _yad yasya prabalopadeśa*karanaṃ_ (conj. : _kara_ + Cod.) _maudrakramodīritam_ | _tat tasya pravijṛmbhate param aho satyaṃ na *caivānṛtam_ (em. : _caivāmṛtaṃ_ Cod.) | 29 _vīratāṇḍavam etat te mayā samupavarṇitam_ | _yenāśu kṛtamātreṇa sarvasiddhyarhatā bhavet_ | 30 _kramajñānaikanipuṇo bhavaty eva hi *sādhakaḥ_ (em. : _sādhakaṃ_ Cod.).

presenting them such offerings as scented powder, incense, and flowers. Then he should invite the [guests] to sit on them, each in the appropriate circle. The first circle is of Gurus, the second of Sādhakas, the third of Putrakas, the fourth of Samayins, and the fifth of Yoginīs. In this way he should gradually accomplish the Union of all the Vīras (*sarvavīrasamāyogaḥ*). As he does this the [sponsoring] Sādhaka (*giriḥ*) should repeat the Power that consists of the fifty sounds [of speech]. [For] this is eternal Kālī in her immanent form. The Union of the *Nine (*conj.*) Vīras becomes manifest within it.[177] Then, O goddess, he should honour the assembly of Vīras (*vīramelāpaḥ*) with offerings of guest water, flowers, incenses, and pastes of sandal-wood powder and camphor. He should worship each [participant] in this [assembly] to the extent that his wealth permits. In the centre of each circle he should worship the Bhairava that is Wine (Madyabhairava), dark red and red-eyed, redolent with the best of fragrances, the cause of the highest joy, the best [of liquids], the intoxicator of the whole world. After worshipping it thus in the centre he should fill cups for them [from it], which should [also] be well provided with the flowers of the human body and the five nectars. Then with great attentiveness he should serve them foods of the various kinds. Again and again, O goddess, he should give them whatever it is that they desire: meat of various sorts, diverse foods of the masticable variety, both exquisite and commonplace, foods to be licked, drunk, and sucked, drinks of many kinds, acrid, pungent, astringent, sweet, and sour. With various [offerings] such as these he should gratify the five circles. Then at midday he should gratify them again until they are overflowing with joy. Then he should please the five circles with guest water, songs, and diverse music of the lute and flute to delight their ears. At this the rays [of their awareness] shine forth with great intensity, vibrant, blissful, flooded by so many delights. They dance, laugh out loud, and leap about eager to revel. They collapse, run, vomit, tremble, become weary, and faint. Some voice Mantras, others the secret [teachings], and others words that contain the core teachings [of the Krama]. [Some] exchange clever *banter with double meanings (*conj.*), and some †…†. Some assume series of Mudrās. Some begin to dance with playful gestures [and] postures taught in the Kaula scriptures. Others, who are warriors, commence the [wild] Tāṇḍava dance [of Śiva], and some †…†. Others focus their minds in meditation on Bhairava, others give voice to *poetry (*conj.*), some *hold their arms above their heads in various postures and sway them from side to side (*conj.*), some abandon themselves there to loud weeping, and others become †…†. Others there ea-

[177] The justification for the emendation of the manuscript's reading *nacavīra-* here to *navavīra-* is that it may refer to nine Vīras as the regents of the nine groups of the fifty sounds: the vowels, the seven consonant groups, and the final KṢA. But the matter is not certain. It is tempting to propose *sarvavīra-*. In either case the idea seems to be that the recitation of the goddess as the syllabary embodies internally the Union of Vīras that the sponsor is establishing externally.

gerly devour the excellent liquid *that arises from the five Vilāsas (*conj.*). Some vigorously display †…†. Some suddenly suspend their bodies †…†. Some, personifying [A]ghora, eat vomit, and others *faeces (*atyutkaṭam*) (*conj.*).[178] Some will engage in copulation and drink its product when replete. O you whose feet are worshipped by the foremost of Vīras, when in this way it has expanded to the utmost the fused mass of the rays [of its consciouness] the supreme Vīramelāpa comes into being. By beholding it [initiates] become intent on this Krama. What need is there for lengthy instruction? My beloved, [by engaging in this gathering] *on the sacred day (*conj.*) they are filled with the cyclical Krama, their minds as one. Whatever mighty teaching proclaimed in [this *Ṣaṭka* on] the practice of the Mudrās a person has received becomes completely clear to him [through this means]. Behold, the truth. This is indeed no lie. I have taught you this wild dance of the Vīras (*vīrataṇḍavaḥ*), by celebrating which a Sādhaka quickly becomes able to accomplish any *siddhiḥ* and supremely adept in the gnosis of the Krama.

Neither the *Kālīkulakramārcana* nor the *Jayadrathayāmala* uses exactly Kalhaṇa's term *cakramelakaḥ* ('the circle gathering') for this ritual, the former calling it *cakrakrīḍā* ('the circle revelry') and the latter *vīramelāpaḥ* ('the gathering of heroes') (= *vīramelakaḥ*). But the term does occur in Kashmirian literature in what is evidently the appropriate sense in a story of the supernatural in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* of Somadeva. There a band of Yoginīs is said to go at the onset of night to a *cakramelakaḥ* in Cakrapura and to return from it at its end.[179] Moreover, in the Kaula *Kubjikāmata* we find the related expression

[178]For the use of the term *atyutkaṭam* in this sense see *Niśisaṃcāra*, f. 7v1–3, quoted in Sanderson 2005a, p. 112, ll. 31–33). For ritual tasting of the body's excretions in extreme 'non-dual practice' (*advaitācāraḥ*, *nirvikalpācāraḥ*) see, e.g., *Niśisaṃcāra* f. 34v (11.9c–10b): **atyutkaṭaṃ śivāmbuñ* (em. : *atyutkaṭa śivammuñ* Cod.) *ca prātar utthāya mantravit* | *astramantreṇa *saṃśodhya* (corr. : *saṃśodhyam* Cod.) **mṛṇālāmṛtasaṃyutam* (*mṛṇālāmṛta* em. : *mṛṇāmṛta* Cod.) | *kṛtvā tu prāśayen mantrī yadīcchet siddhim ātmani* 'After rising at dawn the Sādhaka should purify excrement and urine with the Weapon-Mantra, combine it with phlegm and taste it if he desires *siddhiḥ* for himself'. It is also seen in a less testing form in the Krama in the *vaṭikāprāśanam* taught as an element of daily practice in the *Yonigahvara*, vv. 212–221. This requires initiates when preparing the chalice for daily worship to swallow a pellet (*vaṭikā*, *guṭikā*) made from substances that include excrement (*viśvakṣāram*) and urine (*śivāmbu*). The preparation of this pellet is detailed in *Kālīkulakramārcana*, f. 24v3–25v2. The pellet, we are told there, should have the size of the kernel of a jujube fruit (f. 24v5: *badarāsthisusaṃmitām*).

[179]*Kathāsaritsāgara* 123.212–213b: *tatkālaṃ cātra jānāmi tato mātṛgaṇāntarāt* | *nirgatya yoginīgrāmaḥ parasparam abhāṣata* | *adya cakrapure 'smābhir gantavyaṃ cakramelake* 'Then that time [of the onset of night] I noticed a band of Yoginīs who came out from that group of Mothers and said to each other "Today we have to go to a *cakramelakaḥ* in Cakrapura"'; 123.221:

yoginīcakramelāpaḥ ('a circle gathering of Yoginīs'), described as loud with the sound of dancing and music.[180] Everything therefore, points to the conclusion that the protagonists of Kalhaṇa's report are our Krama Gurus Hrasvanātha and Cakrabhānu: their names, the reign to which Kalhaṇa assigns them, the identification of the *cakramelakaḥ*, its place in the Krama, and its strongly antinomian character.

It may be thought surprising that Hrasvanātha/Vīranātha, a revered figure of a tradition whose literature appears to be so concerned with practices for the attainment of liberation-in-life, should be depicted as seeking revenge for the punishment of Cakrabhanu by performing an aggressive Tantric ritual. For Kalhaṇa certainly does not question the tradition that Vīranātha performed the ritual of chastisement against the king but only that it was the cause of the latter's death. But undertaking such rites is certainly not inconsistent with his standing as a Guru of the Krama. We have seen that Abhinavagupta reports Eraka to have devoted himself to the pursuit of supernatural power before he wrote the *Kramastotra*; but more striking, because it pertains directly to the present case, is the fact that a text of the Krama itself supports Kalhaṇa's report of Hrasvanātha's involvement in this domain in an incidental remark in the course of a discussion of an option of abbreviating the Krama worship by omitting three of its phases:[181]

> Those who achieve the highest rest within that [unobscured (*nirāvaraṇa-*) state] simply by [performing those phases of worship up to the circle of the Multitude (*vṛndacakram*) that are known collectively as] the Oral Instruction do not need to worship the circles of Emission, Stasis, and Withdrawal, but proceed, it is

athāsmin paścime yāme yoginyaś cakramelakāt | āgatya tāḥ svayuktyā māṃ hṛtvaivodapatan nabhaḥ 'Then during this last watch of the night the Yoginīs returned from the *cakramelakaḥ* and flew up into the sky by means of their miraculous power, taking me with them'.

[180] *Kubjikāmata* 25.18ab: *yoginīcakramelāpaṃ nṛtyagītaravākulam.*

[181] *Mahānayaprakāśa* (Triv.) 8.24–28: *kathanād eva yeṣāṃ tadviśrāntir jāyate parā | *te sṛṣṭisthitisaṃhāracakrāpekṣāṃ* (*te sṛṣṭi* conj. : *sṛṣṭi* Ed.) *na kurvate | vṛndakramānantaraṃ tair anākhyaṃ cakram iṣyate | sṛṣṭyādicakratritayaṃ tanmate naiva pūjyate | asmanmate *tu* (conj. : *'pi* Ed.) *tad api *pāripūrṇyārtham* (conj. : *paripūrṇārtham* Ed.) *iṣyate | etatsamārūḍhivaśāt prabhāvo hi pravartate | etadvimarśa*saṃbhūtaṃ* (conj. : *saṃbhūta* Ed.) *vīrāvalyāditarpaṇāt | āsīd *vāmanavīrasya* (em. : *vāmanavīryasya* Ed.) **vidveṣastambhanādikam* (*vidveṣa* conj. : *yadviṣṇu* Cod.). For the emendation *vidveṣastambhanādikam* in place of the evidently corrupt reading *yadviṣṇustambhanādikam* cf., e.g., *Kiraṇa*, f. 71v2 (50.14cd): **vaśīkaraṇa**vidveṣau stambhanādy*** (*vaśī* corr. : *vaṣī* Cod. • *vidveṣau* conj. : *vidveśo* Cod.) *adhamā matāḥ*; *Somaśambhupaddhati*, vol. 3, p. 47, v. 55ab: *māraṇoccāṭana**dveṣastambhanārthaṃ** tu dakṣiṇe*; *Aṃśumadāgama* 13.36cd: *vaśyākarṣaṇa**vidveṣastambhano**ccāṭanādikam*; and *Kriyākālaguṇottara*, f. 46v1–2: *uccāṭanaṃ tathā karmaṃ **vidveṣaṃ stambha**māraṇam | kīlanaṃ cāṅgabhedaṃ ca kurute cintitena tu.*

held, directly from the phase of the Multitude to the circle of the Nameless. In their view, then, these three [intervening] circles are not necessary. But in my view they should be included, for the sake of completeness. For immersion in them is the source of [supernatural] power. It was through his deep awareness of these, by gratifing the sequence of Vīras (*vīrāvalī*) and the rest [that are to be worshipped in them], that the Vīra Vāmana [was able successfully to accomplish the rituals that] caused dissension [among our enemies] and immobilized [their armies] (*vidveṣastambhanādikam*).[182]

This evidence should caution us against the tendency to be misled by the focus apparent in this or that branch of the surviving Śaiva literature into assuming that the groups who produced and followed these texts were equally restricted in the range of their rites. Just as the Saiddhāntika and non-Saiddhāntika domains were less disjunct in practice than the doctrines articulated by their leading theoreticians, so, we see, a Guru of the Krama, for all the apparent dedication of his core tradition to purely transcendentalist self-realization, could draw as occasion arose on a wider range of practice for pragmatic purposes. In this case the rites in which he is said to have excelled have a close relation to his role as a servant of the state. For in the light of Kalhaṇa's report that Hrasvanātha was Yaśaskara's minister of war and peace it surely can-

[182]Propitiating the deity for immobilization (*stambhanam*) is not restricted to this context. The texts speak also of *vākstambhanam* 'paralysing speech', *garbhastambhanam* 'preventing a foetus from being born', and of stopping wind, water, or fire (*vāyutoyāgnistambhanam*); see, e.g, *Picumata*, f. 35v1–2: *stambhane sarvabhūtānāṃ *vāyutoyāgnistambhane* (conj. : *vāyustobhāgni* Cod.) | *stambhane parasainyasya *vācaḥ stambhe* (conj. : *vācastambhes* Cod.) *tathaiva ca* | *āsanastambhane caiva garbhādīnān tathaiva ca* | *śastaṃ pipīlikāmadhya⟨m⟩ akṣasūtraṃ varānane*. Three kinds of *stambhanam*, to stop the onset of an enemy army, to silence the speech [of an opponent], or to prevent the birth of a child [no doubt as a future dynastic rival], are taught in *Jayarathayāmala*, *Ṣaṭka* 3, f. 101v4–5 (14.126–127): *stambhayed gamanodyuktam api sainyaṃ śatakratoḥ* | *evaṃvidhena vidhinā vācasaṃ stambhayiṣyati* | *garbhaṃ vā ⟨deva⟩deveśi *stambhayen* (corr. : *staṃbhaven* Cod.) *nātra saṃśayaḥ*. But protecting the kingdom by immobilizing the army of the enemy so that it cannot advance is much the most commonly mentioned, often being listed on a par with *vidveṣaḥ*, *uccāṭanam* and other primary pragmatic propitiations (*karma*), which implies that when no specific target of *stambhanam* is mentioned it is to be understood as *parasainyastambhanam* 'immobilization of the army of an enemy'; cf., e.g., Vāladhārin, *Kriyāsaṃgrahapaddhati*, f. 91v2–3: *śāntike pauṣṭike caiva vidveṣādikrameṇa tu* | *stambhane *parasainyānām* (corr. : *parasainyāni* Cod.). To propitiate the deity for *vidveṣaḥ/vidveṣaṇam* is to seek to protect one's own side by turning one's allied enemies against each other; see, e.g., *Paippalādavaśādiṣaṭkarmapaddhati*, p. 6, ll. 7–9: *śatruś ced *anyavidviṣṭaḥ* (em. : *anyavaddhīṣṭaḥ* Ed.) *syād anyadveṣatatparaḥ* | *tato 'sau niḥsapatnaḥ san rājyabhogaṃ samaśnute* | *tasmād rājā viśeṣeṇa ripudveṣaṇam ācaret*.

not be thought coincidental that an author of the Krama, when remembering with approval his predecessor's expertise in this ancillary domain, should have singled out for mention these rites of state protection.

There are other reports of liberationist Gurus engaging in destructive rites of this kind, which, while hagiographical and therefore unreliable as records of history, nonetheless demonstrate that the co-existence of these extremes was not considered aberrant. A striking parallel is found in the Great Perfection (rDzogs chen) tradition of the rNying ma pa Buddhists of Tibet, which has much in common with the Krama by virtue of its emphasis on enlightenment through direct experience of the Great Primordial Purity (*gzhi ka dag chen po*), this being conceived in a manner strongly reminiscent of the Krama as an innate, self-established state of unbounded freedom (*ye grol*) that manifests differentiation in consciousness but is untouched in its essence by the dichotomies of cognition and the cognized, conceptual and non-conceptual awareness, liberation and bound existence (*nirvāṇam* and *saṃsāraḥ*). For an early authority in this tradition, gNubs chen Sangs rgyas ye shes, is remembered for having destroyed a rebel army through the power of aggressive Mantras (*ngan sngags*).[183]

Both the Krama and rDzogs chen present themselves as the ultimate approach to reality, transcending all lower levels of revelation. The Krama identifies, as we shall see, a level of higher practice within itself that by reaching the goal through pure intuition transcends the gradualist system of Krama worship, while that system is said to transcend the Kālī worship of the Uttarāmnāya, which itself is presented as the summit of a subordinate Śākta hierarchy that leads down to its base in the non-Śākta Śaiva traditions.[184] Similarly rDzogs chen, which like the Krama culminates in practice for sudden enlightenment, locates itself as the Atiyoga teaching at the summit of a hierarchy that descends through the teachings of the Anuyogatantras, Mahāyogatantras, Yogatantras, and Ubhayatantras to the Kriyātantras, which in turn are ranked above the Sūtras of the Mahāyāna substrate. But neither the Krama nor rDzogs chen cuts itself off from these lower levels. For they are essential to their survival. This is partly because both draw their meaning from these wider contexts as gnostic disciplines that transcend the Tantric systems from within. But it is also because the systems defined as lower provide these Śākta and Buddhist Tantric adepts

[183] See Achard 1999, pp. 17–22. He is said to have been ordained by Śāntarakṣita, therefore during the reign of Khri srong lde bstan (r. 755–797), and to have founded a community of lay Tantric initiates (*ibid.*, p. 17).

[184] For this hierarchy see footnote 363 on p. 342.

of sudden enlightenment with the means of operating on other levels as occasion demands and patronage expects. Thus gNubs chen Sangs rgyas ye shes was also learned in the Anuyoga- and Mahāyogatantras; and these are the probable source of the Mantras, no doubt of the deities Vajrakīlaya or Yamāntaka, with which he is said to have destroyed the rebels.[185]

The Śrīpīṭhadvādaśikā

Attributed to Cakrabhānu we have only one short text, the *Śrīpīṭhadvādaśikā*, and no reports of other works. This text is not mentioned by name in any Kashmirian source, nor does the author confirm his identity by stating his position in the Kashmirian Krama's transmission. But it is included in a codex which, though Nepalese, contains other Kashmirian Krama works from this lineage,[186] a line is quoted from it without attribution in a text of Krama inspiration by the Kashmirian Ramyadeva,[187] and the author describes himself in the final verse as 'one whose body is adorned with [pieces of] human bone and a skull-bowl',[188] which agrees with the report already mentioned that the Kashmirian Cakrabhānu was a Mahāvratin ascetic.[189] Furthermore, it contains a verse which brings to mind that ascetic's punishment by Yaśaskara:[190]

> When [again] may I follow my path in the company of proud Vīras at the onset of night, my mind made blissful through withdrawal, behaving †......† of the Devīkula?[191]

[185] See Achard 1999, p. 19, footnote 30.

[186] See the details of the *Kālikākulapañcaśataka* ms in the bibliography, p. 435.

[187] *Śrīpīṭhadvādaśikā*, v. 3cd (f. 93v5–96r1) is quoted in his commentary on v. 47 of the *Bhāvopahārastotra*: **nirastaśāstrārthavikalpajālā* (Ed. : *nirastaśāstāsavikalpajālā* Cod.) **devyaḥ* (Ed. : *devyāḥ* Cod.) *śmaśāne karavīrakākhye*.

[188] *Śrīpīṭhadvādaśikā*, f. 95r1–3 (v. 12 and colophon): *pīṭhāravindadalakaṃ śivaśaktigarbhaṃ vīrāsthikandalavibhūṣitavigraheṇa | stutvā mayā śubhaphalaṃ yad avāptam adya tenāśu sajjanajanāḥ prasavaṃ vrajantu. iti śrīmaccakrāgatā śrīcakrabhānunāthāvatāritā śrīpīṭhadvādaśikā samāptā.*

[189] Arṇasiṃha, *Mahānayaprakāśa*, v. 157, cited in footnote 194 on p. 292.

[190] *Śrīpīṭhadvādaśikā*, f. 94v1–2 (v. 8): *rātryāgame garvitavīrasārdham* (*garvita* em. : *gavita* Cod.) *saṃhāraṇānanditacittavṛttiḥ | devīkulā†+ ṣya†viceṣṭitaḥ†syān†mārgānuyāyī bhavitā kadāham*.

[191] I can offer no compelling emendation for the whole of the corrupt reading *devīkulā†+ ṣyaviceṣṭitaḥsyān†*. Perhaps the final part was *-viceṣṭitaḥ san*. I see no acceptable solution to *devīkulā + ṣya* if *ā* and *ṣya* are sound. If one or both are corrupt, the possibilities of restoration, such as *devīkulācāryaviceṣṭitaḥ san*, are too numerous for any one of them to carry conviction.

The Krama Lineage from Cakrabhānu to Arṇasiṃha

The Old Kashmiri *Mahānayaprakāśa* and its Sanskrit commentary venerate this unrepentant Guru as the first of the Order of the Disciples (*śisyaughaḥ*), following Maṅgalā, who alone constitutes the Order of Siddhas (*siddhaughaḥ*), and the Human Order (*mānavaughaḥ*), which comprises [Jñāna]netra, the Rājñī [Keyūravatī], and Hrasvanātha; and it declares that he initiated eight disciples, one of whom, Rājñī Īśānī, was the source of the lineage that led to the author of the commentary.[192]

From the spiritual descendants of Cakrabhānu we have the *Aṣṭikā* of his disciple Prabodhanātha, the *Paramārcanatriṃśikā*[193] and *Cittasaṃtoṣatriṃśikā* of Nāga, and the *Mahānayaprakāśa* of Nāga's disciple Kulācārya Arṇasiṃha. The last of these works provides the details of the line of succession that enables us to assign them to it. Its author reports that the tradition has reached him through two lines of descent (*gurusaṃtatiḥ*) from the two among Cakrabhānu's pupils whose names survive, Īśānī and Prabodhanātha:

1. Īśānī → Nandaka → Sajjana → Someśvara → himself.

2. Prabodha → Jaiyaka → Paṅkaka → Nāga → himself.

Two of these he describes as ascetics who, like Cakrabhānu, observed the [Kāpālika] Mahāvrata: Īśānī (*pañcamudrāvibhūṣitā*), and Jaiyaka (*mahāvratī*). Prabodha he describes both as an ascetic (*tapodhanaḥ*) and, like Hrasvanātha, as the foremost of Vīras (*vīrendraḥ*).[194]

[192] Old Kashmiri *Mahānayaprakāśa* 9.5 and commentary. On the Kashmirian use of the term Rājñī for a female Śākta (→ Modern Kashmiri *röñü*) see Sanderson 2005a, p. 126, footnote 91.

[193] Verse 2 (f. 34v5–6) is quoted by the South Indian Krama author Maheśvarānanda (*Mahārthamañjarīparimala*, p. 108: *yad uktam arcanātriṃśikāyām*).

[194] Arṇasiṃha, *Mahānayaprakāśa*, ff. 119r5–121r4 (vv. 152–169): 152 *udgītha*pīṭhajā* (em. : *pīṭhayā* Cod.) *śrīmanmaṅgalānandanirbharā* | *sadasadbhāsanāveśavarjitā tām ahaṃ śraye* | 153 *tataḥ śrīmac**chivānandanātha**guruvaraṃ sadā* | *lokottaramahā**jñānacakṣuṣaṃ** praṇamāmy aham* | 154 *śrīmat**keyūravaty**ākhyā pīṭhajajñānapāragā* | *khacakracāriṇī yeyaṃ tām ahaṃ naumi bhaktitaḥ* | 155 *mahāvīravaro yo 'sāv śrīmad**vāmana**saṃjñakaḥ* | *devīdhāmni sadārūḍhas taṃ vande kramabhāskaram* | 156 *tataḥ śrīmac**cakrabhānur** devatānayadeśikaḥ* | *mahāvratadharo yas taṃ vande 'haṃ paradhāmagam* | 157 *śrīmad**īśānikā**khyā yā pañcamudrāvibhūṣitā* | *akramakrama*saṃtānakovidāṃ* (*saṃtāna* em. : *santānā* Cod.) *tāṃ namāmy aham* | 158 *mahānayaparajñāna*vibhūṣitamanāḥ* (conj. : *vibhūṣitaḥ* Cod.) *sadā* | *śrīman**nandaka**nāmā yas taṃ namāmi khadhāmagam* | 159 *śrīmat**sajjana**nāmānaṃ *raha-*

The Aṣṭikā of Prabodhanātha

It is unlikely that the *Aṣṭikā* that has reached us, a hymn to the Goddess in eight stanzas, is the work of a Prabodhanātha other than that mentioned by Arṇasiṃha. The text has come to us in the already mentioned Nepalese codex containing other Kashmirian Krama works, and although no attributed citation from it occurs in the surviving Kashmirian literature the first two verses commonly appear in the Kashmirian recitation-text of the *Bahurūpagarbhastotra*, a hymn to Svacchandabhairava that is attributed along with a frame-text to the *Lalitasvacchandabhairava*, and whose recitation is a standard preliminary in Śaiva ritual in Kashmir.[195] The two verses are placed at the end of the hymn proper and in this position enable it to reflect the two visualization-texts that are recited before it, these being not only of Svacchandabhairava but also of his consort Aghoreśvarī:[196]

You I praise, the unborn beloved of Śiva in the lotus of [my] heart, seated in

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syakramanirbharam (*rahasya* corr. : *rahasyaṃ* Cod.) | *bhedābhedakalaṅkais tu varjitaṃ praṇamāmy aham* | 160 *nirmalasphaṭikaprakhyahṛdayaṃ vigatāmayam* | *śrīmat**someśvaraṃ** vande mahāśāsanapāragam* | 161 *teneha kṛpayā **mahyaṃ** saṃpradatto mahākramaḥ* | *yenāhaṃ bhavanirvāṇakalaṅkair nāvṛto 'niśam* | 162 *atraiva kathyate 'smābhir dvitīyā gurusaṃtatiḥ* | *pīṭhoditamahāmnāyarahasyakramanirbharā* | 163 *śrī**cakrabhānu**pādais tu paramārthārthapāragaiḥ* | *kṛtaprasādo vīrendraḥ śrī**prabodhata**podhanaḥ* | 164 *tenāhitaprasādas tu **jaiyakā**khyo mahāvratī* | *jñānasaṃkrānti*nirbhrāntiḥ* (conj. : *nibhrāntaḥ* Cod.) *svānandānandananditaḥ* | 165 *tenāpi *śrī**paṅkakā**khyo* (corr. : *śrīpaṅkakākhye* Cod.) *dattaśrīkramaśāsanaḥ* | *bhavatṛḍbhrāntivibhrāntividhvaṃsoccaṇḍadīdhitiḥ* | 166 *tenāpi śrī**nāga**nāmā deśikapravarāgraṇīḥ* | **kṛtaprasādaḥ* (em. : *kṛtaprasādo* Cod.) *paramāhlādodayavighūrṇitaḥ* | 167 *tenāpy **ahaṃ** *mahāmnāyavare 'smin* (em. : *mahāmnāyavarosmin* Cod.) *paramādbhute* | *abhiṣiktaḥ kṛpāśāntacitten*āvṛtatejasā* (em: *āvṛttatejasā* Cod.) | 168 *itthaṃ proktā saṃtatis tu dvitīyaiṣā mahānaye* | *nirāveśasamāveśa*camatkāraughanirbharā* (conj. [= v. 3d; see here footnote 356 on p. 338] : *camatkārādyanirbharā* Cod.) | 169 *itthaṃ paramparodbhūtaḥ sadgurukramavistaraḥ* | *sthito 'yaṃ divyasiddhākhya*manujātakrameṇa ca* (*manujāta* em. : *manujñāta* Cod.).

[195] See, e.g., *Kalādīkṣāpaddhati* A, f. 5r11–16 (at the commencement of the initiation ceremony, after the worship of Gaṇeśa and Pustakavāgīśvarī): *tato vighnarājaṃ pustakavāgīśīṃ ca suprasannāṃ bhāvayitvā taddattaṃ svābhivāñchitaṃ varaṃ bhāvanayā gṛhītvā śrībhairavanāthaprasannīkaraṇāya mantrarājagarbhaṃ śrībahurūpagarbhastotraṃ paṭhet*; *ibid.*, f. 9r12–14: *tataś ca śrībahurūpagarbhastavarājapāṭhānantaraṃ ṣaḍadhvadīkṣādhivāsārambhaḥ*.

[196] *Aṣṭikā*, vv. 1–2 (N, f. 96v1–3) and the modified *Bahurūpagarbhastotra*, vv. 35–36 (K): **sarvakāraṇakalāpakalpitollāsasaṃkulasamādhiviṣṭarām* (*sarva* K : *sadya* N) | *hārdakokanadasaṃsthitām api tvāṃ praṇaumi śivavallabhām ajām* (*hārda* K : *harmma* N) | *sarvajantuhṛdayābjamaṇḍalodbhūtabhāvamadhupānalampaṭām* (*sarva* K : *sadya* N • *maṇḍalodbhūta* K : *maṇḍalodbhuta* N) | **varṇabhedavibhavāntarasthitāṃ* (K : *varṇabhedavigatālivallabhāṃ* N) *tvāṃ praṇaumi *bhavajālabhedinīm* (N : *śivavallabhām ajām* K).

> deepest consciousness on your throne that is full of the radiance created by all the Causes. You I praise, who are ever eager to drink the sweet wine exuded by the lotus-Maṇḍala in the innermost awareness of all living creatures, hidden within the pervasive power that is the variety of sounds, rending the snare of bound existence.

Since the context is the Krama the Causes intended here are probably the seven ascending deities Indra, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Rudra, Īśvara, Sadāśiva, and Bhairava that form Kālī's throne in the worship taught by the *Kālīkulakramasadbhāva*, becoming lifeless (*pretāḥ*) in her presence, resorbed as her state prevails, or, in the idiom of the primal sacrifice in the Karavīra cremation ground, offered as sacrifices to her, only Bhairava remaining intact, alive but comatose.[197]

A verse from another, unnamed hymn to the Goddess by Prabodha is cited by Ramyadeva and Jayaratha:[198]

> You transcend whatever nature I may conceive as higher than you. Nor can I conceive of any reality, however low, in which you are not present in your entirety.

His identity with the Krama author is certain. For Arṇasiṃha calls the latter Prabodha the Ascetic (*vīrendraḥ śrīprabodhatapodhanaḥ*) and both Ramyadeva and Jayaratha refer to this Prabodha in the same way, the first calling him Ascetic Prabodhanātha (*tapasviprabodhanāthaḥ*) and the second simply 'the venerable Ascetic' (*śrītapasvī*). Another verse has been cited by Śiva[svāmin] Upādhyāya, who calls him similarly the King among Ascetics (*tapasvirājaḥ*). That this is from the same hymn is not certain; but it is probable, since both verses are in the Āryā metre:[199]

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[197] *Kālīkulakramasadbhāva*, f. 1v3 (1.19): for text and translation see p. 261; and f. 3r6 (1.80c–81): *tatas tu *sarve* (corr. : *sarvva* Cod.) *tatrasthāḥ paśutve kalpitāḥ sakṛt* | *mahābhairava ekas tu saṃmūrcchan tiṣṭhate tu *saḥ* (em : *yaḥ* Cod.) | *anye tu kāraṇāḥ sarve bhakṣitās tatra līlayā*. But when read as praise of Aghoreśvarī in the context of the recitation of the *Bahurūpagarbhastotra* the Causes would be understood as five in accordance with the system of the *Svacchanda*, the same without Indra and Bhairava (Brahmā to Sadāśiva). That these two verses have been added to the *Bahurūpagarbhastotra* is apparent from their absence from the text as it appears together with its frame in the commentary of Anantaśakti (*Bahurūpagarbhastotraviṣamapadasaṃketa*) and the *Kalādīkṣāpaddhati* A, ff. 5v1–9r10.

[198] Ramyadeva on *Bhāvopahārastotra*, vv. 4–5 (p. 10), and Jayaratha on *Tantrāloka* 4.125 (vol. 2, p. 131): *parataratayāpi rūpaṃ yad yat kalayāmi tat tad adharaṃ te* | *adharatarāpi na kalanā sā kācid yatra na sthitāsy abhitaḥ*.

[199] *Vijñānabhairavavivṛti*, p. 90, ll. 19–22: *suviṣamamamatādaṃṣṭrāvidalitajanadhairyaśoṇitapipāsuḥ* | *aham iti piśāca eṣa tvatsmṛtimātreṇa kiṃkarībhavati*.

> It is enough to turn our thoughts to you to tame the 'I', this demon that thirsts to drink the blood that is the sense of men, tearing them open with its terrible fangs, belief in 'mine'.

The Paramārcanatriṃśikā and Cittasaṃtoṣatriṃśikā of Nāga

As for Nāga, he identifes himself as the author of the two *-triṃśikā* texts in their final verses[200] but does not confirm his identity as a member of this lineage by naming his Guru. However, it is unlikely that they are not by the Nāga whom Arṇasiṃha identifies as the pupil of Paṅkaka, since both works use the terminology of the Kashmirian Krama. Their subject is the attainment of enlightenment through sudden immersion in the dynamic purity of consciousness (*sāhasasamādhiḥ*):[201]

> Is that [true] worship if in it one does not experience the surge of expanded consciousness within each and every movement of cognition, taking hold of the trance of sudden enlightenment, flooded with radiant, pure awareness?

a process articulated in the language of the Krama and with reference to elements of its cyclical model of the flow of cognition, but without delineating the phases of the Krama's distinctive sequence of meditative worship:[202]

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[200] *Paramārcanatriṃśikā*, ff. 40v7–41r4 (31 and colophon): *anavacchinnacidvyomaparamāmṛtabṛṃhitaḥ | nāgābhidho vyadhād etāṃ paramārcanatriṃśikām. iti śrīmahāmāheśvaranāgavipaścidviracitā paramārcanatriṃśikā samāptā* and *Cittasaṃtoṣatriṃśikā*, f. 49r3–6 (v. 31 and colophon): *nirāvaraṇacidvyomaparamāmṛtanirbharaḥ | nāgābhidhānas tad idaṃ cittasaṃtoṣakaṃ vyadhāt. iti śrīnāgavipaścidviracitā cittasaṃtoṣatriṃśikā samāptā*.

[201] *Paramārcanatriṃśikā*, ff. 35v5–36r1 (v. 7): *yatra* ***sāhasa****samādhisaṃśrayaḥ prasphuradvimalabodhanirbharaḥ | sphītasaṃvidudayaṃ na vindate sarvavṛttiṣu kim etad arcanam*. For the Krama concept of *sāhasam*, literally 'violent assault, aggression' see, e.g., *Chummāsaṃketaprakāśa*, f. 3r1–2 (vv. 28c–29b); *mahoddāma sāhasaṃ padam acyutam | samāruhya haṭhād asmi suprabuddhadaśānvitaḥ*; *Vātūlanāthasūtra* 1: *mahāsāhasavṛttyā svarūpalābhaḥ*; *Vātūlanāthasūtravṛtti*, opening verse: *saṃghaṭṭaghaṭṭanabaloditanirvikāraśūnyātiśūnyapadam avyayabodhasāram | sarvatra khecaradṛśā pravirājate yat tan naumi sāhasavaraṃ guruvaktragamyam*; *ibid.*, concluding verse: *iti paramarahasyaṃ vāgvikalpaughamuktaṃ bhavavibhavavibhāgabhrāntimuktena samyak | kṛtam anupamam uccaiḥ kenacic cidvikāsād akalitaparasattāsāhasollāsavṛttyā*; *Mahānayaprakāśa* (Triv.) 2.28–29: *alaṃgrāsakramaḥ so 'yaṃ mahāsāhasajanmabhūḥ*. See also *Mālinīvijayavārtika* 2.86: *mahāsāhasasaṃyogavilīnākhilavṛttikaḥ puñjībhūtasvaraśmyoghanirbharībhūtamānasaḥ*; → *Tantrāloka* 5.84: *mahāsāhasasaṃyogavilīnākhilavṛttikaḥ | puñjībhūte svaraśmyoghe nirbharībhūya tiṣṭhati*.

[202] *Paramārcanatriṃśikā*, ff. 35v3–5 (v. 6): *khecarīprabhṛtipañcakātmanā vyāptim ambaragatāṃ nibhālayan | hṛdvikāsasubhagāṃ bhavāpado yatra muñcati na kiṃ tad arcanam*.

> Is that [true] worship, in which one does not let go of the travails of one's unliberated existence by gazing directly at the dynamism that, beautiful in the unfolding of the heart [of awareness], pervades the sky [of consciousness] as the [cycle of its] five [flows] from Khecarī to [Vyomavāmeśvarī]?

This is the 'true worship' and 'delighting of the mind' that give the works their titles. In the second Nāga celebrates his own attainment of this enlightenment through the oral transmission (*kathanam*) from master to disciple that the Krama opposes to the worship of the phases as a higher means of liberation:[203]

> By great good fortune I stand today flooded with the blissful relish of the nectar of the unlocated consciousness that surges up from [its] unfettered, spotless ground, astonished by the fruition of the instruction in the inexpressible practice that I obtained from the heart of my true teacher's oral teaching.

The Mahānayaprakāśa of Arṇasiṃha

Arṇasiṃha's *Mahānayaprakāśa*, though permeated by this spirit of direct insight, reviews the successive phases of the Krama worship that constitutes the base of practice, explaining how each reflects the core structure of consciousness, leading progressively from the contemplation of this in the body (*pīṭhacakram*) by means of the preliminary worship of the Pīṭha Uḍḍiyāna, its Karavīra cremation ground, its site-guardian (Kṣetrapāla) Balotkaṭa, the Assembly of Yoginīs/Śakinīs therein (*melāpaḥ*), and the Great Sacrifice [that it enacted] (*mahāyāgaḥ*), to the worship of (1) the circle of the five Flow Goddesses (*vāhadevyaḥ*) Vyomavāmeśvarī, Khecarī, Bhūcarī, Saṃhārabhakṣiṇī, and Raudresvarī (*pañcavāhacakram*), (2) the circle of Illumination (*prakāśacakram*) in which the faculties reach out towards the object, (3) the circle of Bliss (*ānandacakram*), in which the faculties incorporate the objects of the senses, (4) the circle of Embodiment (*mūrticakram*) in which that object-awareness reverts into the perceiver's awareness of himself as their perceiver, (5) the circle of the sixty-four Siddhās (*vṛndacakram*), in which that self-awareness reverts to its enlightened core, (6) the worship of the Guru lineage beginning from Maṅgalā as the leader of those sixty-four, and finally the extroversion of the enlightened state realized in the *vṛndacakram* and embodied in the lineage through the four circles of (7) Emission (*sṛṣṭicakram*), (8) Stasis (*sthiticakram*), (9) Withdrawal

[203] *Cittasaṃtoṣatriṃśikā*, f. 48v2–5 (v. 29): *svacchandanirmalapadoditanirniketasaṃvitsudhārasacamatkṛtinirbharo 'smi | diṣṭyādya sadgurumukhāmbujamadhyalabdhānuccāryacārakathanodayavismito 'smi*. On enlightenment in the Krama through oral transmission see p. 332.

(*saṃhāracakram*), and (10) the Nameless (the *anākhyacakram* of the thirteen Kālīs), in which the perfect interpenetation (*sāmarasyam*) of the inner and outer states is fully realized.

The Cidgaganacandrikā of Śrīvatsa

From the same lineage comes the *Cidgaganacandrikā* of Śrīvatsa. In the form of a hymn to Kālī it covers the same ground as Arṇasiṃha's work but also goes beyond it in detail and incidental elaboration. For example, while Arṇasiṃha describes only the nature of the circle of the Nameless Śrīvatsa provides a treatment of each of its thirteen Kālīs, building on the verses dedicated to them in Eraka's *Kramastotra*.[204] More than a third of its 312 verses are closely related to Arṇasiṃha's text, and these parallels are best understood as rephrasings of Arṇasiṃha's formulations in a more poetic, tighter style.[205]

Śrīvatsa tells us that the Krama lineage extends from Śivānanda to Soma comprising both the Order of the Human Masters (*mānavaughaḥ* [Śivānanda, Keyūravatī, and Hrasvanātha]) and those from Cakrabhānu onwards, that is to say, the Order of the Disciples (*śiṣyaughaḥ*),[206] and that he himself had received

[204] *Cidgaganacandrikā* (CGC), vv. 224–250. Cf. Arṇasiṃha, *Mahānayaprakāśa*, ff. 125v3–128r4 (vv. 212–236). The lost *Kramastotra*'s verses on the thirteen Kālīs are preserved through quotation in Jayaratha's *Tantrālokaviveka* as follows, in the order of their worship (*pūjākramaḥ*) as taught in all the Krama scriptures: (1) vol. 3, p. 158, ll. 13–16 (Sṛṣṭikālī) → CGC 221–224; (2) p. 163, ll. 5–8 (Sthitināśakālī) → CGC 225–226; (3) p. 167, ll. 1–4 (Saṃhārakālī) → CGC 227–228; (4) p. 160, l. 16–161, l. 2 (Raktakālī) → CGC 229–230; (5) not quoted but mentioned on p. 202, ll. 1–2 (emend *svakālīm* in Ed. to *sukālīm*) (Sukālī) → CGC 231; (6) p. 165, ll. 10–13 (Yamakālī) → CGC 232–233; (7) p. 169, ll. 9–12 (Mṛtyukālī) → CGC 234–235; (8) p. 173, ll. 16–19 (Bhadrakālī) → CGC 236–238; (9) p. 181, ll. 9–12 (Paramārkakālī) → CGC 239–240; (10) p. 178, ll. 10–13 (Mārtaṇḍakālī) → CGC 241–242; (11) p. 183, ll. 8–11 (Kālāgnirudrakālī) → CGC 243–246; (12) p. 185, ll. 4–7 (Mahākālakālī) → CGC 247–248; (13) p. 188, ll. 1–4 (Mahābhairavaghoracaṇḍakālī) → CGC 249.

[205] I have noted the following correspondences: *Cidgaganacandrikā* (CGC) 75–80 ← Arṇasiṃha (A) 8–13; CGC 85–93 ← A 20, 22–29; CGC 100–177 ← A 30–31, 33–37, 40–58, 61–69, 75–82, 84–85, 87–89, 91–94, 96–98, 100–103, 105–112, 114–116, 118–120, 122–134, 137–139, 141–145, 147–151, 170–178, 180–209, 211–221, 226c–227, 233, 236–240, 243–245, 248; CGC 250 ← A 227; CGC 290–296 ← A 237–249.

[206] The verse of the *Cidgaganacandrikā* that mentions the lineage of Krama Gurus is intractably corrupt in its edition, like much of the text, and I offer only a partial diagnosis of its errors (v. 300): *yaḥ śivātprabhṛti somapaścimas tvatkramaikarasiko gurukramaḥ* | **mānavaugha* (conj. : *ānanāgram* Ed.) *iha cakrabhānuto *yas tad etad ubhayaṃ tvad āyayau* [conj. : *yas tvam etad ubhayaṃ tvayā yayā* Ed.]) 'From you has come the line of Gurus devoted solely to your Krama, from Śiva [Śivānanda] to Soma, both the Mānavaugha and that from Cakrabhānu'.

the tradition from Soma's son.[207] If this Soma is the Someśvara that Arṇasiṃha has identified as one of his two Krama Gurus, then Śrīvatsa, as the pupil of his son, will have been approximately a generation later than Arṇasiṃha; but nothing compels this identification.[208]

In spite of the intimate connection with Arṇasiṃha's *Mahānayaprakāśa* it is doubtful that the text was composed in Kashmir. The only recorded manuscripts of the text are South Indian and all the citations of the text known to me occur in South Indian works or in late medieval authors familiar with those works.[209] Moreover, Śrīvatsa declares his connection with Pūrṇapīṭha, in verses that convey in spite of their corrupt state that he came to that place to propitiate the Goddess and then composed his hymn.[210] This is one of the

For the distinction between the Human Order and the Order of Disciples that has suggested the emendation to *mānavaugha* of *ānanāgram*, which yields no appropriate sense that I can discern, see p, 292, and footnote 221 on p. 302 .

[207] *Cidgaganacandrikā*, v. 304ab: *somaputram † apanesya † madgatas tvatkramo 'dya kim api stuto mayā* 'Today I have hymned in part your Krama that has come to me *from* (?) Soma's son'.

[208] Rastogi (1979, p. 196–197) assigns Śrīvatsa to a.d. 1125–1175 by proposing his identity with the poet Śrīvatsa mentioned as a contemporary by Maṅkha in his *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* (25.81–82). I see no reason to accept this. It rests on the flimsiest of arguments, namely the identity of the names and the fact that the author of the *Cidgaganacandrikā* has written in the Kāvya style.

[209] Maheśvarānanda quotes vv. 5, 23, 108, 117, 121, 128, 148, 195, 197, and 223 in his *Mahārthamañjarīparimala* (pp. 27, 161, 98, 90, 91, 93, 96, 148, 119, and 126), Amṛtānandanātha vv. 9, 13, 32, 40, 72, and 212 in his *Yoginīhṛdayadīpikā* (pp. 51, 173, 11, 94, and 18), Maheśvarānandanātha, v. 212 in his *Saubhāgyānandasandoha* (p. 161), and Kaivalyāśrama a verse not included in the edition in his commentary *Saubhāgyavardhanī* on the *Saundaryalaharī*, p. 5 (*amba tāvakapadadvayārcakas tvanmayo bhavati nātra vismayaḥ | yas tvayaiṣa vivaśo vaśīkṛtaḥ śaktir eva samabhūc chivaḥ svayam*). Another verse not included in the edition has been quoted in the South Indian *Īśvarapratyabhijñāsūtravimarśinīvyākhyā*, p. 9, ll. 1–5 (*śrīcidgaganacandrikāyāṃ ca: ādimāntimagṛhītavarṇarāśyātmikāham iti yā svataḥ prathā | mantravīryam iti sādhitāgamais tanmayo gurur asi tvam ambikā*. The text has also been cited by Bhāskararāya in his commentary on the *Lalitāsahasranāma*, pp. 57 and 157.

[210] *Cidgaganacandrikā*, vv. 307c–308b: *pūrṇapīṭham *upagamya* (conj. : *avagamya* Ed.) *maṅgale *tvatprasādanakṛte* (conj. : *tvatprasādam akṛte* Ed.) *mayā kṛtaḥ | eṣa cidgaganacandrikāstavaḥ *kiṃ na* (conj. : *kin nu* Ed.) *vāñchitam asūta māṃ prati* 'O Maṅgalā, what wish has the *Cidgaganacandrikā* not granted me, this hymn that I have composed to propitiate you after *coming to* (*conj.*) Pūrṇapīṭha?'; v. 312: **pūrṇapīṭhe kṛtavidhis* (conj. : *pūrṇapīṭha kṛtaṃsiddhes* Ed.) **tvadbhāvastavam* (*tvad* conj. : *tad* Ed.) *ādarāt* | **vāsanārthaṃ* (conj. : *vānarārthaṃ* Ed.) *mahāguhyaṃ śrīvatso vidadhe †satu†* '*After having completed the rites [of propitiation] in Pūrṇapīṭha (*conj.*) Śrīvatsa has composed [this] most esoteric hymn to your nature in order to inculcate it [in himself]'.

four principal Śākta Pīṭhas, better known as Pūrṇagiri, the other three being Uḍḍiyāna, Jālandhara, and Kāmarūpa. Though its exact location does not appear from our sources, the *Kumārīkhaṇḍa* of the *Manthānabhairava* places it in the Bhairavāśrama on a mountain in Desh, that is to say, in the west-central Deccan Plateau, and the *Kubjikāmata* locates it more narrowly in the forests of the Sahya mountains (*sahyādriḥ*), that is to say, in the northern part of the Ghats that bound this region on the west.[211]

The Old Kashmiri Mahānayaprakāśa and its Sanskrit commentary

Another *Mahānayaprakāśa*, also called *Mahārthaprakāśa*, has come down to us from this lineage, comprising verses in Old Kashmiri by one Śitikaṇṭha.[212] The work is accompanied by a Sanskrit commentary, which the editor asserts to be by the same author.[213] There is certainly no statement of separate author-

[211] *Manthānabhairava*, *Kumārīkhaṇḍa*, on the Pīṭha of Pūrṇagiri, f. 19r3: *kva ci⟨d⟩ deśaṃ tathā ramyaṃ deśānām uttamaṃ *viddhi* (conj. : *nidhiḥ* Cod.) | *diśādakṣiṇadigbhāge dakṣiṇāpathamaṇḍalaṃ*; f. 19v8: *bhairavās tatra pañcāśat pūrṇagiryāṃ samāgatāḥ* | *tena tad bhairavaṃ kṣetraṃ bhairavīsiddhidāyakaṃ*; f. 20r8: *evaṃ devyāḥ svarūpeṇa ****pūrṇapīṭham*** (corr. : *pūvvapīṭham* Cod.) *udāhṛtaṃ* | *pūrṇāvvā prakaṭā jñeyā*. Pūrṇagiri is equated with Sahya by an unnamed Paścimāmnāya source quoted without attribution by Maheśvarānanda on *Mahārthamañjarī* 39: *śṛṇoti śabdam olambe prekṣate puṣkaradvaye* | *karālambe 'bhidhatte ca sahye jighrati gandhavat* | *mātaṅge tu mahāpīṭhe vyāpnoty akhilam īśvarī*. Olamba etc. in this verse correspond to Oḍḍiyāna, Jālandhara, Pūrṇa, and Kāmarūpa, as can be inferred from the parallel in *Ṣaṭsāhasrasaṃhitā* 2.20, which associates the first four of same faculties with these Pīṭhas: *śrotukāmā tu oḍḍākhye vaktukāmā tu jālake* | *puṣṭyārthe caiva* ***pūrṇākhye*** *kāmākhye cekṣaṇecchayā*. Cf. *Kubjikāmata* 2.63–72 (≈*Ṣaṭsāhasrasaṃhitā* 4/5.62–71), where the place is called 'the great Sahya forest' (63d: *gatā sahyaṃ mahāvanam*). This reports that the Goddess created the mountain there and that as its Pīṭheśvarī (72a) she is called Pūrṇā (70d: *pūrṇarūpiṇī*) because she filled it with nectar (69c, 70cd). In an earlier publication (Sanderson 1987, p. 14b) I have written that Śrīvatsa was probably of Śucīndram (Pūrṇajyotiḥkṣetra, Pūrṇasabhā), an important Śaiva temple centre at the southern extremity of the subcontinent. I withdraw this theory.

[212] Old Kashmiri *Mahānayaprakāśa* 14.1ab: *pāveta iha kamu pabhusa pasāde śitikaṇṭhasa gata jammu kitāthu* | *tena mi mahajana khalitamasāde te mārāve mahanayaparamāthu* 'Since he has mastered this Krama by the grace of the Lord the human birth of Śitikaṇṭha has fulfilled its purpose. Therefore I [have turned to the composing of this work and thus] enabled the pious too to attain *without error* (?) awareness of the true nature of the Mahānaya'.

[213] The editor, Mukunda Rām Śāstrī, prints the following words, evidently his own, before the text proper: *atha mahānayaprakāśaḥ śrīmanmahāmāheśvarācāryarājānakaśitikaṇṭhācāryaviracitaḥ proktācāryeṇaiva vivṛtaś ca* 'Here begins the *Mahānayaprakāśa* composed by the venerable Mahāmāheśvarācārya Ācārya Rājānaka Śitikaṇṭha and commented upon by the said Ācārya himself'.

ship. But there are elements in the text itself that make it unlikely that this was an auto-commentary. In an introductory verse not included with those of the published text the commentator declares that in order to expound the ultimate nature of the Mahārtha he will make an effort (*udyamaḥ*) to explain the vernacular words of this work.[214] It is unlikely that one about to explain his own words would refer to the undertaking in such terms. Moreover, there are instances in the commentary in which he offers multiple meanings of which some seem forced,[215] and one at least where the explanation is so awkward that I suspect that the author has either misunderstood the text or is offering a literal translation of a word that has reached him in an already corrupted form.[216] Finally, though he refers to the author of the verses throughout in the third person he once refers to himself in the first, if my emendation is correct.[217]

As for the date of the work, Sir George Grierson, the distinguished scholar of the New Indo-Aryan languages, assigned the author of the verses, whose authorship of the commentary he does not question, to the latter half of the fifteenth century.[218] In doing so he was following the Kashmirian Śāstrī Paṇḍit Nityānanda, who had informed him that the Śitikaṇṭha who composed this *Mahānayaprakāśa* was the person of this name who during the reign of Ḥasan Šāh (r. 1472–1484) composed the commentary *-nyāsa* on the *Bālabodhinī*, a commentary by his countryman Jagaddhara on the Sanskrit grammar *Kātantra*. But Nityānanda Śāstrī's opinion was based on nothing more than the

[214]NAK MS of Old Kashmiri *Mahānayaprakāśa* between vv. 4 and 5: *mahārthaparamārthasya vyākhyāyai tatprakāśake | granthe 'pabhraṣṭaśabdānāṃ kurve satkathanodyamam* 'With the purpose of expounding the ultimate nature of the Mahārtha I shall make an effort to give a true explanation of the vernacular words in [this] text that illuminates it'.

[215]Thus on Old Kashmiri *Mahānayaprakāśa* 1.3 he explains *nerāji śamavāñī* in three ways: coming to rest (*śamavāñī*) in (1) the pure (*nīrājike vimale*), (2) [her] own kingdom (*nije sāmrājyamahotsave* [i.e. *nije rājye*]), and (3) that in which the kingdom [of differentiated states] has disappeared (*nīrājye naṣṭarājye*). The second of these interpretations is altogether implausible and the third strained.

[216]In Old Kashmiri *Mahānayaprakāśa* 9.5 we are told that just as Śiva's head was the point of descent to earth for the Ganges so Maṅgalā was the point of descent *pīṭhadiśāna*. The commentary glosses this word as *pīṭhadiśām* 'for the directional quarters of the Pīṭha'. This reference to the directions makes no sense in the context. What we expect here is something like 'for the teachings of the Pīṭha'. Perhaps *pīṭhadiśāna* is to be understood as *pīṭhādīśāna* (Skt. *pīṭhādeśānām*) with a shortening of vowels seen elsewhere in these verses (see GRIERSON 1929, § 11) or *pīṭhopadiśāna* (Skt. *pīṭhopadeśānām*). Cf. Modern Kashmiri *wŏpadīsh* 'instruction'.

[217]See footnote 239 on p. 305.

[218]See GRIERSON 1929, pp. 73–76. Grierson's dating and the single authorship of the verses and commentary are accepted without question by RASTOGI (1979, pp. 220–224).

name Śitikaṇṭha, which is too common for this coincidence to prove identity. Moreover, the author of the *Bālabodhinīnyāsa* recounts his scholarly accomplishments in its introduction, yet makes no reference to expertise in esoteric Śaivism, let alone to his authorship of the *Mahānayaprakāśa*, but only to his mastery of the brahmanical disciplines of grammar and logic. Nor does the commentary on the *Mahānayaprakāśa* show any signs that it was written by a scholar who had specialized in these subjects to an advanced level. Furthermore, the grammarian tells us that he was a member of the distinguished family of the Rājānakas of Padmapura (modern Pāmpar/Pampur),[219] but we have no evidence that the author of the *Mahānayaprakāśa* was a Rājānaka of any patrilineage. Had he been a Rājānaka we would expect to see this title accompanying his name in the colophon, which identifies him simply as Śitikaṇṭhācārya.

With the collapse of this identification we are left with no means of dating the text other than to consider its contents and language. It contains no citations of other works but it does provide an approximate prior limit by giving the tradition's preceptorial line. As we have seen, it states that Maṅgalā was the source of the three Gurus of the Human Order (*mānavaughaḥ*), that they were followed by [Cakra]bhānu, and that he was the source of the eight Disciples.[220] The commentary explains that the Human Order comprises [Jñāna]netra, Rājñī

[219] *Rājānakavaṃśapraśaṃsā*, ff. 9, ll. 22–13 (vv. 6–9), in which Śitikaṇṭha tells us that he visited various centres of learning outside Kashmir in order to master various Śāstras, was honoured by Sultān Muḥammad of Gujarat (r. 1458–1511), studied Nyāya in Gorakhpur from Śrīnātha and Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* in Benares from Varadeśvara before returning to Kashmir, where he undertook to write this commentary at the private request of Zayn al-'Ābidīn, finishing it in A.D. 1472, during the reign of Ḥasan Šāh: 6 *yodhācāryasuto 'rjuno 'jani jagatkhyāto gariṣṭhair guṇair yasmāc chrīśitikaṇṭha ity abhidhayā jāto 'smi vidyānidheḥ* | *nānāśāstravinirṇayāya bahuśas tīrthāntarāṇy abhramaṃ pūjāṃ gūrjaranāthamahmadasuratrāṇād avāpaṃ parām* | 7 *śrīgorakṣapure 'dhigatya vibudhāt tarkaṃ paraṃ karkaśaṃ śrīnāthād adhikāśi śeṣaracitaṃ mīmāṃsayā māṃsalam* | *bhāsyaṃ śrīvaradeśvarāt svavasatiṃ prāpto 'rthito 'haṃ rahaḥ śrīmajjainanṛpeṇa so 'tra karavai vyākhyāṃ satāṃ khyātaye* | 8 *yo bālabodhinyabhidhāṃ manīṣī jagaddharo yāṃ vitatāna vṛttim* | *tannaptṛkanyātanayānujo vyākhyāmy ahaṃ tāṃ śitikaṇṭhako 'lpam* | 9 *try[3]aṅka[9]viśva[13]mite śāke* [=Śaka 1393] *varṣe muniyugaiḥ [74] mite* [=Saptarṣi (45)47] | *nabhasyasitasaptamyāṃ samāpto nāmanirṇayaḥ*.

[220] Old Kashmiri *Mahānayaprakāśa* 9.5: *haraśiru jina gaṅgi avatāran tā jānu maṅgala pīṭhadiśāna* | *sā mānavaugha tristhāna kulārana bhānupāda aṣṭana śiṣyāna* 'Just as the head of Śiva was the point from which the Ganges descended to earth so Maṅgalā for the teachings of Uḍḍiyāna. She was the source of the three stages of the Human Order. [Then came] the venerable Bhānu [the source] of the eight Disciples'. The commentary identifies this Bhānu as Cakrabhānu in its comments on the next verse.

[Keyūravatī], and Hrasvanātha,[221] thus agreeing exactly with the account of the lineage in Arṇasiṃha's *Mahānayaprakāśa*. If the eight that followed are understood as eight successive preceptorial generations then we will have an approximate prior limit in the twelfth century. But the next verse suggests that the author means eight co-disciples, because, playing on Cakrabhānu's name and employing a common simile for the dawning of enlightenment it refers to him as the sun (*bhānuḥ*) and to these disciples as lotuses opened by his light.[222] This brings the prior limit back to some time early in the eleventh century. This, of course, does not establish a posterior limit, because it does not follow from the fact that Śitikaṇṭha's account of the lineage ends with the eight disciples of Cakrabhānu that he was the direct pupil of one of them.

As for the language of the text we might suppose that Grierson, who describes it as old, "belonging to the period when Prakrit, in the Apabhraṃśa stage, had just merged into the language that finally became the Kāshmīrī of the present day",[223] would have rejected Nityānanda Śāstrī's identification of its author if he had thought the late fifteenth century implausible on linguistic grounds. Evidently he saw no difficulty in accepting that this stage of Kashmiri, far removed though it is from the modern language, should have been reached so late. He was aware that the Kashmiri verses of the Śaiva poetess Lal Dĕd (Lalīshŏrī, Lallādevī, Lallāyoginī), though she lived in the fourteenth century (1335–1376), show a form of Kashmiri that with the exception of few archaic forms is virtually indistinguishable from the modern vernacular. But he swept aside the implication that Śitikaṇṭha's verses must therefore have been written much earlier by asserting that the language of Lal Dĕd must have been modernized through its transmission in the oral culture of Kashmir. With this objection disposed of there was nothing to oppose his dating, since he was not

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[221] Old Kashmiri *Mahānayaprakāśa*, commentary on 9.5: *sā ca siddhaugharūpā *mānavaughe netrarājñīhrasvanāthetitrirūpasya kulasya ovallīviśeṣasya* (conj. : *mānavaughanetrarājñī hrasvanāthetitrirūpasya kulāraṇiḥ kulasya ovallīviśeṣasya* Ed.) *araṇiḥ trayāṇām agnīnām ivotpattisthānam* 'And [Maṅgalā], who constituted the Siddha Order, was the fire-churning stick for the triple lineage, the distinguished preceptorial line in the Human Order comprising [Jñāna]netra, Rājñī [Keyūravatī], and Hrasvanātha, just as the real] fire-churning sticks are the source of the three [Śrauta] sacrificial fires'.

[222] 9.6: *aṣṭa mūcī mahadyu yākheta va bammu pajapatīna nikhilāna | aruṇodaya diṅmaṇḍala tākheta bhānu vikāsaka śiśukamalāna* 'Bhānu [/the sun] caused the lotuses that were [these] disciples to unfold, just as Śiva (Mahādeva) does to his eight Mūrtis, or Brahmā to all the Prajāpatis, [or] the rising sun to the quarters of the sky'.

[223] Grierson 1929, p. 73.

aware of any evidence of the existence of Kashmiri in earlier centuries. But there is such evidence, and it shows that Kashmiri was already a distinct language in the early eleventh century.

The great Khwārizmian scientist and polymath al-Bīrūnī (973–1050+), who did not enter the valley himself, but evidently had Kashmirians among his informants, refers to a number of Indian festivals and related matters under vernacular names that are unmistakeably Kashmiri. He tells us in his 'Description of India' (*Tarīkh al-Hind*), written around A.D 1030 after he had accompanied his patron Sultān Maḥmūd b. Subuktakīn from Ghazhna to India, that in the month of Āṣāḍha "there is a fast-day holy to Vāsudeva called *Devasînî* (?), *i.e.* Deva is sleeping, because it is the beginning of the four months during which Vāsudeva slept".[224] The name ascribed to this rite corresponds to Modern Kashmiri *dīv-wasun*, meaning 'God's going down [to sleep]'. He also tells us[225] that the day in Kārtika that commemorates the god's re-awakening is "called *Deotthînî*, *.i.e.* the rising of the Deva", which corresponds to Modern Kashmiri *dīv-wŏthun*. 'God's getting up'. The verb *wŏthun* is the antonym of *wasun* and among its uses is 'to get up (from one's bed)'.[226] Among other examples are *gan* 'log' in "certain pieces of wood called *gana* (?) which the water of the river Vitastā (Jailam) carries"; *pŏh* 'the month Pauṣa' and *wor*ᵘ 'a kind of spiced cake' in "*pûhaval*", which he defines as a sweet dish eaten in that month; *wahāran* 'the act of spreading out' in "*vuhara*" for the flow as opposed to the ebb of the ocean; *gōra-tray* in "*gaur-t-r*" for the third lunar day of the light half of the months Māgha and Vaiśākha sacred to Gaurī; and *har* 'a group of young sprouts' and *wöl*ⁱ 'a pregnant woman' in "*harbâlî*" for a women's festival in Bhādrapāda in which seeds sown in baskets are offered when they have sprouted.[227]

Abhinavagupta (*fl. c.* 975–1025), stating the view that human language, as opposed to Mantras, is a matter of convention (*sāṃketika-*), gives examples of how the same combinations of sounds have entirely different meanings in different languages, and cites examples from Tamil, the language of the Saindhavas, and Kashmiri. His example for the last is *krūra* for husked grains of barley,

[224] Sachau 1964, vol. 2, p. 176.

[225] *Ibid.*, p. 177.

[226] Grierson 1932, s.v., p. 1160b26–27.

[227] Sachau 1964, vol. 2, pp. 181, 183, 104, 179, and 180; Grierson 1932, pp. 287b24, 305b17–25, 684a24 and 1137a5–6, 1105b9–13, and 343b1–3 and 1113a35–36.

wheat, or rice[228] with which we may compare Modern Kashmiri *dŏda-krūr*^{ü} f. ('milk-*krūr*^{ü}') 'a certain kind of rice-plant'.[229] He also alludes to the Kashmirian vernacular when commenting on Ānandavardhana's advice that poets should avoid any juxtaposition of syllables that might arouse vulgar thoughts in the minds of listeners (*asabhyasmṛtihetuḥ*). He advises poets to write, for example, *kuru rucim* rather than *ruciṅ kuru*.[230] The unstated point of this example is surely that the juxtaposition of the syllables *ciṅ ku* would bring to mind what must have been a word corresponding to the Modern Kashmiri *ċĕ̄kh* f. 'a woman's pudenda (used only in obscene abuse)'.[231]

Finally, Kṣemendra, whose dateable literary activity falls between A.D. 1037 (*Bṛhatkathāmañjarī*) and 1066 (*Daśāvatāracarita*), tells us that he has included words from the local language (*deśabhāṣā*) in his sketches of various unsavoury characters in the 8th chapter of his *Deśopadeśa*;[232] and several words are indeed present there that can only be Kashmiri or which make good sense only if so understood. The first that I see in this passage is *ghaṭa* in 8.12 in mockery of a Śākta brahmin: *ghaṭagalagalagalaśabdair galapūram bhairavaṃ piban bhaṭṭaḥ*. The phrase makes no sense if the word is Sanskrit ('pot'), but excellent sense when recognized as Modern Kashmiri *g*^{a}*ṭh* 'choking caused by too eagerly drinking':[233] 'the brahmin drinking Bhairava (i.e. wine), filling his throat, with the sound *gala gala gala* of choking caused by drinking too eagerly'. The differences between *ghaṭa* and *g*^{a}*ṭh* are inconsequential, since Kashmiri does not distinguish between aspirated and unaspirated voiced consonants and aspirates the unvoiced consonants *k*, *p*, *t*, *ṭ*, and *ċ* when these end a word. Then there are *melākalama-* (8.40), in a passage on an ignorant scholar, which is meaningless in

[228] *Parātrīśikāvivaraṇa*, p. 227, ll. 16–18 (p. 125 in KSTS ed.): *yathā dākṣiṇātyāḥ cauraśabdena odanaṃ vyapadiśanti saindhavās tu tenaiva dasyum odanaṃ tu krūraśrutyā tayā tu kāśmīrikā vituṣitayavagodhūmataṇḍulān iti* '…just as southerners say *caura-* for cooked rice, but the natives of Sindh use the sound *caura* for a brigand and *krūra* for boiled rice, while the Kashmirians use *krūra* for husked grains of barley, wheat, or rice'.

[229] Grierson 1932, p. 189b11–14. The *caura* of the 'southerners' corresponds to Tamil and Malayalam *cōṟu* 'boiled rice' (Burrow and Emeneau 1984, s.v.). Cf. Indrabhūti, *Jñānasiddhi* 15.2: *coraśabdo* [*yathā*] *loke *bhaktārthaṃ* (conj. : *bhakṣyārthaṃ* Ed.) *pratipādayet | keṣāṃcic coram *evāha* (conj. : *āhuḥ* Ed.) *tantre 'py evaṃ padās tathā*.

[230] In his *Dhvanyālokalocana* on 2.11: *yathā kuru rucim iti kramavyatyāse*.

[231] Grierson 1932, p. 1068a40–41

[232] *Deśopadeśa* 8.1: *ekatra saṃkṣiptadhiyā prakīrṇajanavarṇanam | deśabhāṣāpadair miśram adhunā kriyate mayā* 'With the intention of concision I shall now give in a single [chapter] a description of miscellaneous persons that will include [some] words from the local language'.

[233] Grierson 1932, p. 311a9–11.

Sanskrit but apposite Kashmiri, since in that language *mīl* f. means 'ink', and *mīl-kalam* 'an ink-pen;[234] *navadarakārī* (8.45) describing a crooked accountant, which yields no apposite sense in Sanskrit but if *dara* is read as Kashmiri derides him for setting new tariffs or fixing the scales to his advantage;[235] and *vālī* 'finger-ring', Modern Kashmiri *wöj^i* f.,[236] in *kuśatilarājatavālīkalitakarā*.[237]

I see no reason, therefore, to think that the Old Kashmiri *Mahānayaprakāśa*, though not by the fifteenth-century grammarian, must have been composed so late. A date early in the history of the Kashmirian Śaiva literature, close to the limit of the early eleventh century set by the text's account of the Guru lineage, is entirely possible. Indeed it is plausible in the light of the considerable distance between this Old Kashmiri and the modern language, which, even if we accept Grierson's view that Lal Dĕd's Kashmiri has been modernized—and I see no strong reason to do so—is certainly present in the verses of the poetess Ḥabba Khātūn in the sixteenth century.[238]

As for the author of the commentary, he reports, as we have seen, that the line of succession (*pāramparyam*) that had reached him began from Rājñī Īśānī, indicating thereby that there were several intermediate preceptorial generations.[239] The sources that he cites include a lost hymn (*Stotramālā*) com-

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[234] GRIERSON 1932, pp. 564b48–50 and 565b39–41.

[235] Modern Kashmiri *dar* m. 'price, rate, tariff, market or current rate; a large, fixed pair of scales for weighing heavy loads' (GRIERSON 1932, p. 234b10–14), and *dar-karun* 'to calculate the weight of anything by weighing an aliquot part thereof by measure and multiplying by the number of parts' (GRIERSON 1932, p. 234b18–21).

[236] GRIERSON 1932, p. 1107a30–31. This change of *l* to *j* is regular in Kashmiri; cf. *kāwoj^u* 'cremation-ground attendant' from *kāpālikaḥ* in that sense (see, e.g., *Rājataraṅginī* 7.44ab); *môl^u* 'father', but *möj^ü* 'mother' from *mahallakaḥ/mahallikā* 'venerable one'; *kīj^i* f. 'peg, spike' from *kīlikā*; *muj^ü* f. 'a radish' from *mūlikā*; *shöj^i* f. 'she-jackal' from *śṛgālikā*; and *zöj^ü* f. 'a fine, delicate net' from *jālikā*.

[237] I have emended. The published text gives *kuśatilarājatavāliḥ kalitakarā*.

[238] Further clarification of these matters would be possible by studying the Kashmiri of the *Bāṇāsuravadha*, composed by Bhaṭṭāvatāra during the fifteenth century (BÜHLER 1877, p. 90), *c.* 1446. The only known manuscript, dated 1020 Hijrī (A.D. 1658), was acquired in Kashmir by Georg BÜHLER and is now in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute in Pune. I regret that I have not yet seen it. This work, I imagine, would not be open to the argument of modernization that was applied by Grierson to the poetry of Lal Dĕd and might also be extended to that of Ḥabba Khātūn, since her verses too became part of Kashmiri oral tradition.

[239] Old Kashmiri *Mahānayaprakāśa*, commentary on 9.5: *bhānupādaḥ aṣṭānāṃ śiṣyāṇāṃ prabhuḥ yanmadhyād *rājñīśānyākhyā* (conj. : *rājñīśānākhyā* Ed.) *madantapāramparyanidānam* (corr. : *sadantaṃ pāramparyanidānaṃ* Ed.) 'The venerable [Cakra]bhānu was the Lord of the Eight Disciples, one of whom, the Rājñī Īśānī, is the source of the line of succession that ends

posed by himself,[240] verses from an unnamed Krama scripture or scriptures not otherwise known,[241] an unattributed verse found in the *Ūrmikaulārṇava* (a scripture of a related form of the Kālīkula),[242] and passages from otherwise unknown works of the post-scriptural Krama, of which the *Rājikā* and *Pūjātilaka* are named.[243] The only authors of approximatly known date that he cites are Jñānanetra and Utpaladeva[244] but this takes us no further in establishing his period, since Utpaladeva, the later of these, flourished around the middle of the tenth century. He cites a verse that is attributed to Śrīvatsa,[245] but nothing requires us identify that Śrīvatsa with the author of the *Cidgaganacandrikā*.

The text and its commentary stand apart in the Kashmirian Krama literature in a number of respects. This, for example, is the only source therein whose account of the course of worship does not culminate in the fourth phase, that of the Nameless (*anākhyakramaḥ*), but adds a fifth, the phase of Pure Light (*bhāsākramaḥ*),[246] following in this respect the model of worship taught in the

in myself'.

[240] Old Kashmiri *Mahānayaprakāśa*, pp. 47, l. 16–48, l. 2 (*yat stutaṃ stotramālāyāṃ mayaiva*).

[241] Old Kashmiri *Mahānayaprakāśa*, p. 6, l. 7; p. 7, ll. 9–10; p. 16, ll. 4–5; p. 29, 12–13; p. 39, ll. 1–2 and 7–12; p. 42, 15–16; p. 43, ll. 1–2; p. 45, ll. 3–4, 6–7, 9–10, 12–13, 15–16; p. 111, ll. 11–12.

[242] Old Kashmiri *Mahānayaprakāśa*, p. 10, ll. 4–5, = *Ūrmikaulārṇava*, f. 5r4–5 (1.90c–91b). This scripture, also called *Bhogahasta*, teaches a form of the Kālīkula related to that of the Krama texts (f. 10v7 [2.6]: *śāktaṃ kālikramāmnāyaṃ bhogahasteti viśrutam*) and claims to have been revealed first by Mīnanātha in Kāmarūpa and then taken by Siddhas to Kaulagiri (Kolhapur) in Karnataka; see SANDERSON 2005a, pp. 133–134 and footnote 111.

[243] Old Kashmiri *Mahānayaprakāśa*, p. 20, ll. 11–14; p. 21, ll. 2–4, 5–9, and 16–17; p. 24, ll. 6–9; p. 32, ll. 10–13 (in Old Kashmiri, attributed to an unnamed Siddha [*yad siddhapādā ādidiśuḥ*]); p. 43, ll. 5–8; p. 55, ll. 5–8 (attributed to the *Rājikā*); p. 58, ll. 8–15; pp. 62, l. 15–63, l. 4; p. 79, ll. 3–4. On p. 141 he refers to a variant order of Krama worship taught in the *Pūjātilaka*.

[244] Old Kashmiri *Mahānayaprakāśa*, p. 6, ll. 14–15, = *Kālikāstotra*, f. 91r1–2 (v. 6); p. 12, ll. 5–6, = Utpaladeva, *Śivastotrāvalī* 16.1; p. 12, ll. 16–17 (not traced).

[245] The verse is cited (p. 12, ll. 8–11) as that of 'a certain learned scholar' (*kaścic ca vipaścid āha*). The attribution to Śrīvatsa accompanies a citation of the same verse in a marginal comment in a Kashmirian manuscript of the *Nareśvaraparīkṣāprakāśa* (*śrīvatso 'py āha*); see WATSON 2006, p. 246.

[246] Old Kashmiri *Mahānayaprakāśa* 11.2–5 and commentary. The content of this phase is unclear. The commentary explains that it contains four sub-phases, calling them the differentiated (*sakalaḥ*), the differentiated-cum-undifferentiated (*sakalaniṣkalaḥ*), the undifferentiated (*niṣkalaḥ*), and the all-containing (*paraḥ*) (p. 123, ll. 3–5: *catvāro hy asmin bhāsākrame *sakalasakalaniṣkalaniṣkalaparākhyāḥ* [em. : *sakalāsakalaniṣkalāniṣkalaparākhyāḥ* Ed.] **kramā* [em. : *krama* Ed.] *mahākramam avabhāsayanti*); that there are twelve constituent goddesses

Kālīkulakramasadbhāva rather than the *Kālīkulapañcaśataka*. However, it follows the latter in the preceding phases, giving thirteen Kālīs in the fourth rather than the former's seventeen. This illustrates in striking fashion a characteristic of the post-scriptural Krama as a whole, namely its readiness to innovate, a feature that was no doubt justified in terms of its distinctive narrative of ongoing revelation through direct contact with the Yoginīs of Uḍḍiyāna conceptualized in these texts as the sudden unfolding in the meditator's visionary consciousness of his own inner reality. The text is also remarkable for the richness of its reading of the structures of worship not only in terms of the natural flow of cognition but also in mapping them on to a model of the flow of energy within the body itself. Further, it gives detailed instructions found in no other text on a four-day course of training in the worship of the Krama following initiatory transmission (*saṃkramaṇam*), in which the initiate worships day by day the deities of the four phases from Emission (*sṛṣṭikramaḥ*) to the Nameless (*anākhyakramaḥ*), each accompanied with the worship of the Pīṭha-circle, a segment of the Guru lineage, the phase of Pure Light (*bhāsākramaḥ*), and the Samayavidyā of one hundred syllables that rectifies any defects in the preceding worship, followed by instruction in a five-day session in which the initiate together with his female consort (*dūtī*) worships the five deity phases one by

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(*cakriṇyaḥ*) in the first, six in the second, three in the third, and one in the fourth; that all the twelve and four of the six have Mantras of eighteen syllables; that the remaining two of those six and all of the three have Mantras of fourteen syllables; and that the goddess of the fourth and highest sub-phase has one of nine syllables, which it calls the Kulavidyā (*ekaiva kulavidyā navārṇaiva*). The relevant section of the *Kālīkulakramasadbhāva* having been lost, we turn to the *Kālīkulakramārcana* for clarification but find that its arrangement of deities differs. There (ff. 14v6–15r2: *bhāsākramapūjāvidhiḥ*) one is to worship twelve goddesses (Mantrakāli, Haṃsakālī, Kramakālī, Jñānakālī, Ḍāmarakālī, Cakrakālī, Oṃkārakālī, Gaganakālī, Ekabhāsākālī, Śabdakālī, Balakālī, and Ṛddhikālī), then eight (Bhāsākālī, Bhāsāhaṃsakālī, Bhāsācaṇḍakālī, Bhāsāḍāmarakālī, Bhāsāyogakālī, Bhāsāgaganakālī, Bhāsāsvarakālī, and Bhāsā-ṛkṣakālī), then seven (Sūryakālī, Candrakālī, Agnikālī, Vāyukālī, Vyomakālī, Manaḥkālī, and Sarvakālī), then the nine-syllable Vidyā in its seventeenth-syllable form through the separation of its conjuncts (MA-E-KHA-PHA-RA-MA-HĀ-CA-ṆA-ḌA-YA-O GA-E-ŚA-VA-RI), the 100-syllable Samayavidyā (see footnote 247 on p. 308), and finally the unseparated nine-syllable Vidyā (KHPHREṂ MAHĀCAṆḌAYOGEŚVARI). Only the number of the first phase and the nine-syllable Vidyā at the end coincide. Nor do the Mantras in the *Kālīkulakramārcana*, with the exception of the nine-syllable Vidyā, show the requisite number of syllables. Maheśvarānanda's comments on the phase of Radiance in the *Mahārthamañjarīparimala* (pp. 101–104) are too abstract to clarify these details beyond the use of the seventeen-syllable Vidyā (*ṣoḍaśādhikā*: perhaps the separated form of the nine-syllable is intended) and the nine-syllable Vidyā.

one with dough lamps (*dīpacaruḥ*, *prakāśacaruḥ*), each with the Pīṭha-cycle, a segment of the Guru lineage, and the Samayavidyā.[247]

The Anonymous Mahānayaprakāśa

A third *Mahānayaprakāśa*, of unknown authorship, has been published from Trivandrum on the basis a single Keralan manuscript.[248] It too is probably Kashmirian, since it has been cited by Jayaratha in his commentary on the *Tantrāloka* and by Śiva[svāmin] Upādhyāya I in his commentary on the *Vijñānabhairava*,[249] and drawn upon by Śivasvāmin Upādhyāya II in his *Śivarātrirahasya*.[250] The editor reports with approval hearsay evidence that the author was Abhinavagupta.[251] But though the work shows a style and sophistication not unworthy of him, the claim that it is his is fatally undermined by the

[247] Old Kashmiri *Mahānayaprakāśa* 13.1–5. On the Samayeśvarī/Samayavidyā/Samayā of one hundred syllables see 11.6–9. The author does not give the Vidyā itself, but states that it has 100 syllables divided into sections of 2, 15, 69, 2, and 12, for four sub-phases within the phase of the Nameless (Sṛṣṭyanākhyasamayeśvarī to Śuddhānākhyasamayeśvarī) followed by the phase of Pure Light (Bhāsāsamayeśvarī). This is evidently the Samayavidyā taught in partly encoded form in *Kālīkulapañcaśataka* 6.19–30. For that has 100 syllables and consists of segments of the length indicated by our author. These are not conveyed explicitly, but they are nonetheless made apparent by four occurrences at the appropriate places of the syllable PHAṬ, which generally occurs at the end of a Mantra, with PHAṬ SVĀHĀ at the end of the whole. Decoded, with the addition of Daṇḍas to mark the segments, it is: KHPHREṂ PHAṬ | MAHĀCAṆḌE CAṆḌAMUKHI CAṆḌAYOGEŚVARI PHAṬ | CAṆḌADUḤKHAVIMOCANI SARVASAMAYALOPAVIGHĀTANI TEJOVATI AMṚTAMŪRTE ASIDDHASĀDHANI SIDDHI-ṚDDHIPRADE NĀŚAYA SARVADOṢĀN ABHIMATAṂ ME PRAYACCHA SARVE SARVAGE ARŪPE SARVARŪPE HRĪṂ PHAṬ | KHPHREṂ PHAṬ | HŪṂ KROṂ KṢĀṂ SARVAVIDYEŚVARI PHAṬ SVĀHĀ. The function of the Samayavidyā is to promote the fruition of the worship that precedes it by removing any impediments to that fruition caused by defects in performance; see SANDERSON in the discussion after GOUDRIAAN 1986, pp. 161–163. The segments of the lineage of Gurus are six: (1) the *paraughaḥ* (= the five Vāhadevīs), (2) the *divyaughaḥ* (= the Siddhas and Yoginīs of the *prakāśacakram*, *ānandacakram*, and *mūrticakram*), (3) the *mahaughaḥ* (= the sixty-four Pīṭheśvarīs/Śākinīs/Siddhās of the *vṛndacakram*), (4) the *siddhaughaḥ* (= Maṅgalā), (5) the *mānavaughaḥ* (= Jñānanetra, Keyūravatī, and Hrasvanātha), and (6) the *śiṣyaughaḥ* (= Cakrabhānu and his eight disciples). In the four-day course 4–6 are combined and in the five-day course 5 and 6.

[248] The editor, K. Śāmbaśiva Śāstrī, reports that the manuscript, on palm-leaf in the Malayalam script, belonged to Brahmaśrī Nārāyaṇan Bhaṭṭatiripād of Parambūrillam, Thiruvalla, and judges that it is about four hundred years old (*Mahānayaprakāśa* [Triv.], introduction, p. 3).

[249] *Tantrālokaviveka* on 4.125, vol. 3, p. 128, ll. 12–18 (= *Mahānayaprakāśa* (Triv.) 9.15–18b); *Vijñanabhairavavivṛti*, p. 67, ll. 10–13 (= 7.127–128), and ll. 18–19 (= 7.144).

[250] See footnote 319 on p. 329.

[251] *Mahānayaprakāśa* (Triv.), introduction, p. 2.

fact that Jayaratha cites it as representing the view of unnamed others, namely that there are thirteen Kālīs in the phase of the Nameless and not twelve as Abhinavagupta has taught in the passage on which Jayaratha is commenting.[252]

This text is distinguished from the other two works with the same title by the depth and subtlety of its explanations of the course of Krama worship as embodying a process of the unfolding of sudden enlightenment in which consciousness devours its own content and subjectivity (*alaṃgrāsaḥ*, *haṭhapākaḥ*) to burst forth into the mind and senses as a transfigured mundane experience in which the polarity of liberation and bondage is obliterated. It also stands apart by reason of its containing a sophisticated and learned philosophical argument for the position that the object of cognition has no existence outside the cognition itself, as the basis for the soteriologically correct perception of the cyclical flow of consciousness personified in the goddesses of the Five Flows (*vāhadevyaḥ*) from the inner ground of pure potential before the arising of object-cognition (Vyomavāmeśvarī) to the return to that ground (Raudraraudreśvarī) at its end;[253] and for an eloquent reconciliation of the Krama's Śākta perspective on itself as the ultimate revelation within its Śaiva context, namely that the Goddess of the Krama is that point at the core of Śiva's nature that he himself cannot objectivate:[254]

> (104–5b) Maheśvara's repose within himself is the highest state of self-awareness. But by the finest of distinctions there shines a state even higher than that. This is the Goddess-ground, in which even the Lord cannot see his way.

[252] *Tantrālokaviveka* on 4.125, vol. 3, p. 128, ll. 10–11, introducing the unattributed citation of *Mahānayaprakāśa* (Triv.) 9.15–18b: *nanv asyā parasyāḥ saṃvido 'nyair anayaiva bhaṅgyā trayodaśātmakatvam uktam. yad uktam:* … 'It may be objected that others following exactly the same approach have asserted that fully expanded consciousness has thirteen aspects. As has been said: ….'

[253] *Mahānayaprakāśa* (Triv.) 3.1–93.

[254] *Mahānayaprakāśa* (Triv.) 3. 94–111. 3.104–111: *maheśasyātmaviśrāntiḥ parāhaṃtātmikā hi yā | tasyā api parāvasthā bhāti sūkṣmaprabhedataḥ |* 105 *tad devīdhāma yatrāsau kāṃdiśīko vibhur bhavet | bhāvābhāvau prakāśe 'ntaḥ pratiṣṭhām adhigacchataḥ |* 106 *sa cāpi sakalāpekṣāśūnyāyāṃ ciccamatkṛtau | tāratamyādikalanāvāsanāvedhadūrage |* 107 *paraviśrāntiparyante sāpi viśrāmyati svataḥ | paraprakāśaviśrāntidaśāyām api ye sthitāḥ |* 108 *vāsanāvedhasaṃskārā bhāvābhāvobhayātmakāḥ |* **antas tān grasanīkṛtya* (conj. : *atas tām asanīkṛtya* Ed.) *yā viśrāntir anuttarā |* 109 *sā devī kathyate tasyā nayo 'sau devatānayaḥ |* **yatrāvaṭe* (em. : *yatrāpaṭe*) **parikṣīṇo* (Ed. : *parikṣīṇā* Cod.) **viṭaṅko* (em. [cf. here 1.1d and 3.82a (*avaṭāṭaṅka*-), and commentary introducing *Bhāvopahārastotra* v 1: *niruttaranirniketanāvaṭaviṭaṅka*-] : *'pi ṭaṅko* Ed.) *'sau nayas tataḥ |* 110 *yā kālagrāsaviśrāntis tad rūpaṃ parameśituḥ | yā tadviśrāntiviśrāntis tad devīrūpam iṣyate |* 111 *itthaṃ* **sūkṣmekṣikārūpo* (em. : *sūkṣmekṣitārūpo* Ed. : *sūkṣmikṣitārūpo* Cod.) *bhedo* **'yaṃ* (em. : *yat* Ed.) *parameśayoḥ | aikye 'pi darśitaḥ samyakpratītipariśuddhaye*.

> (105c–106) Being and non-being are grounded in the light of all manifestation, and that is grounded in the ecstasy of consciousness void of all dependence, which in turn comes to rest spontaneously in the limit of the self-groundedness of that all-encompassing [light], where the impressions of the influences left in consciousness by awareness of degree and the like are completely absent. (107–109) What we mean by 'the Goddess' is that untranscendable ground that remains when it has devoured even the subtlest traces of the impressions of these influences, positive, negative and both, that persist even within the state of the self-groundedness of that all-encompassing light. This path of [meditating on the cycles of] the deities [of cognition] is precisely the path of the Goddess [so defined]. It derives from that abyss in which all imprints are obliterated. (110) The nature of the Supreme Lord [Śiva] is the self-groundedness that devours awareness [of degree and the like]. We define the nature of the Goddess to be the point in which that itself comes to rest. (111) Thus though the Supreme Lords, male and female, are [objectively] one and the same, a subtle experiential difference between them has been revealed in order to perfect the correct perception [of this fact].

With the practical details of worship it is little concerned, but it conveys that initiation is to take the form of the tasting of the Kaula sacramental substances (*caruprāśanam*) at the commencement of the process of oral instruction and worship.[255] It also teaches that the phase of the Nameless (*anākhyakramaḥ*), in which its course of worship culminates, is to be realized in the experience of a female consort, wine, and meat.[256]

The work mentions Hrasvanātha, and quotes from the *Kramastotra* of Eraka, the *Svabodhodayamañjarī* of Vāmanadatta, and the *Īśvarapratyabhijñākārikā* of Utpaladeva.[257] It was therefore composed no earlier than about

[255] *Mahānayaprakāśa* (Triv.) 2.4–5: *prādhānyena sthito loke vyavahāraḥ kriyātmakaḥ | ataḥ pīṭhakramajñaptis tanmukhenaiva kathyate | anenaivāśayenādau caruprāśana*pūrvakam* (corr. : *pūrvakaḥ* Ed.) | *guruṇā saṃpradāyasya bhājanaṃ kriyate paśuḥ* 'For the most part our mundane experience is active by nature. It is therefore through this that instruction is given in the [five-aspected] process of the Pīṭha phase of worship. And it is with this in mind that the Guru transforms the bound soul into a receptacle of the transmission by having him consume the sacramental substances'.

[256] *Mahānayaprakāśa* (Triv.) 9.35–51b.

[257] Hrasvanātha is mentioned under the name Vāmanavīra in 8.27, quoted in footnote 140 on p. 276. The *Kramastotra* of Eraka is quoted in 6.27 as the *Saṃvitstotra* of the Hymnographer: *stotrakārasyedam eva sthitaṃ cetasi yaj jagau | *saṃvitstotre* (corr. : *saṃvitstotraiḥ* Ed.) **samālokaṃ* (em. : *samāloka* Ed.) *pramāṇārthapramātṛ*gam* (em. : *daḥ* Cod. : *taḥ* em. Ed.) 'This is what was in the mind of the Hymnographer when he sang of the single light in the means, object, and agent of cognition'. This refers to a line attributed

950. However, I propose that though it does not cite Abhinavagupta directly it was influenced by doctrines set out by him in his *Tantrāloka* and therefore that it is unlikely to have been written before the first half of the eleventh century.

This influence is apparent in the text's explanation of the hierarchy of the Krama's means of liberation, and its account of the Kālīs that are to be worshipped in the last phase, that of the Nameless. As for the first, it teaches that liberation-in-life (*jīvanmuktiḥ*), the Krama's goal, comes through an extreme descent of Śiva's power (*atitīvraḥ śaktipātaḥ*, *atiśaktipātaḥ*) that brings about complete immersion in the reality of consciousness. This descent it subdivides into three degrees, mild (*mr̥duḥ*), moderate (*madhyaḥ*), and intense (*atimātraḥ*), also calling them respectively *mahātīvraḥ*, *mahātīvrataraḥ*, and *mahātīvratamaḥ*.[258]

> When *śāmbhava-* immersion has been established through the most intense (*atitīvra-*) descent of power then liberation in life has been attained and as a result everything is experienced as identical with the nectar of the bliss of the self. When this extreme descent of power gets under way we find that there appears within it a subtle experiential differentiation into [three degrees:] intense, middling, and mild.

These qualify their recipients for the Krama's three ascending methods of liberation: (1) through the worship of the Krama (*pūjanam*), (2) through oral instruction (*kathanam*), and (3) without the help of either of these, through direct transmission (*saṃkramaṇam*).[259] The last it characterizes as a sudden unfolding of enlightenment brought about by a non-verbal fusion with the Guru's

to the *Kramastotra* by Śivopādhyāya in *Vijñānabhairavavivr̥ti*, p. 140: *tato 'svaro 'rkasomāgnikalābījaprasūtibhāk | udety ekaḥ samālokaḥ pramāṇārthapramātr̥gaḥ iti. arthaḥ prameyam. iti śrīkramastotrasaṃvādāt* .... I have emended the reading *pramātr̥taḥ* following this citation and Abhinavagupta's unattributed quotation of the same in *Parātrīśikāvivaraṇa*, p. 204, l. 25, who also cites it as the words of "the venerable Siddha" in *Īśvarapratyabhijñāvivr̥tivimarśinī*, vol. 3, pp. 71–72 (*yathoktaṃ siddhapādaiḥ*). The expression *stotrakāraḥ* ('Hymnographer') for Eraka is also seen in the **Kramavamśāvalī* quoted in *Tantrālokaviveka*, vol. 3, p. 191, ll. 3–6. Utpaladeva's *Īśvarapratyabhijñākārikā* (1.5.11cd) is quoted in 3.64 without attribution: *anenaivāśayenokto yuktitattvavicakṣaṇaiḥ *prakāśo 'rthoparakto* (corr. : *prakāśārthoparakto* Ed.) *'pi sphaṭikādi*jaḍopamaḥ* (corr. : *jālomapam* Ed.). The first verse of Vāmanadatta's *Svabodhodayamañjarī* is quoted as the oral teaching of the Siddhas (*iti siddhamukhāmnāyayuktyā*) in 9.52c–53b.

[258] *Mahānayaprakāśa* (Triv.) 1.7–8: *atitīvraśaktipātād ārūḍhe śāmbhave samāveśe | svānandāmr̥tarūpaṃ jīvanmukteḥ *prakalpyate* (conj. : *jīvanmukteḥ prakalpate* Ed.) *viśvam | atimātramadhyamr̥dutābhedenāpi pravartamānasya | sūkṣmekṣikāprakāro 'pi vilasati tasyātiśaktipātasya*.

[259] *Mahānayaprakāśa* (Triv.) 1.3–29a.

awareness, which needs no additional practice to establish and maintain it:[260]

> This is the non-sequential process of the Ground of the Primordial (*purāṇādhiṣṭhānakramaḥ*).[261] It is the highest limit of the Mahārtha, in which the distinction of self and other has dissolved.

and:[262]

> This is the process of [immersion] without means, being free of perturbation [even] by the latent impressions of the distractions that are reasoning, observance, and the rest. One in whom it is established is the king among Yogins. He is free of all obscurations, beyond the level of transcending or seeking to attain. He needs nothing else to establish [this, since it is] his own true nature.

The Guru's glance is sufficient to bring about an unimpeded, spontaneous understanding of the flow of the enlightened ground of consciousness in all the aspects of its operation expressed in the circles of powers that make up the course of worship.[263]

> Through the violent impact of the Guru's glance he achieves unimpeded awareness in all the phases, from that of the Pīṭha to [that of the Nameless].

In the method of oral instruction the same spontaneous understanding unfolds with the help of the Guru's transmission of the Krama's aphorisms:[264]

> In the most extreme [descent of power] (*mahātīvratame*), that rests in self-experience [alone], unimpeded awareness dawns for one without descending to the processes of instruction or [worship]. And when the more extreme (*mahātīvratare*) gets under way [that awareness] dawns as a result of the Guru's teaching, from nothing but his oral explanation of the aphorisms, of which the first is "[No sooner] seen [than] lost".

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[260] *Mahānayaprakāśa* (Triv.) 1.9–20, 24. 1.11: *so 'yaṃ *purāṇādhiṣṭhānakramaḥ* (conj. : *purāṇādhiṣṭhānaḥ kramaḥ* Ed.) *kramavivarjitaḥ | mahārthasya parā niṣṭhā galitasvaparasthitiḥ*.

[261] Cf. the term *gdod ma'i gzhi* or *gdod ma gzhi* 'Primordial Ground, Ground of the Primordial' that denotes the central concept of the Great Perfection (rDzogs chen) tradition of the rNying ma pa Buddhism of Tibet as developed by the tenth century; see Karmay 1988, p. 119.

[262] *Mahānayaprakāśa* (Triv.) 1.13–14: *yukticaryādivikṣepavāsanākṣobhavarjitaḥ | anupāyakramaḥ so 'yaṃ yasya *rūḍhaḥ sa* (em. Ed. : *rūḍhasya* Cod.) *yogirāṭ | sarvāvaraṇanirmukto hānādānapadojjhitaḥ | sthitaye svasvarūpasya nānyat kiṃcid apekṣate.*

[263] *Mahānayaprakāśa* (Triv.) 1.16bcd: *gurudṛkpātasāhasāt | pīṭhakramādau sarvatra viśuddhis tasya jāyate*.

[264] *Mahānayaprakāśa* (Triv.) 1.20–21: *mahātīvratame + + + + svānubhavasthite | kathanādikramātītā viśuddhis *tasya* (conj. : *tatra* Ed.) *kāśate | mahātīvra*tare* (em. : *tame* Ed.) *cāsmin pravṛtte guruśāsanāt | *dṛṣṭanaṣṭādisaṃketakathāmātrāt* (em. : *dṛṣṭādṛṣṭādisaṃketamātrā* Ed.) *prakāśate*. For the topic of enlightenment through oral transmission see pp. 332 *et seq*.

and in the method of worship the nature of consciousness dawns through meditative propitiation of the goddessess embodied in the cyclical flow of cognition:[265]

> In the [merely] extreme (*mahātīvre*) the nature of the self dawns through the method of worshipping the goddesses of cognition that shine forth in every state of mundane experience, flowing outwards and inwards with each successive object of awareness, their contraction dissolved as they merge with the great void.

The first access to enlightenment is said to be completely devoid of conceptual awareness (*vikalpaḥ*), while the other two are defined against it as methods in which one relies to a greater or lesser extent on this awareness. In the case of oral instruction the conceptual element, though present, is subordinate to non-conceptual intuition, whereas in the process of worship it dominates and one must gradually transcend it through the intensification of the insight it embodies until finally direct, non-conceptual realization ensues:[266]

> For some, in whom awareness of their identity has taken root without even the slightest trace of conceptual thought, knowledge dawns without dependence on any means of bringing it about. For others knowledge dawns in which the non-conceptual is dominant, as the result of an ever fainter conceptual awareness based on the [Guru's] instruction in the aphorisms and the like. And for some non-conceptual knowledge relies on the processes of worship and the rest, coming about only through and after conceptual awareness.

This exposition is influenced, I propose, by the theory of the four means of liberation set out in descending order of excellence by Abhinavagupta in his *Tantrāloka*, namely the *śāmbhavaḥ*, *śāktaḥ*, and *āṇavaḥ* modes of immersion in Śiva (*samāveśaḥ*) with 'immersion without [the repeated practice of any] method' (*anupāyaḥ samāveśaḥ*) added at the summit of the first.[267] Our text

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[265] *Mahānayaprakāśa* (Triv.) 1.22–23: *prakāśante* (em. Ed. : *prakāśate* Cod.) *mahātīvre vyavahāra*daśāsu yāḥ* (em. : *darāsu yāḥ* Ed.) | *pratyekaviṣayāvṛttyā bahirantarmukhodayāḥ* | *saṃviddevyo mahāvyoma*saṃghaṭṭatroṭitārgalāḥ* (conj. : *saṃghāditroṭitāśśalāḥ* (?) Ed.) | *tāsāṃ pūjanavicchittyā svarūpaṃ saṃprakāśate.*

[266] *Mahānayaprakāśa* (Triv.) 1.24–24: *vikalpavāsanāśūnyaprarūḍha*svātmasaṃvidaḥ* (em. Ed. : *ssātmasaṃvidaḥ* Cod.) *prathate kasyacij jñānam anapekṣitasādhanam* | *udriktanirvikalpāṃśaṁ mandamandavikalpataḥ* | *prathate kasyacij jñānaṃ saṃketādikathāśrayāt* | *pūjanādikramāpekṣaṃ †saṃsthite†* + + *kasyacit* | *vikalpasāmanantaryān *nirvikalpaṃ* (em. : *nirvikalpaḥ* Ed.) *pravartate*.

[267] See *Tantrāloka* 1.140–245 (preliminary analysis [1.171–213: *śāmbhavaḥ*; 214–220: *śāktaḥ*; 221–241: *āṇavaḥ*; 242–245: *anupāyaḥ*), and Āhnikas 2 (*anupāyaḥ*), 3 (*śāmbhavaḥ*), 4 (*śāktaḥ*), and 5 and following (*āṇavaḥ*).

teaches enlightenment through non-conceptual transmission in terms that echo Abhinavagupta's conception of the highest means by defining it as a *śāmbhavaḥ samāveśaḥ* that transcends all methods (*anupāyaḥ*), and while it does not use the terms *śāktaḥ* and *āṇavaḥ* to define its two lower methods, those of oral instruction and meditative worship, its analysis of these follows the same theoretical model, for Abhinavagupta's presents his *śākta-* and *āṇava-* methods as means of reaching non-conceptual revelation (*nirvikalpakaḥ sākṣātkāraḥ*) through the progressive refining of conceptual awareness of ultimate reality (*vikalpasaṃskāraḥ*), through insight alone in the case of the *śākta-* method and through that supported by ritual worship and other forms of action in the case of the *āṇava-*.[268] Our text's subdivision of the highest degree of the descent of power (*atiśaktipātaḥ*) into three levels also echoes the *Tantrāloka*, by adapting its doctrine of nine degrees of the intensity of this descent, in which three degrees, intense (*tīvraḥ*), moderate (*madhyamaḥ*), and mild (*mandaḥ*), are subdivided by themselves.[269]

As for the text's treatment of the Kālīs of the phase of the Nameless, at first sight that differs fundamentally from Abhinavagupta's, since, as we have seen, it teaches that they are thirteen in number in accordance with the tradition of their worship in all texts other than the *Kālīkulakramasadbhāva*, which teaches seventeen, while Abhinavagupta reduces the number to twelve in keeping with his position that there is no transcendental reality beyond the twelve but one consciousness that is both one and twelve according to perspective.[270] Our text could not drop one of the Kālīs, as Abhinavagupta has done, in order

[268] See *Tantrāloka* 4.1–7 for the doctrine that the essence of *śāktaḥ samāveśaḥ* or *śāktopāyaḥ* is the refining of conceptual thought of reality (*vikalpasaṃskāraḥ*) through thought alone until it transcends itself to become non-conceptual intuition, and *Tantrāloka* 5.1–6 for the doctrine that *āṇavaḥ samāveśaḥ* or *āṇavopāyaḥ* is this same process when it cannot sustain itself through thought alone but must resort to other means. 5.3–4c: *vikalpaḥ kasyacit svātmasvātantryād eva susthiraḥ | upāyāntarasāpekṣyaviyogenaiva jāyate | kasyacit tu vikalpo 'sau svātmasaṃskaraṇaṃ prati | upāyāntarasāpekṣaḥ* 'For some conceptual thought becomes fully stable through it own free agency alone, without having to rely on any additional methods. But for others it needs such additional methods to develop itself'. This mode of immersion is called *āṇavaḥ* because these additional methods are limited and diverse. 5.6: *niścayo bahudhā caiṣa tatropāyāś ca bhedinaḥ | aṇuśabdena te coktā dūrāntikavibhedataḥ* 'And this [process of the attaining of] certainty is manifold, and the means to it are many, some being closer to [pure thought] and others less so. It is for this reason that they have been termed contractions (*aṇuḥ*)'. On the methods of *āṇavaḥ samāveśaḥ* see p. 372.

[269] *Tantrāloka* 13.129c–254b, ending with the report that he owes this classification into nine to his Guru Śambhunātha, which is to say that it has no scriptural foundation.

[270] See his *Kramastotra* and *Tantrāloka* 4.148–180b.

to make the highest (Mahābhairavacaṇḍograghorakālī) the twelfth rather than the thirteenth, because its exegesis is tied to the order of worship (*pūjākramaḥ*), in which this Kālī is in the centre of a circle surrounded by the other twelve, whereas Abhinavagupta's exposition of these goddesses is free of this constraining context, being concerned, as Jayaratha puts it in a long and tendentious justification of this discrepancy, not with their order in worship, which could hardly be contradicted in a Krama text, but with their natural order in consciousness (*saṃvitkramaḥ*).[271] However, our text reveals that it is aware of the Abhinavaguptan position, because it says that the thirteenth is distinguished from the twelve only figuratively (*upacārataḥ*), being in fact no more than the common essence of the twelve, the ground in which the distinction between them is dissolved, and that it is included for separate worship only because it is the realization of this inner unity pervading the twelve that is the ultimate goal:[272]

> The ground in which the [separate] identities of these twelve goddesses are dissolved, which we refer to figuratively as the thirteenth goddess, is present as the highest object of worship, because it is this that is the goal.

Furthermore, the text has adopted Abhinavagupta's understanding of the nature of the twelve. Jñānanetranātha presents these as the three successive states of emission, stasis, and withdrawal, each subdivided into four stages, namely the same three followed by a fourth state, which he terms [final] rest (*viśramaḥ*).[273] Thus they are understood as the flow of cognition passing through emission of emission, stasis of emission, withdrawal of emission, the [final] rest of emission, emission of stasis and so on through to the [final] rest of withdrawal.[274] The same model is seen in all other Krama sources that address

[271] See *Tantrālokaviveka*, vol. 3, pp. 127, l. 6–134, l. 17. The core of Jayaratha's answer to the Krama's objection that there should be thirteen rather than twelve Kālīs is that there could only be thirteen in reality rather than worship if the thirteenth were separately manifest and that since that thirteenth could only be fully expanded consciousness (*parā saṃvit*) it would follow that the twelve, if other than that, would not be manifest at all, since all manifestation is of that one consciousness. There would then remain nothing but a single consciousness void of the manifestation of its dynamic structure (*nirābhāsaiva saṃvid ekaivāvaśiṣyeta*) (p. 129, ll. 1–11). Jayaratha introduces the distinction between the order of worship (*pūjākramaḥ*) and the order in consciousness (*saṃvitkramaḥ*) in pp. 161, l. 16–162, l. 9, saying that the Krama scriptures and the great Gurus following them have taught the former in order to conceal the latter.

[272] *Mahānayaprakāśa* (Triv.) 9.60–61b: *āsāṃ dvādaśadevīnaṃ svarūpavilayāvaniḥ | trayodaśīti yā devī kathyate hy upacārataḥ | upādeyatayā saiva paropāsyatayā sthitā.*

[273] See p. 272.

[274] *Kālikāstotra*, vv. 8–9. For text and translation see footnote 123 on p. 271.

this matter, namely the *Mahānayaprakāśa* of Arṇasiṃha,[275] the Old Kashmiri *Mahānayaprakāśa* and its commentary,[276] and the *Cidgaganacandrikā*.[277] The Trivandrum *Mahānayaprakāśa* gives the same explanation, in terms that echo the *Kālikāstotra*, but modifies it by identifying the emission, stasis, and withdrawal that are subdivided into four with the fields of the object of cognition (*prameyam*), its means (*pramāṇam*), and its agent (*pramātā*).[278]

> The single nature of the self permeates its states as the object, means, and agent of cognition, these being one with emission, stasis, and withdrawal. They in turn are fourfold through their multiplication in each case in accordance with the nature of the self by the phases emission, stasis[, withdrawal], and [the withdrawal of withdrawal]. This fourfold expansion [in each], from emergence (*udayaḥ*) [through manifestation (*avabhāsanam*) and internalization (*carvaṇam*)] to the devouring of time (*kālagrāsaḥ*) has a single ground. Therefore, because these are the principal [aspects of the cycle], there are thirteen goddesses to be worshipped in the circle of the Nameless.

[275] *Mahānayaprakāśa*, f. 126r3–v4 (vv. 217–221): *parād *vyomno* (conj. : *yunmo* Cod.) *jhaṭity eva sphuritānanda*ghūrṇitā* (em. : *ghūrṇṇitāḥ* Cod.) | *yākramaspandalaharī vidyullekheva cañcalā* | 218 *tasyā udayasaṃsthānasaṃhārodrekakalpanā* | *trividhā samakālena proditā kalanojjhitā* | 219 *tatrāpi *triprakārāyāṃ kalpanāyāṃ* (conj. : *triprakārākhyākalpanāyā* Cod.) *samantataḥ* | *pratyekaśaḥ *svarūpe* (conj. : *svarūpo* Cod.) *'pi sṛṣṭyādikramasaṃjñake* | 220 **caturūrmicitaṃ* (conj. [cf. *Cidgaganacandrikā* 174] : *caturthormiśitaṃ* Cod.) *rūpam udyogādivibhedataḥ* | *evaṃ dviṣaṭkasaṃvittikramo bhāti nirāvṛtaḥ* | 221 *sṛṣṭikālyādibhedena prathito *'navadhiḥ* (em. : *ravadhiḥ* Cod.) *paraḥ* | *nirālambavikāsaikamahimā satatoditaḥ*.

[276] Old Kashmiri *Mahānayaprakāśa*, p. 118, l. 11–12 on 10.7 (*patteka saha antara daśa rāji mūlahade samya cukhaṇḍa* | *akkai ādideva *jagi* [em. : *jaga* Ed.] *bhāji todaśa sattadaśākṣara caṇḍa* [= Skt. *pratyekaṃ sahāntar daśā rājate mūlahrade samyak catuṣkhaṇḍā* | *ekaivādidevī jagati bhrājate trayodaśī saptadaśākṣarā caṇḍī*] 'Within the primordial lake [of consciousness] an inner four-fold state shines in each of these [phases] by including [the others]. The Primordial Goddess, seventeen-syllable Caṇḍī, shines undivided throughout the world [that they manifest] as the thirteenth'): *iti sṛṣṭikramasya sṛṣṭisthitisaṃhārānākhyagarbhībhāvaḥ. evaṃ sthitisaṃhārayoḥ* 'In this way the phase of emission incorporates emission, stasis, withdrawal, and the Nameless. Likewise stasis and withdrawal.'

[277] Vv. 173–175.

[278] *Mahānayaprakāśa* (Triv.) 9.15–18b: *ekaṃ svasvarūpaṃ hi mānameya*pramātṛtāḥ* (em. [following citation in *Tantrālokaviveka*, vol. 3, p. 128] : *pramātṛtaḥ* Ed.) | *sargāvatārasaṃhāra*mayīr* (em. [following the same citation] : *mayair* Ed.) *ākramya vartate* | 16 *svasvarūpānuguṇyena pratyekaṃ kalanāvaśāt* | *sṛṣṭisthityādibhedaiś ca caturdhā *tā api* (em. [following the same citation] : *api tāḥ* Ed.) *sthitāḥ* | 17 *kālagrāsāntam udayāc caturdhā *vibhavo* (em. [following the same citation] : *vihito* Ed.) *hi yaḥ* | *tasya viśrāntir ekaiva tato devyas trayodaśa* | 18 **anākhyacakre* (em. [following the same citation] : *anyākhyacakra* Cod. : *anākhyacakra* em. Ed.) *prādhānyāt pūjanīyatayā sthitāḥ*.

This is exactly the schema found in Abhinavagupta's treatment of the twelve Kālīs in his *Tantrāloka*.[279] The substitution of this triad of cognition for the older triads of emission, stasis, and withdrawal, will, knowledge, and action, or Śiva, Śakti, and the individual soul (*naraḥ*) is indeed one of the most striking characteristics of his Trika exegesis.

This was not the only work of the author of the Trivandrum *Mahānayaprakāśa*, though no other survives. He tells us here that he had written a commentary on the *[Krama]stotrabhaṭṭāraka* [of Eraka],[280] and, while outlining the hierarchy of the means of liberation, that he will restrict himself to expounding the course of Krama worship since the essentials of the higher method consisting simply of oral instruction in the Krama's aphorisms have already been explained at length in another work. It is probable, though not certain, that this explanation was contained in another work by the same author.[281]

> I shall now duly reveal to some degree on the strength of [my …] this process of worship that begins with the sequence of the Pīṭha, that embodies both sequence and non-sequence, that is radiant with the tradition of the method of the successive phases of the expansion of the cycle [of cognition], lest this oral teaching of the Gurus should be lost with the passage of time, because the essentials of the method that consists solely in oral instruction in the aphorisms beginning with "It is [no sooner] seen [than] lost" have been expounded at length in another [work].

The Kramavilāsastotra

One other work dealing directly with the Krama's course of worship survives: the unpublished *Kramavilāsastotra*. Its author abjures identification, a usage

[279] *Tantrāloka* 4.123c–125, 148–172.

[280] *Mahānayaprakāśa* (Triv.) 9.68–69: *anyair āvarakatvena ye bhāvāḥ parivarjitāḥ | tair eva jñāninām itthaṃ jājvalīti parā citiḥ | etadarthānusāreṇa stotrabhaṭṭārake mayā | sphuṭaṃ ye vivṛtāḥ ślokās tat…* 'Thus the highest consciousness blazes up for the enlightened through the very entities that others have avoided as obscuring [consciousness]. The verses in the *[Krama]-stotrabhaṭṭāraka* that I have clearly explained in accordance with this teaching …'. The *codex unicus* of our text breaks off at this point. The expression *Stotrabhaṭṭāraka* is used for Eraka's *Kramastotra* elsewhere in this literature, e.g, in *Tantrālokaviveka*, vol. 3, p. 223, l. 11; *Mahārthamañjarīparimala*, p. 122, l. 20.

[281] *Mahānayaprakāśa* (Triv.) 1.35–36: *dṛṣṭanaṣṭādisaṃketakathāmātrasya marma yat | tat prapañcitam anyatra yad ataḥ sāmprataṃ manāk | etat pūjanam akramakramamayaṃ pīṭhakramopa*kramaṃ* (em. : *kramaḥ* Ed.) *cakrollāsavibhāgayuktighaṭanāsat*saṃpradāyojjvalam* (em. : *sampradāyojjvalaḥ* Ed) | **mā gāl luptim* (em. : *mā gāl luptam* Ed.) *ihedṛśaṃ gurumukhaṃ kālakramād ity ataḥ samyak ˉ ˘ ˘ ˉ ˘ ˉ ˘ navaśād asmābhir unmīlyate*.

seen elsewhere in the literature of the Krama, referring to himself simply as "someone".[282] In its opening verse the work offers homage to the whole course of worship in all its phases and constituents as the dynamic aspects as the single void of consciousness, then to the void alone, then to the four aspects of worship, namely the tasting of the sacramental substances (_caruḥ_), the practice of the sensual ritual (_cāraḥ_, _caryā_), the esoteric Mudrās (_mudrā_), and the Mantras (_rāvaḥ_),[283] and finally to each phase of the course of worship, up to that of the Nameless. In this course the text bears witness to a tradition that is not seen in the other texts discussed here. While in those the first phase, that of the Pīṭha, comprises worship of Uḍḍiyāna, its cremation ground Karavīra, its Kṣetrapāla, the Assembly, and the Great Sacrifice, here it comprises only four elements: worship of the Pīṭha, the cremation ground, the Kṣetrapāla, and Maṅgalā as the revealer of the Krama.[284] Moreover, while this phase is followed

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[282] _Kramavilāsastotra_, f. 102r5–v1 (v. 27 [last]): _ittham etad adhigamya_ **_kenacit_** _svastutir *viṣayavṛndabhāvanā_ (conj. : _viṣayandabhāvanā_ Cod.) | _yena viśvam aniśaṃ śivāśivaprojjhita-kramavilāsasaṃstutam. śrīkramavilāsastotraṃ samāptam iti._

[283] _Kramavilāsastotra_, ff. 98v4–99v1 (vv. 3–7): _sarvasarvamayasarvacarvaṇenāpi yasya jagatāṃ na tṛpyate_ | _taṃ_ **_caruṃ_** _*hṛtacarācaroccayaṃ_ (conj. : _hatacarācarocccare_ Cod.) _cārucarvaṇacitiṃ namāmy ahaṃ_ | 4 _bhāti yayā *satataṃ_ (conj. : _śataṃ_ Cod.) _sphuradarcir bhāsurakāntir *ayam_ (corr. : _iyaṃ_ Cod.) _*sumahāgniḥ_ (_su_ conj. : _sa_ Cod.) | _tām api *saṃhṛtaviśvavilāsāṃ_ (_saṃhṛta_ em. : _saṃhata_ Cod.) _naumi nijām asamām iha_ **_caryāṃ_** | 5 _yena ghaṭṭitam idaṃ jagat*trayaṃ_ (conj. : _trayāc_ Cod.) _*cārucāracaturākulakramaṃ_ (_cārucāra_ em. : _cāracāru_ Cod.) | _*viśvabhāsurakulakrameṇa_ (_bhāsura_ conj. : _māsuma_ Cod.) _taṃ *_**_rāvam_** _asmi_ (conj. : _rāvaraśmi_ Cod.) _satataṃ samānataḥ_ | 6 _vyomni yo jhaṭiti naiva *laksyate_ (corr. : _lakṣate_ Cod.) _naiva cāpi_ ⟨+⟩ _tadujjhitakramāt_ | _tam *vibhinnasakalākalārgalaṃ_ (_rgalaṃ_ conj. : _rggalā_ Cod.) _naumi_ **_maudram_** _atiraudram ādarāt_ | 7 _yatra viśvam idam akramakramaprakrameṇa *hṛdi_ (conj. : _hati_ Cod.) _saṃcaraty alaṃ_ | _taṃ *carācarasamuccayārciṣaṃ_ (conj. : _carāvarasamuccayorcciyāṃ_ Cod.) _naumi_ **_rāvam_** _atirāvacaryayā_. On these four aspects see _Cidgaganacandrikā_ 73 and _Mahārtha-mañjarīparimala_, p. 106, ll. 11–20.

[284] _Kramavilāsastotra_, f. 99v1–100r1 (vv. 8–11): _yatra *mūrtimadamūrtimatkramavyutkramo-dayavirāmabhāsuram_ (_amūrtimatkrama_ conj. : _amūrttimakra_ Cod. • _bhāsuram_ conj. : _bhāsurā_ Cod.) | _bhāti *raśmicaya*cakram akramaṃ_ (conj. : _makramakramaṃ_ Cod.) _naumi_ **_pīṭham_** _iha taṃ nirāśrayaṃ_ | 9 _*sarvasaṃhṛtimahānalānale_ (_saṃhṛti_ conj. : _saṃhati_ Cod.) _yatra viśvam idam eti bhasmasā⟨t⟩_ | _tac_ **_chmaśānam_** _iha bhīṣaṇolbaṇaṃ rāvasaṃkulamahācitiṃ numaḥ_ | 10 _yo *mahānalamarīcivisphuratsphārahārakabalotkaṭo 'kramāt_ (_visphurat_ conj. : _visphura_ Cod. • _hārakabalotkaṭo 'kramāt_ conj. [see the citation of the Mantra of the _Kālīkulakramārcana_ in footnote 286 on p. 319, in which the Kṣetrapāla is named Mahāsaṃhārabalotkaṭa] : _sāraka-balotkaṭakramāt_ Cod.) | _taṃ śmaśāna*vasatiṃ sphuradruciṃ_ (conj. : _tat śmaśānavasatesphurad-rutiḥ_ Cod.) **_kṣetrapālam_** _*aham_ (em. : _iham_ Cod.) _ugram *ānataḥ_ (em. _ānnataḥ_ Cod.) | 11 _*yasyāḥ sphuraty eṣa_ (corr. : _yasyāsphuratteṣa_ Cod.) _mahā*marīciḥ_ (em. : _marīci_ Cod.) _saṃhāra-cakrakramaṇena rāvaḥ_ | _niruttarajñānakṛtāvabhāsāṃ_ **_śrīmaṅgalām_** _asmi *samānatas_ (corr. :

there by the worship of the five flows or voids (*pañcavāhacakram*, *khapañcakacakram*), the twelve rays of the *prakāśacakram*, the sixteen of the *ānandacakram*, the seventeen of the *mūrticakram*, and the sixty-four of the *vṛndacakram*, here the arrangement differs: after the first the *mūrticakram* precedes the *prakāśacakram* and *ānandacakram*; it is extended by the worship of an *amūrticakram* seen nowhere else; and between the *ānandacakram* and the *vṛndacakram* worship of the Guru is inserted.[285] This approximates the course of worship set out by Vimalaprabodha in his *Kālīkulakramārcana* on the basis of the *Kālīkulakramasadbhāva*. That lacks the *amūrticakram* but has the *mūrticakram* precede the *prakāśacakram* and *ānandacakram*; it gives the same four constituents in the worship of the Pīṭha, though it adds a fifth element after them, the [Bhairava] who embodies Mahākālī's weapon-Mantra;[286] and it prefaces the first phase of the worship of the *vṛndacakram*, that of the sixteen Jñānasiddhās, with that of Maṅgalā, who is indeed the Krama's Guru, being the source of Jñānanetra's revelation.[287] The worship of the *mūrticakram* before the *prakāśacakram* and

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samānnatas Cod.) *tām*.

[285] *Kramavilāsastotra*, f. 98v1–3 (v. 1): *yat* ***khaṃ*** *pañcamahāmarīcikhacitaṃ *cāturyacaryāñcitaṃ* (*caryā* conj. : *caccā* Cod.) ***mūrtāmūrta****mahāprakāśasahitaṃ śrī****dvādaś****ākuñcitam* | *†taṃkalyaṃvapu†****raśmiṣoḍaśa****vṛtaṃ* ***vṛndakram****ālaṃkṛtaṃ śrīpīṭhāṅkamahāśmaśāna*nilayaṃ* (conj. : *nicayaṃ* Cod.) *vande mahaughāṅkitam*; and f. 100r1–101r1 (vv. 12–18): *yādyanāhatahatojjhitakramā* (*kramā* em. : *krama* Cod.) ***pañcadhā*** *jagati* ***rāvabhūsthitiḥ*** | *naumi *pañcavidharaśmipūjanaprakramaprasarasāhasena tām* (*pūjana* conj. : *pūjanaṃ* Cod.) | 13 *yatra sūryaśaśivahni*tāpakavyāpako* (conj. : *tāpakāvyāpako* Cod.) *layalayo* (conj. : *bhayabhayo* Cod.) *virājate* | *raśmicakra†nicayoghanāhatāṃ†* ***mūrticakram*** *amalaṃ namāmi *tat* (corr. : *tāṃ* Cod.) | 14 *yasya marīcicayasya samastavyastavikāsa*nirāsaghanaśrīḥ* (em. : *nirāśaghanaśrī* Cod.) | *bhāty anukhaṇḍam *udagram ajaṃ tac* (conj. : *adusramajānta* Cod.) *cakram* ***amūrtimalaṃ*** *praṇato 'ham* | 15 *yasyā sā jagati sarvagā *sthitir bhāti* (em. : *sthitibhīti* Cod.) *nityam aviluptavigraham* | *tan namāmi varapīṭhasaṃsthitaṃ dvādaśābham iha raśmimaṇḍalam* | 16 *yābhir asya jagato nirantarānugrahakramavidhir vidhīyate* | *śuddhabodhavibhavaprabhābhidhās *tā* (em. : *tan* Cod.) *namāni ****ghariṇīr*** *visāriṇīḥ* (em. : *ghariṇīvisāriṇī* Cod.) | 17 **yaṃ* (conj. : *yo* Cod.) *vilokya sabhayābhayabhrama⟨ḥ⟩ śāntim eti sahasaiva satkramaḥ* | *taṃ* ***guruṃ*** *sadasadādikalpanānīrarāśivaḍavānalaṃ numaḥ* | 18 *jñānamantrava⟨ra⟩melakollasacchāktaśāmbhavavilāsacaryayā* | ***vṛndacakram*** *iha yat sthitaṃ sadā pañcavāhamayaraśmi naumi *tat* (em. : *tāṃ* Cod.).

[286] *Kālīkulakramārcana*, f. 5r3–5: *pūrvottaramaṇḍale* HRĪṂ ŚRĪṂ HŪṂ OḌḌIYĀNAPĪṬHAPĀDA *madhye*. HRĪṂ ŚRĪṂ HŪṂ MAHĀPRADĪPTICAKRESVARĪŚRĪMAṄGALĀDEVĪ AMBĀPĀDA *pūrve*. HRĪṂ ŚRĪṂ HŪṂ MAHĀKARAVĪRAŚMAŚĀNAPĀDA *dakṣe*. HRĪṂ ŚRĪṂ HŪṂ MAHĀSAṂHĀRABALOTKAṬAKṢETRAPĀLANĀTHAPĀDA *uttare*. HJSRAUṂ MAHĀKĀLIKĀSTRAPĀDA *paścime*.

[287] *Kālīkulakramārcana*, f. 8r3–v1: *ṣoḍaśajñānasiddhacakrapūjāvidhiḥ. yathā paścime maṇḍale* (0) HRĪṂ ŚRĪṂ *MAHĀMAṄGALĀ-AMBĀPĀDA (em. : *mahāmaṇḍalā-ambāpāda* Cod.). (1) HRĪṂ ŚRĪṂ ŚAUṆḌINĪ-AMBĀPĀDA *pūrve*. (2) HRĪṂ ŚRĪṂ JYEṢṬHĀ-AMBĀPĀDA. (3) HRĪṂ ŚRĪṂ KAṆḌUKĪ-

ānandacakram is also seen in the *Mahārthamañjarī* of the South Indian Śākta Maheśvarānanda.[288]

These facts are not sufficent to show that the text is not Kashmirian, since we know from the **Kramavaṃśāvalī* that there were Kashmirian Krama lineages whose procedure was based like that of this text on the *Kālīkulakramasadbhāva*.[289] However, it must be said that there is no certainty that it is a product of this region, even though the phraseology of the text makes this very probable,[290] as does its presence in a Nepalese codex with other Kashmirian Krama works.[291]

AMBĀPĀDA *agnau.* (4) HRĪṂ ŚRĪṂ PAṬṬAKĪ-AMBĀPĀDA. (5) HRĪṂ ŚRĪṂ KŪRMĀ-AMBĀPĀDA *dakṣiṇe.* (6) HRĪṂ ŚRĪṂ DHAMANĪ-AMBĀPĀDA. (7) HRĪṂ ŚRĪṂ GANDHAKĀRIṆĪ-AMBĀPĀDA *nairṛte.* (8) HRĪṂ ŚRĪṂ MĀTAṄGĪ-AMBĀPĀDA. (9) HRĪṂ ŚRĪṂ CAMPAKĀ-AMBĀPĀDA *paścime.* (10) HRĪṂ ŚRĪṂ KAIVARTINĪ-AMBĀPĀDA. (11) HRĪṂ ŚRĪṂ MATTAKĀMINĪ-AMBĀPĀDA *vāyavye.* (12) HRĪṂ ŚRĪṂ ŚUTYAKĀ-AMBĀPĀDA. (13) HRĪṂ ŚRĪṂ BHAKṢAKĪ-AMBĀPĀDA *uttare.* (14) HRĪṂ ŚRĪṂ NABHAKṢAKĪ-AMBĀPĀDA. (15) HRĪṂ ŚRĪṂ ŚRAUTIKĀ-AMBĀPĀDA *īśāne.* (16) HRĪṂ ŚRĪṂ RŪPIKĀ-AMBĀPĀDA.

[288] *Mahārthamañjarī* 37cd: *sattadaha phālaṇette vāraha ccholaha a aṇṇaṇettesuṃ* (= Skt. *saptadaśa phālanetre dvādaśa ṣoḍaśa cānyanetrayoḥ*) 'Seventeen in the eye in the forehead, twelve and sixteen in the other two eyes'. On which he comments (*-parimala*, p. 87, ll. 6–7): *phālo lalāṭam. tadgate netre saptadaśa śaktayaḥ. tac ca mūrticakram ity āmnāyate* 'The *phālaḥ* is the forehead. In the eye thereon there are seventeen powers, and this is called the *mūrticakram*.'

[289] *Tantrālokaviveka*, vol. 3, p. 192, ll. 3–6: *śrīkramasadbhāvādikaśāstrāśayataś ca patrikā atra | śrīstotrakārabhāskarakuladharapūrvāsu saṃtatiṣu* 'Authorizations in these lineages that descend from [Eraka] the venerable author of the *[Krama]stotra*, Bhāskara, and Kuladhara follow the doctrine of the *Kramasadbhāva* and [related texts]'.

[290] Note, e.g., (1) *yat khaṃ pañcamahā**marīcikhacitaṃ*** (f. 98v1, v. 1a); cf. *Bhuvanamālinīkalpaviṣamapadavivṛti*, f. 13r12–13: *svabhāvamayanānāvidhollekha**marīcikhacitaṃ***; (2) ***cāturyacaryā**ñcitaṃ* (f. 98v1, v. 1a); cf. *Kālīkulakramasadbhāva* qu. in *Tantrālokaviveka*, vol. 3, p. 190, ll. 12–15: *kramatrayāṇāṃ yac cakraṃ ghoraghorataraṃ mahat | kālarūpaṃ *marīcyāḍhyaṃ* (conj. : *marīcyādyaṃ* Cod.) *tvāṣṭraṃ kalpāntakāntagam | ācaret tu **mahācāracāturyeṇaiva** tatra ca | yā kalā ghoraghorogrā tasyāḥ sā turyagā śivā*; → *Kramastotra* qu. *Tantrālokaviveka*, vol. 2, p. 188, ll. 1–4: *kramatrayatvāṣṭramarīcicakra**saṃcāracāturya**turīyasattām*; *Rājataraṅgiṇī* 7.279: *mahāsamaya**saṃcāracaturair** yair abhītitaḥ | gaṇyate svaprabhāvograir bhairavo 'pi na nirbhayaiḥ*; (3) ***cārucāra**caturākulakramaṃ* (f. 99r2, v. 5b); cf. *Jñānakriyādvayaśataka*, f. 4v2–3 (v. 20cd): *tac**cārucaryā** kathanaṃ saṃkrāmaḥ sparśa āntaraḥ*; (4) ***anāhatahatojjhita**kramāt* (f. 100r1–2); cf. Prabodha, *Aṣṭikā*, f. 97r12, v. 5cd: *naumi vāgvibhavamantramātaraṃ tvām **anāhatahatojjhitāṃ** śivām*; *Mahānayaprakāśa* (Triv.) 7.147ab: *ākṛṣya ghaṭṭayaty uccair **anāhatahatojjhitaḥ**.*

[291] See p. 435.

The Khacakrapañcakastotra

In addition to this we have one other surviving but unpublished Krama text that evidences a course of worship that deviates from the norm seen in the major Kashmirian sources, though in this case the evidence is indirect. This is the *Khacakrapañcakastotra*, the 'Hymn to the Five Voids'. Written in the scriptural register of Sanskrit it is declared in its colophon to have been an oral transmission originating in Oḍḍiyānapīṭha from "all the Yoginīs" of that sacred site.[292] A narrative that precedes the hymn itself tells us that the occasion of the hymn's creation and first transmission was, exactly as in the Krama scriptures' account of their revelation, the "Great Assembly" (*mahāmelāpaḥ*) of Yoginīs in the Karavīra cremation ground.[293] Here too, as in the Kashmirian post-scriptural texts, they are led by Maṅgalā, but they are one hundred and seventy rather than the sixty-four of the standard account. Five sets of seventeen assemble in five circles (*bhāsācakram*, *khecakram*, *dikcakram*, *gocakram*, and *bhūcakram*) corresponding to the Five Voids of the title, thus eighty-five in total, presided over by the five goddesses that govern these Voids (Vyomeśī, Khecarī, Dikcarī, Gocarī, and Bhūcarī). From these arises a second set of eighty-five, the first set in the sky (the *khacakram*) and the second on the earth (the *bhūcakram*).[294] After they

[292] *Khacakrapañcakastotra* MS A, f. 89v3–4 (colophon): *iti śrī-oḍḍiyānapīṭhavinirgataṃ sarvayoginīpraṇītaṃ mukhānmukhavirnirgataṃ mahārthakramajñānārthaṃ śrīkhacakrapañcakastotraṃ samāptaṃ*.

[293] *Khacakrapañcakastotra* MS B, f. 1v (vv. 7c–8): *śrīpīṭha uttarānta*sthe* (conj. [Aiśa sandhi] : *sthā* Cod.) **aṣṭapīṭhasamudbhavāḥ* (*aṣṭa* em. : *abja* Cod.) | *karavīraśmaśāne tu ekacakrasamāgatāḥ* | *mahāmelāpamilitā yāgakrīḍotsave sthitāḥ* (*yāgakrīḍotsave* em. : *yogakrīḍātsavai* Cod.) 'In the venerable Pīṭha of the north [the Yoginīs] originating from the eight Pīṭhas came together in a single circle in the Karavīra cremation ground. Joining in the Great Assembly they participated in the celebration of the Great Sacrifice'. In support of the emendation **aṣṭapīṭha-* for *abjapīṭha-* see *Kālīkulakramasadbhāva*, f. 2v1 (1.53–55b): *aṣṭau pīṭhās tu ye proktāḥ sarvapīṭheṣu cottamāḥ* | *tatrasthās tu imāḥ sarvā āga⟨tā⟩s tu svabhāvataḥ* | *aṣṭāv aṣṭaguṇā divyāḥ svabhāva*darśanotsukāḥ* (conj. : *dasātsukāḥ* Cod.) | *catuḥṣaṣṭi⟨r⟩ mahābhīmāḥ sarva*vīreśanāyaka* (em. : *sarvvavīrepraṇāyaka* Cod.) | *mahā*yāge* (em. : *yogai* Cod.) *tu vai rudra udyuktā⟨s⟩ tu vidhānataḥ*; and → Śitikaṇṭha, *Mahānayaprakāśa* 9.2: *aṣṭa pīṭha aṣṭav aṣṭagune aṣṭāṣṭe *cuhaṣṭa* (em. Grierson [1929, § 64] : *cuaṣṭa* Ed.) *mahaugha*.

[294] The variant scheme is driven by the multiplication of the five levels, shared with the standard model of the 64 Śākinīs of the *vṛndacakram*, by seventeen, that being the number of the sounds in the nine-syllable Vidyā of Kālasaṃkarṣiṇī (KHPHREṂ MAHĀCAṆḌAYOGEŚVAṚ →MA-E-KHA-PHA-RA-MA-HĀ-CA-ṆA-ḌA-YA-O-GA-E-ŚA-VA-Ṛ); cf. *Devīdvyardhaśatikā* f. 8v4–5 (vv. 91c–92b): *kule taṃ navadhā yojya kaule saptadaśākṣarā* | *navavarṇavibhedena jñeyā sā ṣoḍaśādhikā*. For the name of each Yoginī in each subset of seventeen in the first eighty-five begins with one

have sung their hymn the eighty-five in the sky dissolve, leaving the remaining eighty-five to transmit it to Bhairava.[295]

It is probable that this too is a product of Kashmir. For in spite of its scriptural style and consequent deviations from the grammar of the most learned Sanskrit, its opening verses venerate not only Maṅgalā but also Jñānanetranātha.[296] Moreover, the hymn contains two sets of goddesses attested to my knowledge only in Kashmirian Śaiva tradition.[297]

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of the seventh sounds. At the centre of these eighty-five is their leader (*cakranāyikā*), the goddess Maṅgalā, associated with the culminating ᴍ̣ [ᴍᴀ-] of the first ᴋʜᴘʜʀᴇᴍ̣. From her flows all authority through initiation in the Krama (*adhikāraḥ*): *pañcāśītis tu *khecakraṃ* (corr. : *khaṃ cakraṃ*) *tanmadhye cakranāyikā | maṅgalākhyā tu yā devī sādhikārakarī tu sā* (ᴍs A, f. 76v1–2, v. 40).

[295] *Khacakrapañcakastotra* ᴍs A, f. 87r4–1 (vv. 146–47): *evaṃ stutvā mahāvidyā yoginyaḥ sarvapīṭhajāḥ | dviprakārakramodbhūtāḥ pañcasaptadaśotthitā⟨ḥ⟩ | prathamāś cakrasaṃbhūtāḥ stutiṃ kṛtvā layaṃ gatāḥ | aparāḥ pañcacakrasthā bhairavasya prakāśitam*.

[296] *Khacakrapañcakastotra* ᴍs B, f. 1v3–4 (v. 3): *samarasapadalīno niḥsvabhāvaikavīraḥ *śamitasakalabhāvo* (*śamita* corr. : *samita* Cod. • *bhāvo* corr. : *bhāve* Cod.) *jñānadṛṣṭiprakāśaḥ | viditaparamatattvo labdhavijñānasaukhyo rasitaparamabodho jñānanetr*ākhyanāthaḥ* (em. : *āthyanātha* Cod.) 'The Nātha Jñananetra has merged with the level where all experience is one. He is the solitary Hero of that beyond essence, he in whom all phenomena have been brought to silence, radiant with the vision of his gnosis, who has realized the ultimate reality, who has attained the bliss of understanding, who has relished the highest enlightenment'. The term *niḥsvabhāva*- 'without self-hood', so familiar in Mahāyānist literature, is much used in the Krama. See, e.g., *Kālīkulakramasadbhāva*, f. 9r5 (3.93cd): *niḥsvabhāvaṃ niraupamyaṃ nirlakṣyaṃ niḥprayojanam*; *Kālīkulapañcaśataka* A, f. 5r2–3 (2.6ab): *niḥsvabhāvasvabhāvaṃ ca dvaitādvaitavivarjitam*; *Yonigahvara*, f. 7r1–2 (v. 88): *etat svarūpaṃ ka[thi]tan ni⟨ḥ⟩svabhāvaṃ svabhāvagam | kālīnāṃ paramaṃ gūḍhaṃ mahāvyomāntabhāsakaṃ*; *Kaulasūtra* f. 2v5: *bhāvabhūtasaṃvidām ante niḥsvabhāvatāparyavasānam*; *Chummāsaṃketaprakāśa*, f. 5v4–5 (v. 73ab): *akulaṃ gurubhiḥ proktaṃ niḥsvabhāvaṃ sadoditam*.

[297] Thus *Khacakrapañcakastotra* ᴍs A, f. 75r5–v2 (vv. 130–131b): *marīcijvāladhūmrābhe tāpane *tāpanadyuti* (conj. : *tāpane dyuti* Cod.) | **pācani* (corr. : *pācanī* Cod.) *havyavāhe ca* (corr. : *havyavājña ca* Cod.) **tejobhāsi* (conj. : *tejobhāpi* Cod.) *namo 'stu te | śatadhāme mahādhāme viśvadhāme tamontike*. These are the twelve solar Śaktis worshipped in the Kashmirian *Śivadīpaśrāddha* as the retinue of Saṃkarṣaṇadevī (= Kālasaṃkarṣaṇī), with the exception that there we have Padmagarbhā rather than Viśvadhāmā (*Karmakāṇḍa*, vol. 4, pp. 416–7; phot. reprod. in Cʜᴀɴᴅʀᴀ 1984, pp. 237d–238a): Marīci, Jvālinī, Dhūmrā, Tapinī, Tāpinī, Pācinī, Havyavāhā, Tejovatī, Śatadhāmā, *Sudhāmā (corr. : *svadhāmāyai* Ed.), Padmagarbhā, and Tamopahā. The *Jayadrathayāmalaprastāramantrasaṃgraha* gives this same set as the retinue of the Mata goddess Ardhacakreśvarī whose Kalpa is taught in *Jayadrathayāmala*, *Ṣaṭka* 2, ff. 87r8–88v9 (*Paṭala* 17), giving the Mantra of the central goddess as ʜᴀᴍ̣ ʀᴊʜʀĪᴍ̣ ᴅʜĀᴍĀɴᴛᴀᴋĀʟɪ sᴀḤ and those of the twelve surrounding her in the same form, but substituting the twelve vowels in order (ᴀ to Ū, ᴇ to ᴀᴜ, ᴀᴍ̣, and ᴀḤ) for the ī of ʀᴊʜʀĪᴍ̣ and the names in place of ᴅʜĀᴍĀɴᴛᴀᴋĀʟɪ

The Bhāvopahārastotra and its Commentary

Other Kashmirian works survive that, though they tell us nothing concerning the details of the Krama worship, are nonetheless imbued with or influenced by the Krama: the *Bhāvopahāravivaraṇa* of Ramyadeva, son of Jyogdeva,[298] the *Śivarātrirahasya*, also called *Śivarātrinirṇaya*, of Upādhyāya Śivasvāmin II, and the anonymous *Jñānakriyādvayaśataka*.

As for the first, the author of the hymn on which it comments, Bhaṭṭāraka Cakrapāṇinātha,[299] was, like Cakrabhānu, Īśānī, and Jaiyaka, a Mahāvratin, as he himself declares: [300]

> Supreme Lord, witness of all, accept [this] hymn from me whose thoughts are free of pride, disdain, and possessiveness, whose head is [now] placed on the throne that is your feet, my body covered with ash, a human skull in my hand. A nameless (*kaś cit*) ascetic has composed [this] transcendent hymn of the inner worship of Śambhu, lord of the wheel of consciousness, after retiring to [the cremation ground,] the grove of the Mahāpāśupatas.

and:[301]

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followed by + KALĀKĀLI (ff. 18v7–19r3: HAṂ RJHRAṂ MARĪCIKALĀKĀLI SAḤ etc.).

The hymn also invokes the two sets of four goddesses that are held in the Kashmirian tradition to be Śaktis of the central deity of the Dakṣiṇasrotas (Bhairava) and Vāmasrotas (Tumburu) respectively (v. 135cd, 137ab): *siddhe śuṣke *kajābhe ca* (conj. : *kajābhāve* Cod.) *utpalākhye namo 'stu te | jaye ca vijaye devi jayantī cāparājite*. The third goddess of the first set of four is Raktā 'the Red' in all other sources. My emendation *kajābhe ca* gives a synonym 'She who has the colour of the red lotus'. I have accepted as an Aiśa licence the reading *jayantī* where grammar requires the vocative, since *jayanti* would be unacceptable, creating a completely iambic posterior Pāda. For evidence that the first of these sets and its combination with the other are peculiarly Kashmirian see SANDERSON 2005b, pp. 287–281.

[298] The name of his father is seen only in the colophon. Ramyadeva identifies himself and his teacher in the closing verse of the commentary.

[299] For his title Bhaṭṭāraka, denoting a Śaiva ascetic with authority over others, see Ramyadeva's commentary, p. 2, l. 11 (*bhaṭṭārakapādāḥ*). The name Cakrapāṇi is not found in the hymn itself but is given by Ramyadeva, who finds it alluded to in the hymn's last verse in *ciccakranāthasya* 'lord of the wheel of consciousness', stating that the author is thereby suggesting his identity with the object of his worship (*Bhāvopahāravivaraṇa*, p. 44, ll. 3–5).

[300] *Bhāvopahārastotra*, vv. 46–47: *stotraṃ gṛhāna parameśvara viśvasākṣin mānāvamānamamatojjhitacittavṛtteḥ | mattas tvadaṅghriyugapīṭhanilīnamauler bhasmāvaguṇṭhitatanor nṛkapālapāṇeḥ |* 47 *mahāpāśupatodyāne kaścid viśramya tāpasaḥ | cakre ciccakranāthasya śambhor bhāvanutiṃ parām*.

[301] *Bhāvopahārastotra*, v. 6: *tvatpādābjarajaḥpūtacitābhasmavibhūṣitāt | gṛhāṇa mattaḥ śrīkaṇṭha bhāvapūjām akṛtrimām*.

> Śrīkaṇṭha, accept this true mental worship from me who am adorned with the ash of funeral pyres that has been purified by the pollen of your lotus feet.

His hymn addresses Śiva and has no explicit Krama content. Nonetheless, there are elements of double meaning within its three opening verses of obeisance (*namaskāraślokāḥ*) that reveal that the author was indeed writing within this tradition:

> (1) Obeisance to Bhava, the bestower of liberation who withdraws the body of Time through the array of the [twelve] solar powers (*sūryakalājāla-*), enthroned (*-pīṭhāya*) on (/whose Pīṭha comprises) both the throne and the enthroned. (2) Obeisance to Śiva, who garlanded with the lotuses that are the [sixteen] powers [latent] in the new moon embodies the highest bliss (*-ānanda-*), whose form is unmanifest (/in whom the *mūrtiḥ* is withdrawn) (*avyaktamūrtaye*). (3) Obeisance to Hara, the supreme self who manifests the mass of the bonds, immerses himself within them, dissolves them, and remains concealed in the innermost core of Mantra.

I propose that this alludes to the phases of the Krama's course of worship: those of the Pīṭha, the five Flow Goddesses that are its basis (*pañcavāhacakram*), the twelve solar powers of the circle of Illumination (*prakāśacakram*), the sixteen lunar powers of the circle of Bliss (*ānandacakram*), the circle of Embodiment, that is to say, of the re-emergent ego (*mūrticakram*), and its resorption [into the circle of the Multitude (*vṛndacakram*), and, in the third verse, the four phases of Emission, Stasis, Withdrawal, and the Nameless. Ramyadeva does not offer this interpretation but he does read the work as a text of the Krama, finding its doctrines wherever his ingenuity and the resources of the flexible Indian *ars interpretandi* permit him to do so. Indeed he takes the very concept of the hymn, as an expression of worship in which the acts and offerings of the external cult are translated into mental enactments of immersion in the deity (*bhāvapūjā*), to be grounded in the Krama's tradition of oral instruction:[302]

[302] *Bhāvopahāravivaraṇa*, p. 2, ll. 1–12: *iha hi niruttaranirniketanāvaṭa*vitaṅkālaṃkavalita-sakalakalpanākulaparamabhairavasatattvam* (em. *viṭaṅkasaṃkalitasakalakalanākula* Ed.) *avācyavācakam *avarṇanirvarṇam* (em. : *avarṇanirvarṇanam* Ed.) **anādyantam anantar-bahīrūpam* (em. : *anādyanantam antarbahīrūpam* Ed.) *apūjyapūjakam api prasaradādyod-yantṛtāvatārakramāvatāritapañcavāhamayākṛtrimapūjyapūjakakrameṇa *protsphuratīty* (em. : *protsphuratīti rītir* Ed.) *avigītamukhasaṃpradāyasaraṇisamanugatā sarvāgamāntarghumaghumā-yamānā śrīvijñānabhairavādiṣu svakaṇṭhenaiva bhagavatā nirṇītā śrīsvatantrabhaṭṭārakādiṣu ca akṛtvā mānasaṃ yāgam ityādivākyair dhvanitā mānasayāgānatirekiṇī* (em. : *mānasayāgātirekiṇī* Ed.) *sarvabhāvopahṛtiḥ. tām eva bhaṭṭārakapādāḥ stotramukhena prakaṭayanta ādiślokenā-sūcayanti*. The emendation to *-alaṃkavalitasakalakalpanākulaparamabhairava-* is prompted by *Śivasūtravimarśinī*, p. 18, l. 11–12: *sakalakalpanākulālaṃkavalanamayatvāc ca bhairavaḥ*. For Ramyadeva's dependence on the passage see footnote 315 on p. 327.

> The highest Bhairava cannot be transcended, is beyond all contexts, and without imprint in the abyss of his being, having completely swallowed the manifest world of every constructive cognition. Being void of signs and what they signify, being free of both of the sounds of speech and of that which transcends them, being without beginning or end, interior or exterior, [the primordial ground] that he constitutes is untouched for us by [the artificial (*kṛtrimaḥ*) relation of] the worshipped and the worshipper. Nonetheless it does manifest itself as a natural and spontaneous (*akṛtrimaḥ*) process of [interaction between itself as] worshipped and [itself as] worshipper when it takes the form of the various unfoldings of the Five Flows [embodied in the order of Krama worship], these being brought into play as the actively flowing state of primordial energetic agency surges up [within it]. The 'offering up of all phenomena' [which gives the work its title] is in line with this established oral teaching. It resonates indistinctly in all the Śaiva scriptures, [but] is openly taught in such as the *Vijñānabhairava*,[303] and evoked in such as the *Svacchanda* in statements such as 'Unless he first does mental worship …'.[304] Intending to clarify through his hymn this process of offering up all phenomena [into Śiva], which is none other than that mental worship, the venerable Bhaṭṭāraka alludes to it in his first verse.

His position as an exponent of the Krama is also apparent in his citations of the works of others. These, apart from three quotations from Rājānaka Utpaladeva, one from the Saiddhāntika *Kālottara*,[305] and one from the *Spandakārikā* of Kallaṭa,[306] are from works of the Krama Gurus Eraka, Hrasvanātha (Vāmanadatta), Cakrabhānu, and Prabodhanātha,[307] and from the Kālīkula-

[303] He alludes to *Vijñānabhairava*, vv. 1–16, ending *evaṃvidhe pare tattve kaḥ pūjyaḥ kaś ca tṛpyati* 'In a supreme reality of that nature who is there that can receive *pūjā* offerings and who that can be gratified [in the fire of sacrifice]?'

[304] *Svacchanda* 3.32c–33b: *akṛtvā mānasaṃ yāgaṃ yo 'nyaṃ yāgaṃ samārabhet | aśivaḥ sa tu vijñeyo na mokṣāya vidhīyate* 'Know that anyone who undertakes the other[, external] worship without having first done mental worship is not a Śiva and [therefore] is not fit to attain liberation'.

[305] *Bhāvopahāravivaraṇa*, p. 16, ll. 13–16 (= *Śivastotrāvalī* 16.29); p. 26, ll. 14–17 (= *Śivastotrāvalī* 13.16); p. 43, ll. 16–17 (not known); p. 30, ll. 3–4; p. 30, ll. 3–4 (= *Sārdhatriśatikālottara* 1.6c–7b).

[306] *Bhāvopahāravivaraṇa*, p. 30, l. 14 (= *Spandakārikā* 2.1a in Kṣemarāja's numeration).

[307] (1) *Kramastotra* (*Bhāvopahāravivaraṇa*, p. 3, l. 14, citing Pāda c of the verse on Mahākālakālī without attribution; see *Tantrālokaviveka*, vol. 3, p. 185, l. 15); (2) *Svabodhodayamañjarī* 19cd (*Bhāvopahāravivaraṇa*, p. 19, l. 9 [unattributed]: *buddhavat sarvarāgī syāt sarvadvesyo 'tha bhairavaḥ*); (3) *Śrīpīṭhadvādaśikā* (*Bhāvopahāravivaraṇa*, p. 43, citing v. 3cd without attribution), and (4) an unnamed hymn by the ascetic Prabodhanātha (*Bhāvopahāravivaraṇa*, p. 10, ll. 5–8).

based scripture *Vājasaneyā*.[308]

He also includes passages from his *Advayadvādaśikā*,[309] six otherwise unknown works by himself, some of whose titles and contents reveal their Krama context,[310] and one from an unnamed work by his unnamed son, which also pertains to the Krama.[311]

At the end of the work he declares that he has received empowerment from the Pīṭheśvarīs, and that this occurred through oral transmission from his Guru Yogānanda,[312] a remark that reveals that initiatory empowerment in the Krama was seen as the re-enactment of the original revelation in Uḍḍiyāna and that the lineage of Krama Gurus was perceived as an internally undifferentiated stream of consciousness multiple from generation to generation only in outward appearance. Thus in his penultimate verse he can say:

> I bow to the line of Gurus, the sole cause of salvation, the expansive circle of the rays [of enlightenment] that has come from that whose form is beyond perception.[313]

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[308] Quoted in *Bhāvopahāravivaraṇa*, p. 6, ll. 9–12 (*vājasaneyabhaṭṭārikāyām api*). That this scripture is a work of the Kālīkula or of one greatly influenced by it appears from two verses cited from it by Kṣemarāja in his *Śivasūtravimarśinī*, pp. 136, l. 13–137, l. 3: *tathā ca śrīvājasaneyāyām: yā sā śaktiḥ parā sūkṣmā vyāpinī nirmalā śiva | śakticakrasya jananī parānandāmṛtātmikā | mahāghoreśvarī caṇḍā sṛṣṭisaṃhārakārikā | trivahaṃ trividhaṃ tristhaṃ balāt kālaṃ prakarṣati*. The last line is evidently a semantic analysis of the name Kālasaṃkarṣaṇī. Cf. *Paryantapañcāśikā* 42: *trivahaṃ tripathaṃ tristhaṃ kālaṃ sā karṣati svataḥ | bahis tataś cātmanīti śrīparā kālakarṣiṇī*. See also the Kālīkula-based Trika text *Deyāyāmala* paraphrased in *Tantrāloka* 15.335c–338 and the direct citation by Jayaratha on that passage (*Tantrālokaviveka*, vol. 9, p. 169, l. 18): *sā graset trividhaṃ kālaṃ kālasaṃkarṣiṇī tathā*.

[309] Cited in p. 41, ll. 13–16. This work, under the variant title *Paramārthadvādaśikā* has been wrongly attributed to Abhinavagupta; see Raghavan 1980, pp. 76–77.

[310] (1) *Akulakālikātriṃśikā*: p. 8, ll. 5–8 (l. 9: *ityādyasmadviracitākula*kālikātriṃśikokta-* (*kālikā* em. : *kaulikā* Ed.), p. 38, ll. 14–7; (2) *Akramakallolakārikā*: p. 4; (3) *Kṛtāntatāntiśāntistava*: p. 41, ll. 8–11; (4) *Cakreśvarabhairavāṣṭaka*: p. 29, ll. 3–6; (5) *Śivaravastotra*: pp. 10, 17–11, l. 2; and (6) *Śivarātrivicaravārtika*: p. 34, ll. 1–4.

[311] *Bhāvopahāravivaraṇa*, p. 6, ll. 4–7, on the sequence-transcending goddess (*kṛśā)* enthroned above Śiva.

[312] *Bhāvopahāravivaraṇa*, p. 44, ll. 10–13: *yogānandābhidhānadvijavaravadanāyātapīṭheśidevīpādāvadyotitājñāpraṇayanajanitānantasotsāhaharṣaḥ | stotre bhāvopahāre vivaraṇam akarod ramyadevo dvijanmā janmādyāyāsabhaṅgapravaṇamatilasatsadrahasyopadeśaḥ* 'This commentary on the *Bhāvopahārastotra* has been composed by the brahmin Ramyadeva, in whose mind intent on putting an end to the torments of birth and [death] the true secret instructions are radiant, in whom joy of endless vigour has arisen from his practice of the empowerment revealed by the venerable Pīṭheśvarī goddesses, which has been passed on to him from the lips of Yogānanda, the foremost of brahmins'.

[313] *Bhāvopahāravivaraṇa*, p. 44, ll. 6–9: *adṛṣṭavigrahāgataṃ marīcicakravistaram | anugrahai-*

and the first three aphorisms of the Krama-based *Kaulasūtra* can declare to the same effect:

> (1) There is but one Guru, the uninterrupted transmission of the rays [of enlightened consciousness] passed on to us through the initiatory lineage (*ovalliḥ*). (2) There is but one deity, the reality that they have perceived. (3) The power of its consciousness is nothing but the state of [their] innate self-awareness.[314]

As for the date of Ramyadeva we can deduce from his citations of other authors that he was later than Prabodhanātha, who, as a pupil of Cakrabhānu, is likely to have been active around 975. However there are elements in his terminology and phrasing that suggest strongly that he knew the works of Kṣemarāja and is therefore unlikely to have been active before the eleventh century.[315] About his Guru Yogānanda we know nothing more, though it is conceivable that he is identical with the person of this name whom Abhinavagupta has listed among his teachers.[316] It has been claimed that Ramyadeva is identical with the

kakāraṇaṃ namāmy ahaṃ gurukramam.

[314] *Kaulasūtra*, f. 1v4: *avicchinnam ovallikramāyātamarīcisaṃkrāmaṇam evaiko guruḥ | tadupalabdham eva tattvam eko devaḥ | tasyaikā sahajāhaṃbhāvabhūmiś cicchaktiḥ*. Cf. the South Indian Maheśvarānanda's *Pādukodaya* quoted in his *Mahārthamañjarīparimala*, pp. 15–16, especially p. 15, ll. 21–23: *sa ca svabhāvād ekaḥ sann aneka iva bhāsate | ārabhya maṅgalādīptiśivānandādikaṃ kramam | ambānāthapadādhyāsāt pāramparyeṇa pūjyate* 'And this though really one appears to be many and is worshipped sequentially beginning with the series that begins with Maṅgalādīpti and Śivānanda [= Jñānanetra] through the superimposition of the epithets -ambā [after feminine names] and -nātha [after masculine: HRĪṂ ŚRĪṂ MAHĀMAṄGALĀDĪPTI AMBĀPĀDA. HRĪṂ ŚRĪṂ ŚIVĀNANDANĀTHAPĀDA etc.]'.

[315] The novel expression *prasaradādyodyantṛtā* (p. 2, l. 4, in the passage cited in footnote 302 on p. 324) echoes Kṣemarāja, *Śivasūtravimarśiṇī*, p. 50, l. 1: *paraprakāśaḥ akṛtakodyantṛtātmanoccāreṇa dhāvati prasarati ity arthaḥ* and p. 18, ll. 8–12: *yo 'yaṃ* ***prasarad****rūpāyā vimarśamayyā saṃvido jhagityucchalanātmakaparapratibhonmajjanarūpa* ***udyamaḥ*** *sa eva sarvasaktisamarasyena aśeṣaviśvabharitatvāt* ***sakalakalpanākulālaṃkavalanamayatvāc*** *ca bhairavo* .... The passage in bold beginning *sakala-* has been adapted by Ramyadeva in the same passage; see here footnote 302 on p. 324. The first of the introductory verses speaks of the Bhairava who is consciousness (*bodhabhairavaḥ*) being worshipped on all sides by the goddesses that are the sense-faculties (*karaṇeśvaryaḥ*). The expressions *bodhabhairavaḥ* and its synonym *cidbhairavaḥ* are a feature of the works of Abhinavagupta and Kṣemarāja; see *Mālinīvijayavārtika* 1.42d (*bodhabhairave*); 2.147a (*cidbhairava-*); *Tantrāloka* 1.123b (*bodhabhairavaḥ*); 4.23c: *cidbhairavāveśa-*; *Netroddyota* on 10.14 (*cidbhairava-*); on 19.162 (*cidbhairavanāthasya*); *Bhairavānukaraṇastotra* 2a (*cidbhairavam*); 48b (*cidbhairava*); *Svacchandoddyota*, introducing 8.1 (*bodhabhairavasya*); Maṅgala verse of commentary on 11 (*svacchando bodhabhairavaḥ*).

[316] *Tantrāloka* 37.60–62: **āmardasaṃtatimahārṇavakarṇadhāraḥ saddaiśikairakavarātmajavāmanāthaḥ* (*āmarda* em. : *ānanda* Ed.) | *śrīnāthasaṃtatimahāmbaragharmakāntiḥ śrībhū-*

scholar of that name who is mentioned as a contemporary by the Kashmirian poet Maṅkha early in the twelfth century. Nothing excludes that date, but the identification rests on the name alone and is fatally undermined by the fact that Maṅkha praises him not as a Śaiva but as a master of the Vedānta who wrote a commentary on the *Iṣṭasiddhi* [of Vimuktātman].[317]

The Śivarātrirahasya of Śivasvāmin Upādhyāya

The *Śivarātrirahasya* of Śivasvāmin, probably the Śivasvāmin Upādhyāya [II] who was active during the reign of Raṇjit Singh (1819–1839),[318] gives an esoteric reading of the deities, the various vessels and other ritual substrates, the offerings, and timing of the worship to be conducted by Kashmirians on the thirteenth lunar day of the dark fortnight of the month of Phālguna, the high point of the annual Śivarātri festival (*hērath*). The interpretation takes the outer elements of the ritual and translates them into symbols of structures in the body, senses and mind merging into and arising from Śiva in union with the Goddess as the pure, dynamic consciousness that is the innermost ground of the worshipper's awareness, making contemplation of these structures the power that animates and bestows efficacity on the outer processes. The Krama provides the symbolism of the cone-shaped Liṅga of baked clay known as the *sañĕ pŏtul*[u] in Kashmiri. Said here to be five-faced and termed the *pañcaputtalaliṅgam*, its five faces are equated with (1) the five elements of the worship of the Pīṭha, from the Pīṭha itself, through the cremation ground (*śmaśānam*), the Site-Guardian (Kṣetrapāla), and the Assembly (*melāpaḥ*) to the sacrifice (*yāgaḥ*),

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*tirājatanayaḥ svapitṛprasādaḥ | traiyambakaprasarasāgaraśāyisomānandātmajotpalajalakṣmaṇaguptanāthaḥ | turyākhyasaṃtatimahodadhipūrṇacandraḥ *śrīsaumataḥ* (em. : *śrīsomataḥ* Ed.) *sakalavit kila śambhunāthaḥ | śrīcandraśarmabhavabhaktivilāsayogānandābhinandaśivaśaktivicitranāthāḥ | anye 'pi dharmaśivavāmanakodbhaṭaśrībhūteśabhāskaramukhapramukhā mahāntaḥ* '(1) Vāmanātha, son of the excellent Guru Eraka, [my] helmsman over the ocean of the [Saiddhāntika] Āmardaka lineage, (2) the son of Bhūtirāja, initiated by his father, [my] sun in the vast sky of the Śrīnātha lineage, (3) Lakṣmaṇaguptanātha, disciple of Utpala, the disciple of Somānanda, [my Viṣṇu] lying on the ocean of the lineage of Trayambaka. (4) the omniscient Śambhunātha, disciple of Sumati[nātha], [my] full moon over the ocean of the Kaula lineage, (5) Candraśarman, (6) Bhavabhaktivilāsa, (7) **Yogānanda**, (8) Abhinanda, (9) Śivaśakti, (10) Vicitranātha, and other great [scholars] such as (11) Dharmaśiva, (12) Vāmanaka, (13) Udbhaṭaśrī, (14) Bhūteśa, and (15) Bhāskaramukha'. On the emendation *śrīsaumataḥ* for *śrīsomataḥ* see Sanderson 2005a, pp. 132–133, footnote 106.

[317] *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* 25.32–33. The claim is Rastogi's (1979:192–193).

[318] On his date see footnote 653 on p. 423.

(2) the five gross elements from ether to earth, (3) the five sense-objects from sound to odour, (4) the five Cause deities from Sadāśiva to Brahmā, (5) the five Krama goddesses Vāmeśvarī, Khecarī, Dikcarī, Saṃhārabhakṣiṇī/Gocarī, and Raudraraudeśvarī, (6) the corresponding fives phases of cognition: initial urge (*udyamaḥ*), illumination (*avabhāsanam*), internalization (*carvaṇam*), the devouring of time (*kālagrāsaḥ*), and final quiescence (*viśrāntiḥ*), and also (7) with five manifestations of each of the five material elements in the worshipper's body.[319] The unacknowledged source on which the text is drawing is the chapter on the phase of the worship of the Pīṭha in the Trivandrum *Mahānayaprakāśa*.[320]

The Jñānakriyādvayaśataka

As for the third and last of these works, the *Jñānakriyādvayaśataka* ('A Hundred [Verses] on the Unity of Knowledge and Practice'), its subject, as its title

[319] *Śivarātrirahasya*, f. 3r18–19 (v. 84cd): *pañcaputtalaliṅgasya pūjanārtho 'yam īritaḥ*; f. 3v1–12 (vv. 89c–96): *vimṛśyaṃ pañcadhā rūpaṃ caitanyakulapañcake* | 90 *mṛṇmaye puttale dehe pañcadhātvaṃ smṛtaṃ budhaiḥ* | *prathamaṃ praṇavaḥ pīṭhaṃ vyoma vāmeśvarī tathā* | 91 *sadāśivodyamau caiva pīṭhadehaḥ prakīrtitaḥ* | *tataḥ śrīkhecarī devī vāyuḥ sparśo 'vabhāsanam* | 92 *īśvaraḥ *kāladāh*ātma* (em. : *ātmā* Cod.) *śmaśānaṃ cintayed idam* | *prakāśānandarūpasya kṣetrasya parirakṣaṇāt* | 93 *melāpayāgayugmena kṣetrapālo 'bhidhīyate* | *rūpaṃ śrīdikcarī tejo mahārudro 'pi *carvaṇam* (em. : *darśanam* Cod.) | 94 *vyāptaṃ *saṃhārabhakṣiṇyā* (*saṃhāra* em. : *saṃsāra* Cod.) *sāmarasyātmakaṃ jalam* | *ukto melāpaśabdena pañcavāhopadeśakaiḥ* | 95 *raso jalaṃ *gocarī* (corr. : *khecarī* Cod.) *ca kālagrāsaś ca keśavaḥ* | *alaṃgrās*ātmako* (corr. : *ātmake* Cod.) *yāgo raudra*raudreśvarīśritaḥ* (corr. : *raudrīśvarīśritaḥ* Cod.) | 96 *pṛthivī gandho bhūcarī ca viśrāntir ātmabhūs tathā* | *anudbhinnacidābhāsakulapañcakagocaram*. Having given the correspondences between the faces and the Krama's five aspects of internal awareness it goes on in f. 3v12–17 (vv. 97–100) to show the correspondences with the body of the worshipper. Here five entities are listed for each of the five gross elements from ether to earth, down to nails, hair, flesh, bone, and skin for earth. He sums up (f. 3v17–20 [v. 101–102b]): *evaṃ cinnāthadevasya pañca vaktrāṇi pūjayet* | *piṇḍasyāpi tayoś caikyajñānaṃ liṅgasya pūjanam* | *na mṛṇmayasya liṅgasya pūjanaṃ mokṣasiddham* 'In this way he should worship the five faces both of the Lord who is Consciousness and of the body. To worship the Liṅga is to know their untiy. Worship of the Liṅga of clay [alone] bestows neither liberation nor powers'.

[320] *Mahānayaprakāśa* (Triv.) 2.1–29b. The dependence is evident from the agreement in content, but also from verbal parallels. Thus cf. *kāladāhātma śmaśānam* (92a) with *kāladāhaikabhūḥ saiṣā śmaśānaṃ khecarī matā* (2.15cd); *prakāśānandarūpasya kṣetrasya parirakṣaṇāt* (92d) with *etadrūpaṃ paraṃ kṣetraṃ prakāśānandabhūmigam* | *pālaye*[*t*] (2.18abc); *vyāptaṃ *saṃhārabhakṣiṇyā sāmarasyātmakaṃ jalam* | *ukto melāpaśabdena* (94abc) with *sāmarasyātmanā saiṣā pratyāvṛttyā samantataḥ* | *bhakṣayaty āntarasparśād ataḥ saṃhārabhakṣiṇī* (22c–23b); and *alaṃgrāsātmako yāgo raudraraudreśvarīśritaḥ* (95cd) with *raudraraudeśvarī yāgas tasmād iṣṭo gurūttamaiḥ* | *alaṃgrāsakramaḥ so 'yaṃ mahāsāhasajanmabhūḥ*.

indicates, is the necessity of engaging in non-dualistic Śaiva practice only if one possesses a proper understanding of the doctrine and is sincerely committed to its soteriological purpose. Though in general an unmarked expression of Śaiva non-dualism, it is coloured by Krama language:[321]

> Homage to [Śiva], whose vast awareness manifests the all-pervading display of the [universe of the] six paths, who is [also] the sun that forcibly devours the mass of all [those] phenomena.
>
> …
>
> Obeisance to him whose nature is to liberate all, glorying in the sequence of the Five Flows [that are the goddesses beginning with Vyomavāmeśvarī].
>
> …
>
> All-pervading, beautiful with the bliss and light that flows forth [in him] with eternal vigour, who manifests the three worlds as the expansion of the sequence of his circles of power, who remains immersed in the core where existence and non-existence have dissolved, who is ever eager to devour [into nonduality] direction, place, time, form, and all other [aspects of the manifest].

It emphasizes Krama methods of enlightenment:[322]

> The Krama teaching passed on by the Guru, [participation in] a gathering of Siddhas and Yoginīs, their sensual practice, oral instruction, [non-conceptual] transmission, internal sensation …
>
> …through the most intense descent of power, or by force of of one's own insight, as the result of practising the Guru's [oral] instruction, by worship, or by study of scripture, or by direct transmission of the knowledge of a perfected Yoginī or Siddha, or by immersion in the blissful sensation of a new consciousness.

[321] *Jñānakriyādvayaśataka* A, f. 2r3–5 (v. 5): *ṣaḍadhvavitatasphāravisphāraṇamahādhiye* | *namaḥ samastabhāvaughahaṭhālaṃgrāsabhānave*; A, f. 2r7–v1 (v. 7ab): *pañcavāhakramodagra-sarvānugrahadharmiṇe*; and A, f. 12r6–v4 (vv. 71–72): *vibhuḥ prasaradamlānaprakāśānandasundaraḥ* | *śakticakrakramasphāravisphāritajagattrayaḥ* | *pralīnasadasadbhāvamadhyaviśramamantharaḥ* | *digdeśakālākārādikavalīkāradīkṣitaḥ*.

[322] *Jñānakriyādvayaśataka* A, f. 4v1–3 (v. 20), in a list of methods of enlightenment: *pāramparyakramāmnāyo yoginīsiddhamelakaḥ* | *taccārucaryā kathanaṃ saṃkrāmaḥ sparśa āntaraḥ*; f. 13r2–4 (v. 75c–77): *sutīvraśaktipātena svavimarśabalena vā* | 76 **gurūpadeśānuṣṭhānād arcayā śāstrato 'pi vā* | *niṣpannayoginīsiddhajñānasaṃkramaṇena vā* (B, f. 10r2–3 : lacking in A) | 77 *navīnaciccamatkārasparśāveśavaśena vā*. The distinctive expression *svavimarśabalena* occurs in the *Kālīkulakramasadbhāva*, f. 2r11 (1.49cd): *pṛcchāmi paramaṃ devi svavimarśabalena tu*; and f. 12v 9–10 (5.44ab): *sā vidyāṃ tava vakṣyāmi svavimarśabalena ca*. Cf. f. 1v2 (1.17c–18b): *svavimarśadaśāntasthā tiṣṭhate parameśvarī* | *kālī tu bhairavārūḍhā mahākālakalāśinī*.

and it pours scorn on hypocrites who use the language of the Krama as an excuse for licentious behaviour:[323]

> Adopting misconduct they make love to others' wives declaring constantly that it is wrong to impede the inclination of the powers [of consciousness]. They are deluded in constant relish of the objects of the senses, saying that the goddesses of their faculties are [thus] filling the Lord that is consciousness with the objects of their enjoyment.

The manuscripts of this work that I have seen do not record the name of its author. But it was very probably Sillana, the author of another unpublished text, the *Svātmopalabdhiśataka*. For the phrasing of the two works is remarkably similar.[324] As for the time of its composition, that can be determined at present only within very wide boundaries. A prior limit in the tenth century is set by the fact that it imitates a verse of a hymn by Utpaladeva.[325] In another verse there is a striking similarity of phrasing with a verse in the *Mahānayaprakāśa* of Arṇasiṃha, which would bring the limit up to the late eleventh

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[323] *Jñānakriyādvayaśataka* A, ff. 7v7–8r6 (vv. 43–44): *necchāvighātaḥ kartavyaḥ śaktīnām iti saṃtatam | kathayanto durācārāḥ kāmayante parastriyaḥ | 44 cinnāthaṃ karaṇeśvaryaḥ svabhogaiḥ pūrayanti naḥ | ity ūcānāḥ pramuhyanti viṣayāsvādasaṃtatau.*

[324] (1) *Jñānakriyādvayaśataka* (JKAŚ) f. 5r1–2 (v. 23cd): *viśṛṅkhalā parā śaktir hetuḥ* ***svātmopalabdhaye***; cf. *Svātmopalabdhiśataka* (SUŚ), f. 12r4–5 (v. 102): *ity āptaśivasadbhāvabhāvagarbhasya sūnunā | śatakaṃ sillanenedaṃ kṛtaṃ* ***svātmopalabdhaye***; (2) JKAŚ, f. 16r3 (v. 94ab): *teṣām ananyasāmānya****paramaiśvaryaśālinām***; cf. SUŚ, f. 1r6 (4cd): *namaḥ svatantratodāra-****paramaiśvaryaśāline***; (3) JKAS, f. 5v6–7 (v. 28ab): ***śaktiḥ*** *saṃbadhyate tīvrā* ***svatantrā svarasoditā***; cf. SUŚ, f. 3v2–3 (v.)27: *tathaiva* ***nirapekṣiṇyā svarasoditayā*** *vibhoḥ | mohanidrāprasakto 'pi paśuḥ* ***śaktyā*** *prabodhyate*; (4) JKAŚ, f. 4r1–2 (v. 17ab): *bhāvanāguruśāstrebhyaḥ* ***sadasadvastuniścayaḥ***; cf. SUŚ, f. 5v3 (v. 46cd); *buddhyāvabudhyate* ***sadasadvastuniścayam***; (5) JKAŚ, f. 4r3–4 (18ab): ***pratītiḥ svātmasattāyāṃ*** *sahajānubhavakramaḥ*; cf. SUŚ, f. 6r4–5 (v. 51cd): *tathāsya* ***svātmasattāyāṃ pratītir*** *upajāyate*; (6) JKAŚ, f. 12r6–7 (v. 69cd): *vibhuḥ* ***prasaradamlānaprakāśānandasundaraḥ***; cf. SUŚ, f. 6v5 (v. 56cd): *sarvataḥ* ***prasaratsphārasvaprabhābharasundaraḥ***; (7) JKAŚ, f. 12v3–4 (v. 71ab): ***digdeśakālākārādikavalīkāradīkṣitaḥ***; cf. SUŚ, f. 6v4 (v. 56ab): ***kavalīkṛtadigdeśakālākārādikalpanaḥ***; cf. (8) JKAŚ, f. 12v2 (v. 70ab): *pralīnasadasadbhāvamadhya****viśramamantharaḥ***; cf. SUŚ, f. 6v2–3 (v. 55ab): *parāmṛtarasāsvādanirbhar****ānandamantharaḥ***; (9) JKAŚ, f. 2r2–3 (v. 4c): ***durvijñeyarahasyāya***; cf. SUŚ, f. 7v4 (v. 65a): ***durvijñeyarahasyatvād***; (10) JKAŚ, f. 2r1–2 (v. 4ab): ***carācarajagatsphārasphurattā****mātradharmiṇe*; cf. SUŚ, f. 6r6 (v. 53ab): ***sphuraccarācarasphāra****nānākāraparigrahaḥ*.

[325] *Jñānakriyādvayaśataka*, f. 1v4– (v. 2) (*āsannāya sudūrāya* ***guptāya prakaṭātmane*** *| sulabhāyātidurgāya* ***namaś *citrāya śambhave*** [unattributed quotation in *Subhāṣitāvalī*, v. 22] and f. 2r5–7 (v. 6) (*udriktāya praśāntāya kaṭhināya dravātmane |* ***māyāvine viśuddhāya*** *namaḥ svādhīnaśaktaye*) draw on *Śivastotrāvalī* 2.12: ***māyāvine viśuddhāya guhyāya prakaṭātmane*** *| sūkṣmāya viśvarūpāya* ***namaś citrāya śambhave***.

century, if it were not that the direction of borrowing is uncertain.[326] The posterior limit is set by unattributed citations in the *Stutikusumāñjaliṭīkā* of Rājānaka Ratnakaṇṭha, completed in A.D. 1681,[327] and in the Kashmirian anthology *Subhāṣitāvalī* of Vallabhadeva.[328] The date of the latter is uncertain but it cannot have been earlier than the fifteenth century, since it includes verses by Rājānaka Jonarāja, who died in A.D. 1459/60.[329]

The Higher Krama of the Oral Instructions

We have seen that the unknown author of the Trivandrum *Mahānayaprakāśa* teaches that the attainment of the goal through the Krama's course of meditative worship (*pūjanam*) is the lowest of three means of enlightment, that the highest is a non-conceptual transmission (*saṃkramaṇam*), a sudden and definitive revelation of the Primordial Ground (*purāṇādhiṣṭhānakramaḥ, anupāyakramaḥ*) brought about by a non-conceptual (*nirvikalpaka-*) transmission from Guru to disciple, and that between that and Krama worship is a method of oral instruction (*kathanam*), in which self-realization is initiated by the Guru through instruction in a corpus of aphorisms designed to project the recipient with a minimum of conceptualization into direct, non-conceptual enlightenment (*sāhasasamādhiḥ*) without recourse to the gradualist path of Krama worship. We have also seen this higher method claimed by Nāga as the source of his own enlightenment, invoked by Ramyadeva as the basis of Cakrapāṇinātha's

[326] There is a close parallel between f. 2v1–2 (v. 7cd) (*mohatāmisravidhvaṃsapracaṇḍamahase namaḥ*) and f. 15v4–5 (v. 94cd) (*te mohadhvāntavidhvaṃsacaṇḍamārtaṇḍamūrtayaḥ*) on the one hand and f. 120v5 (v. 166cd) of Arṇasiṃha's *Mahānayaprakāśa* (*bhavatṛḍbhrāntivibhrāntividhvaṃsoccaṇḍadīdhitiḥ*) on the other.

[327] Ratnakaṇṭha quotes vv. 24–26 in his *Stutikusumāñjaliṭīkā* on 30.39 as the work of a scholar of the Āgamas (*āgamavidaḥ*). According to the opening and closing verses of this commentary it was begun in Śaka 1602 (A.D. 1680/1] and completed in Vikrama 1738 (A.D. 1681/2).

[328] Vv. 1, 2, and 4 have been included by Vallabhadeva without attribution as vv. 21–23 in the section of his anthology devoted to verses of religious obeisance (*namaskārapaddhatiḥ*).

[329] *Subhāṣitāvalī*, v. 3038 (*śrījonarājasya*) = Jonarāja, *Rājataraṅgiṇī* 696. The date of Jonarāja's death is recorded by his pupil Śrīvara in *Jainarājataraṅgiṇī* 1.6: *śrījonarājavibudhaḥ kurvan rājataraṅgiṇīm | sāyakāgnimite varṣe śivasāyujyam āsadat* 'The learned Jonarāja attained union with Śiva while still writing his *Rājataraṅgiṇī* in the year [Laukika 45]35'. *Subhāṣitāvalī*, vv. 621 and 3038 are attributed to Jonaraja with the title Rājānaka. That anthology also contains numerous verses by the fourteenth-century Kashmirian poet and grammarian Jagaddhara. The latter's approximate date is determined by the fact that Rājānaka Śitikaṇṭha reports in his *Bālabodhinīnyāsa*, completed during the reign of Ḥasan Šāh (r. 1472–1484), that he is the son of the daughter of Jagaddhara's grandson.

Bhāvopahārastotra, and mentioned among the means of liberation in the *Jñānakriyādvayaśataka*.

The Chummāsaṃketaprakāśa of Niṣkriyānandanātha

The tradition of oral instruction to which these authors refer is preserved in the unpublished *Chummāsaṃketaprakāśa* of Niṣkriyānandanātha. This work is a Sanskrit commentary that transmits and explains one hundred and five brief aphorisms in Old Kashmiri consisting of from one to three words, which it calls variously the *chummāḥ*, *chummāpadāni*, *saṃketapadāni*, and *padāni*.[330] The term *chummā* is seen in the non-Saiddhāntika Śaiva Tantras, generally of the Vidyāpīṭha, and the Buddhist Yoginītantras (/Yoganiruttaratantras), appearing also as *chumma-*, *chummaka-/chummakā-*, *choma-/chomā-*, *chomaka-/chommaka-*, and *chommakā-/chommakā-*.[331] In those sources the term denotes words or hand-signals by means of which initiates recognize each other or communicate secretly.[332] The word is, I propose, Middle Indo-Aryan, deriving from Old Indo-Aryan *chadman-* 'a disguise'.[333] Here in the Krama the word means rather 'esoteric instruction or knowledge'. It is in this sense that it appears in

[330] *Chummāsaṃketaprakāśa* ff. 2v10–3r1 (27–28b): *yogyas tvaṃ sanmate putra durgame 'smin mahākrame | ity uktvā kṛpayāviṣṭo bodhayām āsa māṃ prabhuḥ | kiṃci[c] chummopadeśaṃ tu saṃketapadavistaram*; f. 3r8–9 (36–37): *parataram aniketaṃ tattvamārgasthitaṃ te | nirupamapadachummāsaṃpradāyaṃ samantāt | svarasavaśatayāhaṃ tvatkṛpāghrātacittaḥ | prakaṭataravacobhir darśayāmy āśu nūnam*; f. 13r9 (218ab): *pañcādhikaśateneha padaugho yaḥ sthitaḥ paraḥ*; Anantaśakti on *Vātūlanāthasūtra*, p. 2, ll. 2–3: *śrīmadvātūlanāthasya *pīṭheśvaryaś chummāpadaugham* (em. : *pīṭheśvarya ucchuṣmapādaugham* Ed.) *uktvā*. For this emendation see footnote 374 on p. 345.

[331] *Tantrāloka* 29.37 (*chummā/chumma-*), *Svacchanda* 15.1, *Tantrālokaviveka*, vol. 12, *Āhnika* 29, p. 28 (*chummakā*), *Netratantra* 20.39 (*chummaka-*); *Picumata*, f. 245r2 (53.98d): *cchomakādya⟨ṅ⟩galakṣaṇaiḥ*; *ibid.*, (53.99a): *cchommakā *kīdṛśā* (corr. : *kīdṛśo* Cod.) *deva*; f. 246v3 (15.163a and colophon): *cchommakāṃ …cchommādhikāras*; f. 290r4: *cchomādhikāro*; *Hevajratantra* 1.7.1: *atha chomāpaṭalaṃ*.

[332] *Picumata*, f. 245r2 (53.99): *chommakā *kīdṛśā* (corr. : *kīdṛśo* Cod.) *deva kulānāṃ sādhakasya ca | prajñāyate yathā bhrātā bhaginī vā viśeṣataḥ*; *Hevajratantra* 1.7.1: *atha chomāpaṭalaṃ vyākhyāsyāmaḥ. yena vijñāyate bhrātā bhaginī ca na saṃśayaḥ*; Kṣemarāja, *Svacchandoddyota*, vol. 6, p. 126: *chummakā tatsamayānupraviṣṭasaṃcityā pāribhāṣikī saṃjñā*; *Netroddyota*, vol. 2, p. 233: *āgamikapāribhāṣikanāmāni*; Kāṇhapāda, *Hevajratantrayogaratnamālā* on 1.7.1: *chomā milicchā yoginīnāṃ saṃketenābhisamayajalpanam*; *Caryāmelāpakapradīpa*, p. 87, ll. 6–7: *kāyachomāvākchomāsaṃketena vyavahāraḥ kriyate*; *Laghvabhidhāna*, f. 24v4: *iti śrīherukābhidhāne bhakṣahomabalikriyāhastacchomāvidhipaṭala ekatriṃśatimaḥ*.

[333] Through *chaüma-* by analogy with the development of *pŏmma-* from *padma-* through *paüma-*; see Pischel 1900, §§ 139 and 166; *Siddhahemacandra* 8.1.61, 8.2.112.

Modern Kashmiri *ċhŏmb* (f.), being glossed in Sanskrit by Paṇḍit Mukunda Rāma Śāstrī in Grierson's dictionary (1932) as *gūḍhavijñānam* 'hidden knowledge' and in English as 'secret knowledge (by which the accomplishment of some difficult task is rendered easy), private experience'.

That the language of the Chummās is Old Kashmiri is not apparent in the majority of them, since these consist of unmodified (*tatsama-*) Sanskrit nominal stems, most with the nominative singular ending *-u* seen in the masculine in Old Kashmiri (for Sanskrit masculine and neuter) but also in Apabhraṃśa, as in the first four: *liṅgu abhijñānu* | *araṇisamudāyu* | *cakreśīmelaku* | *kālagrāsu* 'The point of fusion is the means of recognizing [the self]'; 'It arises from the [attrition of the two] kindling sticks'; '[There comes about] the merging of the goddesses of the circle'; 'Temporal sequence is devoured'.[334] However, that the language is Kashmiri is established by sound changes, morphology, and vocabulary. In the first category we see *-tī* to *-cī* and *-ttī* to *-ccī* in the following three Chummās: (1) *pānthāvadhūcī*, glossed:[335]

> Though sporting everywhere absolutely unimpeded, with no fixed abode, by virtue of the pervasive manifestations of cognition, he comes at last like a traveller (*pānthavat*) to the pure (*avadhūtikām*) and beautiful (*añcitām*) flow that cannot be entered, that is untainted [by these wanderings] that are like water that rests upon [but does not dampen] the lily-pad.

(2) *maccī umaccī*, glossed:[336]

> Because consciousness surges up with innate autonomy she becomes reckless, taking on ever-new forms and devouring them all [from moment to moment]. She gives no thought to what is right or wrong, being constantly fickle. But when this same [consciousness] is sated she completely transcends this madness. [For] when [in this way] she catches sight of the highest Śiva he tames her recklessness. For this reason consciousness, who never deviates from [this] her [inner] nature for those blessed [by her favour] has been called *mattonmattā* 'mad [and] free of madness'.

[334] *Chummāsaṃketaprakāśa* ff. 3r9, 3v3, 3v5, and 3v8.

[335] *Chummāsaṃketaprakāśa*, f. 6v8–9: *****pānthāvadhūcī*** (*pānthā* conj. : *panthā* Cod.) *sarvatra ramamāṇo 'pi niyatāśrayavarjitaḥ* | *saṃvidullāsavibhavair anirodhatayābhitaḥ* | 92 *prāpnoti vṛttim agamāṃ pānthavat tv avadhūtikām* | *nirlepāṃ puṣkaradalasthitavārivad añcitām*.

[336] *Chummāsaṃketaprakāśa*, f. 7r1–3: ***maccī umaccī****. svasvātantryodayatayā nirvicāratvam āgatā* | *saṃvin navanavollekharūpiṇī sarvabhakṣiṇī* | 94 *yuktāyuktavicārais tu varjitā cañcalā sadā* | *yā sthitā nirbharā saiva proccair unmattatāṃ gatā* | 95 *paramaṃ śivam ālokya tadvaśīkṛtacāpalā* | *mattonmattā citiḥ khyātā satām apracyutā tataḥ*. This indicates that *unmattikā* is to be understood as 'beyond wildness' (*udgataṃ mattaṃ mattatā yasyā sonmattikā*).

and (3) *athicī thiti*, glossed:[337]

> The eternal stasis is the impenetrable, unshakeable domain of the Nameless in which the stasis that is the emergence of differentiation is dissolved.

Niṣkriyānandanātha, then, takes *pānthāvadhūcī* to be equivalent to Skt. *pāntho 'vadhūtīm* and to mean '[Like a] traveller [he reaches] the pure [state]', *maccī umaccī* to be equivalent to Skt. *mattikonmattikā* and to mean '[First she is] wild [; then she is] tamed', and *athicī thiti* to be equivalent to Skt. *asthityā sthitiḥ* or *asthitau sthitiḥ* and to mean '[True] stasis [comes about] through [or in] the cessation of stasis'. These readings are in keeping with the change of dental *t* to *ċ* before *ü-mātrā* (< OIA/MIA *-i*), *i*, ĕ, or *y* that is distinctive of Modern Kashmiri.[338] Moreover, the ending *-ī* for the instrumental or locative singular of a feminine noun whose stem ends in *-i/ī* is as in the Old Kashmiri of the *Mahānayaprakāśa*, which exhibits in *viccī* (10.2) (Skt. *vṛttyā*) both this morphology and this sound-change.[339] The stem *thiti* (Skt. *sthiti-*) is also seen there,[340] and though in that text feminine *i/ī*-stems such as *thiti-* normally take the ending *-a* in the nominative they do not always do so.[341]

Also indicative of Old Kashmiri are *rami ekāyanu*, glossed:[342]

> He who is the one ground, perfect and all-pervading, plays without falling from his nature as he performs every action of every kind throughout the universe.

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[337] *Chummāsaṃketaprakāśa*, f. 10v6–7: ***athicī thiti***. 163 *bhedonmeṣasthitir yatra layaṃ yātāgame pade | aprakampye nirākhyākhye sā sthitiḥ sthitir avyayā*.

[338] Grierson 1929, § 8. With *maccī* and *unmaccī* we may compare Modern Kashmiri *müc*$^{\ddot{u}}$ 'mad' in the feminine as against *mot*^{u} in the masculine.

[339] Grierson 1929, §§ 173 and 206.

[340] *Mahānayaprakāśa* 3.5d: *thitiniṣṭha*; 6.5b: *thitimaya*.

[341] For the nom. sg. in *-a* of *i/ī*-stems in the *Mahānayaprakāśa* see, e.g., *kālasaṃkarṣaṇa* (4.6a), ←Skt. *kālasaṃkarṣaṇī*; *raudreśara* (5.4a), ←Skt. *raudreśvarī*; *uppatta* (6.4b), ←Skt. *utpattiḥ*; *siṣṭa* (3.5b), ←Skt. *sṛṣṭiḥ*; and *śatta* (6.4c), ←Skt. *śaktiḥ*, Cf. Modern Kashmiri *būm* 'land', ← Skt. *bhūmiḥ*; *būth* 'sacred ash', ← Skt. *bhūtiḥ*; *gath* 'motion', ← Skt. *gatiḥ*; *gāṭh* 'knot', ← Skt. *granthiḥ*; *rāth* 'night', ← Skt. *rātriḥ*; *sĕd* 'success', ← Skt. *siddhiḥ*; *shĕk*^{a}*th* 'power', ← Skt. *śaktiḥ*; and *shēṭh* 'the sixth day of the lunar fortnight', ← Skt. *ṣaṣṭhī*. But the ending in *-i/ī* is preserved in the *Mahānayaprakāśa* in *utti* (12.7c), ←Skt. *uktiḥ*); and *para śatti* (3.5a), ← Skt. *parā śaktiḥ*. In the Chummās in all the numerous instances of stems in *-i* the final vowel is retained. This is consistent with but not proof of their being earlier than the *Mahānayaprakāśa*.

[342] *Chummāsaṃketaprakāśa*, f. 4r7–8: ***rami ekāyanu***. 51 *yatas tatas tu sarvatra sarvakarma yathā tathā | kurvan nirāmayo vyāpī krīḍaty ekāyano 'cyutaḥ*.

and *asphura ulati*, glossed: [343]

> The formless, unlimited Śakti of which we speak in this [system] is this eternally open ultimate ground free of all [phenomena], free of all obscurations, its nature the absence of radiance, into which the radiance that is the manifestation of infinite cognitions dissolves.

The *-i* ending of the two verbs *rami* and *ulati* is that seen in the *Mahānaya-prakāśa* for the third person singular of the present indicative,[344] and the verbs themselves survive in the modern language as *ramun* 'to play' and *wul*^{a}*ṭun* 'to revert, to turn back'.[345] The two Chummās, then, are clearly Old Kashmiri, and mean respectively 'He who is the one ground plays' and '[Radiance] reverts into non-radiance'.

Other proofs are *caṭṭa-* 'cutting' in *caṭṭaniścaṭṭī* 'cutting and its absence' (Modern Kashmiri *ċaṭh* 'cutting', *ċaṭa-ċaṭh* 'cutting or tearing apart'), glossed:[346]

> Cutting is the vanishing of the breath and non-cutting is its [re-]activation. Here this one being is the arising of both.[347]

khita khita 'having repeatedly devoured' (*khĕth khĕth*, the Modern Kashmiri doubled conjunctive participle with the same meaning[348]), glossed:[349]

> The diverse [reality] that pervades the universe is called food when it has been partly dissolved by the rays of one's awareness, because then one experiences [one consciousness simultaneously as] the devourer, the devoured, and [act of devouring].

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[343] *Chummāsaṃketaprakāśa*, f. 10r8–v1: ***asphura *ulati*** (conj. : *ulatti* Cod). 155 *anantasaṃvidvisphārasphurattā layam āgatā | yatra sarvojjhite dhāmni pare nityavikasvare |* 156 *asphurattāsvarūpe 'smin sarvāvaraṇavarjite*).

[344] Grierson 1929, § 231, e.g. *kari* (Skt. *karoti*) (3.6d etc.); *jayi* (Skt. *jayati*) (1.5d). In Modern Kashmiri this form in *-i* has been replaced by a participial construction with the present of the auxiliary verb; but it survives as the 3rd sg. of the future and conditional.

[345] So in Modern Kashmiri *su rami/wul*^{a}*ṭi* 'he will/may play/turn back' and *su cchu ramān/wul*^{a}*ṭān* 'he plays/turns back'.

[346] *Chummāsaṃketaprakāśa*, f. 12v4–5, 203ab: ***caṭṭaniścaṭṭī***. *caṭṭaḥ prāṇavināśas tu niścaṭṭaḥ prāṇaghaṭṭakaḥ | sa eveha vinirdiṣṭaḥ caṭṭaniścaṭṭakodayaḥ*.

[347] Cf. p. 340.

[348] Grierson 1932, s.v. *khyon*^{u}, p. 427a10.

[349] *Chummāsaṃketaprakāśa*, f. 12v3–4: ***khita khita***. 202 *yad viśvavibhavaṃ citram īṣallīnaṃ svacitkaraiḥ | tad eva bhoktṛbhogyādibhogād bhuktam ihocyate*.

diṭṭo niṭṭo 'seen [and] vanished' (Modern Kashmiri *dyūṭhᵘ* [stem *ḍīṭh-*], past participle passive of *ḍēshun* 'to see', and *nūṭhᵘ*, past participle of the intransitive *nashun* 'to be destroyed, vanish'),[350] glossed:[351]

> Thus when this universe of differentiation, from the fire of the aeon [at its base] to Śiva [at its summit], has been seen but once through correct instruction it immediately vanishes into the state of non-dual consciousness.

and *lāhapravāhī*, glossed:[352]

> A *lāhaḥ* is so called because through its power it constantly bestows (*lā-*) embodiment as the extroverted state of rise and perdurance and then by the same means suddenly removes [that state] (*-ha-*). It is called a *lāhapravāhaḥ* 'a *lāha*-flow' when it endures. This manifestation of [violent] expansion followed by [sudden] transcendence that characterizes a *lāhapravāhaḥ* is the non-sequential indestructible path of no reflection. It shines uninterrupted as the shining forth of the 'void' that is the nature of the self.

The last, I suggest, is connected with Modern Kashmiri *lahaprāh*/*lāhaprāh* m. 'an attack of hysterical fever or a cataleptic condition brought about by some sudden terror (looked upon as a kind of demoniacal posssession which attacks babies and pregnant women),'[353] and *prāh* m. 'possession by a demon (believed to cause fainting, madness, fury, fever, etc.)'.[354] It appears in the light of these meanings and the gloss of Niṣkriyānandanātha that the Chummā means 'seizure and trance', having in mind a state of spirit possession which first manifests itself as a state of excessive fury and immediately after that as a state of prolonged catalepsy, using this figuratively to point to means of sudden enlightement in which a state of extreme excitation is the point of entry into the

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[350] GRIERSON 1932, pp. 254b1–2 and 656a45–50. For the ending *o* instead of the usual *u* in Old Kashmiri for the nom. sg. of nouns originally masculine or neuter see GRIERSON 1929, § 159.

[351] *Chummāsaṃketaprakāśa*, f. 13r6–7: ***diṭṭo niṭṭo*** (em. : *dibbo nibbo* Cod.). 214 *itthaṃ bhedamayaṃ sarvaṃ kālāgnyādi śivāntakaṃ | tattvena vyapadeśena sakṛd yad dṛṣṭam akramāt |* 215 *tatkṣaṇān nāśam āyāti tad evādvayacitpade.*

[352] *Chummāsaṃketaprakāśa*, f. 12v5–7: 204 *śaktyodayasthitisphāravigrahaṃ lāti yas sadā | tenaiva harati kṣiprād yato lāhas tataḥ smṛtaḥ |* 205 *sa eva pravahadrūpaḥ pravāha iti kathyate | avināśasvabhāvo yo nirvitarkakramo 'kramaḥ |* 206 ***lāhapravāhikā*** *seyaṃ hānivṛddhimayī prathā | svabhāvagaganābhāsarūpācchinnaiva bhāsate.*

[353] GRIERSON 1932, p. 515b11–16. Sanskrit gloss: *bhūtāveśaḥ*.

[354] GRIERSON 1932, p. 757a43–b13. Sanskrit gloss: *bhūtādyāveśaḥ*.

tranquil core of consciousness.[355]

The commentary includes a frame-text in which the author presents himself as having received these aphorisms on which he is commenting in a miraculous revelation from a Siddha. In the opening passage of the text as it survives—the first folio side (1v) is lacking—Niṣkriyānandanātha relates that the Siddha's favouring glance caused him to fall to the ground in a trance in which he experienced the core of consciousness:[356]

> Through the glory of his glance I collapsed on the ground like a felled tree and in a flash attained the incomparable state that is free of the external and internal faculties, inaccessible to the means of knowledge, free of defects, beyond the influence of time or its absence, beyond the lights [of the object, medium, and agent of cognition] yet pervading them, unlocated, neither sequential nor non-sequential, overflowing with the flooding rapture of the ultimate joy of the contactless, beyond bliss, beyond the means of immersion, free of the errors of 'is' and 'is not', free both of conceptual and non-conceptual awareness, with a nature that transcends [all levels of] cognition, free of the stain [even] of the latent impressions [of what it transcends].

After a long time he is roused by the Siddha from his rapture and, astonished by what he has experienced, full of joy, freed from ego, and feeling the emptiness of all the knowledge he had acquired up to that time, he asks the Siddha to teach him how the state he has experienced can become permanent:[357]

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[355] Just such means are taught in *Spandakārikā* 1.22. I take the ending *-ī* in this Chummā and *caṭṭaniścaṭṭī* to be that of the nom. pl. of *a*-stems. In the Old Kashmiri *Mahānayaprakāśa* it is usually *-a* (Grierson 1929, §§ 191–192), but there are also a few instances of *-e* (*ibid.*, § 193). That the same ending should be *-ī* in the text of the Chummās may be attributed to the fact that for speakers of Kashmiri both *e* and *ī* are pronounced as the latter (*ibid.*, § 20), which has lead to the two vowels being confused in Kashmirian manuscripts, as, for example, in *Kalādīkṣāvidhi*, f. 226r14–v1, where we see *śrīdekṣādevīṃ* for *śrīdīkṣādevīṃ* (see footnote 71 on p. 255).

[356] *Chummāsaṃketaprakāśa*, f. 2r1–3: [...*ta*]*ddṛkpātamahodayāt* | *bhūmau saṃpatitaḥ kṣiprāc chinnamūla iva drumaḥ* | 2 *niruttaropamā bhūmir bāhyāntaḥkaraṇojjhitā* | *ap[r]ameyā ni[rā]taṅkā *kālākālakalottarā* (*kālākāla* corr. : *kālākala* Cod.) | 3 *adhāmadhāmavibhavā nirniketākramākramā* | *asparśaparamānandacamatkāraughanirbharā* | 4 *nirānandā nirāveśā sadasadbhramavarjitā* | **nirvikalpāvikalpā* (conj. : *nirvikalpavikalpā* Cod.) *tu saṃvidujjhitadharmiṇī* | 5 *prāptā mayā jhagity eva vāsanā[ñja]navarji[tā]*.

[357] *Chummāsaṃketaprakāśa*, f. 2r4–7: *tatraiva bahukālaṃ tu sthito 'haṃ niścalākṛtiḥ* | 6 *akasmāt tu prabuddho 'smi tatprasādavaśān manāk* | *apūrvasaṃvidāhlādacamatkāreṇa ghūrṇitaḥ* | 7 *sthito 'haṃ vismayāviṣṭo nityānandena nanditaḥ* | *śāstraprapañcavimukho gatāhaṃpratyayo yadā* | 8 *tadā mayā siddhanāthaḥ saṃpṛṣṭaḥ pustakānvitaḥ* | *'yā kācid bhūr mayā nātha durgamā tvatprasādataḥ* | 9 *anubhūtā nirātaṅkā tāṃ yathā sarvato 'bhitaḥ* | *saṃlakṣayāmi satataṃ tathā kathaya me prabho*.

> In that state I remained unwavering for a long time. Then, unexpectedly, by his favour, I came round somewhat. I was reeling from the rapturous experience of the bliss of that extraordinary consciousness, filled with wonder, ecstatic with the eternal joy [of my awakening], now averse to the elaborations of the Śāstras and freed from all sense of self. Then I addressed a question to the Siddha Lord (Siddhanātha) [who was standing there] with a manuscript [in his hand], saying "Tell me, my master, my lord, how I may perceive at all times, completely, on all sides, the unprecedented, defectless level so hard to reach that I have experienced by your favour".

The Siddha remains silent, but casts into the sky a glance which causes the essence of speech to emerge from the highest void and take form as Aṭavīla:[358]

> Then that great-souled one, who remained completely silent, cast a glance brimming with the non-sequential into the depths of the sky and through its power the unlocated, transcendental Word that is one with Śiva, that transcends the [levels of] its immanence [from Paśyantī, through Madhyamā] to audible speech, came forth from the highest void. It is this that we mean by the Bhairavī whose nature is unlocated. It has also been called Aṭavīla, the supreme being who embodies the eternally manifest void, who embodies fusion with the radiances of that most extraordinary consciousness, because at that very moment it bestows (*-la*) permanently and in non-duality the supreme wilderness (*aṭavī-*) beyond the [three] lights that is one with that Bhairavī, free of all obscurations.

Aṭavīla[359] points to a manuscript that the Siddha is showing in his hand and explains that the two boards that enclose it are the two breaths and the two

[358] *Chummāsaṃketaprakāśa*, f. 2r7–v1: 10 *mahātmanā tadā tena maunasthena viśeṣataḥ* | *ūrdhve vyomni yataḥ kṣiptā dṛṣṭir akramanirbharā* | 11 *tadadhiṣṭhānatas tasmāt parākāśāt samutthitā* | *śivasyābhinnarūpā tu parā vāg aniketanā* | 12 **vaikharyantakulottīrṇā* (conj. : *vaikharyantā kulottīrṇā* Cod.) *samastāśrayavarjitā* | *bhairavī saiva vikhyātā nirniketasvarūpiṇī* | 13 **tadaiva* (conj. : *tadaivai* Cod.) *bhairavī*rūpāṃ* (corr. : *rūpaṃ* Cod.) *nirdhāmaparamāṭavīm* | *sarvāvaraṇanirmuktā⟨ṃ⟩ lāti nityam abhedataḥ* | 14 *aṭavīlas samākhyāto nityoditakhamūrtibhṛt* | *apūrvataracidbhābhis sāma[ra]syavapuḥ paraḥ*.

[359] I surmise that the origin of this unusual name is a narrative in which Aṭavīla was a Siddha who had assumed the appearance of a member of a forest (*aṭavī*) tribe. Such a narrative is seen in the Krama in the case of Vidyānanda, the disciple of Niṣkriyānanda, who is described in the **Uttaragharāmnāya* section of the *Ciñciṇīmatasārasamuccaya* as *śābararūpadhṛk* 'having the appearance of a Śabara' (7.182–83 given in footnote 63 on p. 252). The same is reported of the Siddha Lokeśvara in the literature of the Buddhist Yoginītantras. He is said to have assumed the appearance of a Śabara (*śabararūpadhāriṇā*) while practising the Sādhana of Vidyādharī-Vajrayoginī (*Guhyasamayamālā*, f. 87r1–v6). Śabara (/Aṭavīśabara [*Mahābhārata* 6.10.46c]), Pulinda, and Bhilla, are the usual names applied to such tribal people in Sanskrit literature, where they are portrayed as fierce dark-skinned hunters living in the mountainous and forested region of the Vindhya who plunder passing travellers and propititate the goddess

aspects of the Goddess, transcendent (*kṛśā*) and immanent (*pūrṇā*), and that he must tear these two asunder and behold the ultimate void (*mahāśūnyātiśūnyam*) that lies between them as his real nature:[360]

> Then [Aṭavīla] deriding me said, "Why are you so proud? What is [the value of] this snare of learning? Still you have not shaken off your delusion. Behold this manuscript in the hand of Siddhanātha. O you who have mastered the Krama, know that its tightly bound five-hood [knot] is the power embodied in the five sense-faculties and that its two encircling rings are waking and dreaming. Learn in brief the nature of these its two boards. The outgoing breath with its seven flames is held to be the upper, and the lower has the form of the ingoing. Eternally I am truly present, O brahmin, as these two flows. The two boards are [also] known as the awakening of the sequences of immanence (*kulam*) and transcendence (*kaulam*) and as the two immersions that are the active and quiescent expansions. Above is the expansive power[, the full-bodied goddess] whose nature is extroversion. Below is this power of Śiva that devours[, the goddess] whose body is emaciated. Break open these two boards and through your awareness [alone] behold between them the great void beyond the void, that is free of both the transient and the eternal, that is without sensation, the ultimate emptiness, unlocated, unsurpassed, transcending all, unmanifest, eternally present in everything, the destroyer of Emission, Stasis, Withdrawal, and

Durgā Vindhyavāsinī with human sacrifices. The hypothesis that the name Aṭavīla points to another instance of this primitivist theme gains further support from the fact that Aḍabilla, which, given that MIA voices OIA medial *ṭ* (Pkt. *aḍavī*), the common alternation of *v* and *b*, and the Law of Morae, is probably the same name, occurs with Śabara/Pulinda in *Tantrāloka* 29.38 and the *Kulakrīḍāvatāra* quoted by Jayaratha in his commentary on that verse in a list of six Lodges (*gharam*), namely Śabara/Pulinda, Aḍabilla, Paṭṭila, Karabilla, Ambi/Ambilla, and Śarabilla, associated with the six sons of Macchanda and Koṅkaṇāmbā. These Lodges are followed by six Pallīs. Pallī is the standard term in Sanskrit for a Śabara settlement; see, e.g., *Kathāsaritsāgara* 1.2.135–137; 1.5.42; and 12.31.19.

[360] *Chummāsaṃketaprakāśa*, f. 2v1–8: *provāca prahasan māṃ sa kimarthaṃ tvaṃ samuddhataḥ* | *śāstrajālam idaṃ kiṃ syād bhrāntir nādyāpi te cyutā* | 16 *paśyemāṃ pustikāṃ vipra siddhanāthakarasthitām* | *asyāḥ pañcaphaṇo yas tu sthito dṛḍhanibandhanaḥ* | 17 *pañcendriyamayīṃ śaktiṃ viddhi *taṃ* (em. : *tāṃ* A) *kramapāraga* | *valayau dvau sthitau yau tu tau jāgratsvapnavigrahau* | 18 *imau yau paṭṭakau dvau tu tau śṛṇuṣva samāsataḥ* | *ūrdhvapaṭṭakarūpas tu prā[ṇa]ḥ sap[ta]śikhaḥ smṛtaḥ* | 19 *adhaḥstha⟨ḥ⟩ paṭṭako yas tu saṃsthito 'pānavigrahaḥ* | *pravāhadvayarūpo 'haṃ saṃsthito dvija tattvataḥ* | 20 *kulakaulakramonmeṣarūpau dvau pa[ṭṭa]kau smṛtau* | *udriktaśāntavisphārasamāveśamayau tv imau* | 21 *ūrdhvasthā pūrṇavibhavā śaktir unmeṣadharmiṇī* | *adha⟨ḥ⟩sthā kṛśadeheyaṃ grāsinī śaktir aiśvarī* | 22 *bhittvaitat paṭṭakayugaṃ madh[y]e paśya vimarśataḥ* | *mahāśūnyātiśūnyaṃ tu kṣarākṣaravivarjitam* | 23 *asparśaṃ paramākāśaṃ nirniketaṃ niruttaram* | *sarv[o]ttīrṇam anābhāsaṃ sarvatrāvasthitaṃ sadā* | 24 *sṛṣṭisthityupasaṃhārakālagrāsāntakaṃ param* | *sarvāvaraṇanirmuktaṃ svasvarūpaṃ svagocaram*.

> the [Nameless] devouring of time, supreme, free of all obscurations, the nature of the self, present in the self".

This instruction pushes Niṣkriyānanda into the experience of the ultimate reality and frees him once and for all from the 'snare of the Śāstras' that had held him in bondage. The Siddha then pronounces him fit to receive the oral instruction and transmits the Chummās to him. Niṣkriyānandanātha undertakes to explain them to his pupil, declaring that by the Siddha's favour they enabled him to achieve liberation through forcible immersion in the state of sudden enlightenment (*sāhasaṃ padam*);[361]

> Thus in an instant I experienced directly the most transcendent reality [and] abandoned altogether the snare of learning in its entirety. The wise Siddhanātha, who [likewise] had let go of all the elaborations of Śāstric knowledge, looked at me and said …, "My son with excellent understanding, you are [now] worthy to enter this inaccessible Great Krama". With this, being filled with compassion, the Lord made me understand completely the wondrous teaching of the Chummās with the full expanse of the *saṃketapadāni* that is hard to grasp [even] for the greatest of meditators. As a result I suddenly ascended to the great unfettered, eternal domain of sudden enlightenment, in the state of one who is fully awakened. In the same way I shall explain to you fully the unique, most extraordinary, indefinable [knowledge] that I have attained by Siddhanātha's favour in that wondrous reality. You have *wandered to (*conj.*) every Pīṭha[362] constantly established in *Brahman (*conj.*). [Yet] still you have not achieved

[361] *Chummāsaṃketaprakāśa*, ff. 2v8–3r6: *itthaṃ paratараṃ tattvaṃ sākṣātkṛtya mayākramāt* | *tyaktaṃ sarvam aśeṣeṇa śāstrajālaṃ samantataḥ* | 26 *tyaktaśāstraprapañcena siddhanāthena dhīmatā* | *dṛṣṭas tu tatkṣaṇāt tena [……bhā]ṣitaḥ* | 27 *yogyas tvaṃ sanmate putra durgame 'smin mahākrame* | *ity uktvā kṛpayāviṣṭo bodhayām āsa māṃ prabhuḥ* | 28 *kiṃci[c] chummopadeśaṃ tu saṃketapadavistaram* | *durbodhaṃ tu mahāyogipravarāṇāṃ samantataḥ* | 29 *yatas tasmān mahoddāma sāhasaṃ padam acyutaṃ* | *samāruhya haṭhād asmi suprabuddhadaśānvitaḥ* | 30 *ittham apy adbhute tattve siddhanāthaprasādataḥ* | *prāptaṃ *mayā* (conj. : *tvayā* Cod.) *anirdeśyaṃ vikalpaughavilāpakam* | 31 *yad apūrvataraṃ kiṃcit tat te vakṣyāmy aśeṣataḥ* | *bhrānto* (conj. : *bhakto*) *'si sarvapīṭheṣu *brahmaṇy avasthitaḥ* (conj. : *brahmaṇyevasthitaḥ* Cod.) *sadā* | 32 *tvayādyāpi na viśrāntiḥ samyag *āsāditā parā* | *saṃdigdhāṃ matim āśritya kiṃ paryaṭasi putraka* | 33 *yogyas tvaṃ parame jñāne yatas tasmād alaṃ bhava* | *pravakṣyāmi mukhāmnāyaṃ yathā prāptaṃ yathākramam* | 34 *darśanāmnāyamelāpavarjitaṃ satatoditaṃ* | *pūjyapūjakasaṃbandhaprojjhitaṃ paratattvataḥ* | 35 *ekāgramanasonmeṣavimarśena mahāmate* | *rahasyapadavistāraṃ vijñeyaṃ vitataṃ śṛṇu*.

[362] The manuscript reads *bhaktosisarvapīṭheṣu* 'You are devoted to all the Pīṭhas'. I find this suspect, since it is not the Pīṭhas themselves that are the object of devotion but the Goddesses and Yoginīs located in them. I have conjectured *bhrānto 'si sarvapīṭheṣu* 'You have wandered to every Pīṭha', because wandering is the action most appropriate in this context and because immediately after this statement Niṣkriyānanda will be told that there is no need for him to continue

perfect rest. Why continue to roam with confused mind, my disciple? You are now fit for the highest wisdom. So cease. I shall teach you in due order the oral transmission that is beyond of the schools of philosophy, the [Śakta] Āmnāyas, and [even] the Melāpa [doctrine],[363] ever active, in ultimate truth void

to wander. For this wandering in the Pīṭhas, that is to say, from Pīṭha to Pīṭha, see *Tantrāloka* 29.40: *iti saṃketābhijño bhramate pīṭheṣu yadi sa siddhīpsuḥ | acirāl labhate tat tat prāpyaṃ yad yoginivadanāt* 'If knowing these conventions he wanders about the Pīṭhas in quest of Siddhi he soon attains from the lips of the Yoginīs whatever goal he seeks'; and *Timirodghāṭana*, f. 36v3–4: *bahudeśagatā kaści kṣetrapīṭhāni paryaṭe | varṣe dvādaśavarṣ[e vā yogi]nī naiva paśyati | susaṃskṛto 'pi deveśi bahugranthārthapaṇḍitaḥ | bhrame pīṭhopapīṭhāni akṛtārtho nivartate* 'A person may wander to the Kṣetras and Pīṭhas in many lands, [but] in a year or [even] twelve see no* Yoginī (*conj.*). Even though correctly initiated and well-versed in the meaning of many texts he may wander to the Pīṭhas and Upapīṭhas and return without his purpose achieved'. I have not corrected *kaści* to *kaścit*, *paryaṭe* to *paryaṭet*, or *bhrame* to *bhramet* in this passage of the *Timirodghāṭana* because cases in which final *t* is treated as though it were silent for the purpose of Sandhi are not uncommon in the register of Sanskrit evidenced in non-Saiddhāntika scriptural texts, as, for example, in the *Brahmayāmala*, f. 194v1: *śodhaye 'dhvānaṃ* (for *śodhayed adhvānaṃ*; *nyase 'tmānaṃ* (for *nyased ātmānaṃ*.

[363] The Āmnāyas referred to here are the Śākta Āmnāyas of the Four Directions (Pūrvāmnāya, Paścimāmnāya, Dakṣiṇāmnāya, and Uttarāmnāya). The term Melāpa, denoting the highest of the levels of knowledge to be transcended, lying beyond even the Uttarāmnāya (the Kālīkula), denotes the teachings of the Krama [as opposed to those of the oral instructions]. We find the Krama referred to as the Melāpa doctrine in the *Mahānayaprakāśa* (Triv.), 9.63: **melāpadarśane* (corr. : *melāvadarśane* Ed.) *hy atra pratyakṣajñānagocare*. For this hierarchy up to the Krama see the commentary on the Old Kashmiri *Mahānayaprakāśa* on 1.5a (*paryantāna pari paryanti* … **akku* [Cod. : *akka* Ed.] *mahāthu jayi aniketu* 'The unique, unlocated Mahārtha …reigns supreme within the highest limit of the limits'): *paryantavartinām āmnāyānāṃ yaḥ para utkṛṣṭaḥ uttarāmnāyaḥ tato 'pi *pañcatriṃśabhedabhinnād* (*pañca* conj. : *ṣaṭ* Ed.) *yaḥ paryantaḥ prāntavartī navacakrasaṃpradāyaḥ so 'yaṃ mahārthaḥ* 'The Uttarāmnāya, divided into thirty-five elements, is the highest [of the limits, i.e.] the foremost of the Āmnāyas that are at the limit [of knowledge]. The limit beyond even that, located at the very summit, is the Mahārtha, this tradition of [the Krama with] the nine circles [that constitute the phases of worship]'. I have ventured to emend the edition's *ṣaṭtriṃśa-* 'thirty-six' to *pañcatriṃśa-* 'thirty-five' because in the *Devīdvyardhaśatikā* the goddess begins her request for instruction by saying that she has already been taught the system of Kālī worship that has thirty-five divisions (f. 2r3 [v. 8cd]: *pañcatriṃśatibhedena kālibhedaṃ mayā śrutam*) and because Vimalaprabodha presents his *Kālīkulakramārcana* as teaching the same on the basis of the [lost] *Pañcacāmaraśekhara* (f. 1v4): *saṃvīkṣya vidhivaj jñātvā pañcacāmaraśekharam | pañcatriṃśatibhedāḍhyaṃ vakṣye śrīkālikārcanam*. The reading in the *Devīdvyardhaśatikā* MS is *pañcaviṃśati-* rather than *pañcatriṃśati-*. But I have emended it to the latter because it is *pañcatriṃśati-* that is given in this verse as it appears in the same passage in the *Yonigahvara* (f. 2r3 [v. 10cd] and, with a redactional variant, in *Kālikākrama* (f. 179v2 [v. 2ab]: *pañcatriṃśatibhedena kālikulaṃ mayā śrutam*). The corruption *ṣaṭtriṃśa-* of *pañcatriṃśa-* in the Old Kashmiri *Mahānayaprakāśa* is readily explained as an

> of the relation of worshipped and worshipper, just as I myself received it [from Siddhanātha]. Wise one, learn with one-pointed mind by virtue of awareness of the vibrant openness [of your consciousness], the full expanse of the secret [Chummā]padas.

The Chummās with their commentary follow.

*The *Triṃśaccarcārahasya (/Prākṛtatriṃśikā) attributed to the Pīṭheśvarīs*

The *Chummāsaṃketaprakāśa* also contains dispersed within it according to context but without gloss or commentary thirty verses in Old Kashmiri, which it claims to be songs transmitted by the Pīṭheśvarīs [of Uḍḍiyāna] to supplement the instructions in the Chummās. It calls them Kathās (Oral Explanations) or Carcās (Meditations):[364]

> Victory to the miraculous (*ko 'pi*) unborn, ever-manifest glory of the Carcā songs (*gīticarcā*) that have come from the lips of the Pīṭheśvarīs. For it culminates in the non-sequential [ground] through the sequence of worship, instruction, and transmission, leading to the void of unsurpassed awareness, transcending the relation of words and their meanings.[365] This incomparable instruction that has come forth directly from the source now shines in its fullness forever through the supreme collection of one hundred and five [Chummā]padas given here supplemented by the esoteric teaching of the thirty Carcās (*Triṃśaccarcārahasya*). It opens up with full intensity in the awareness of the great [only] through oral transmission.

The title *Triṃśaccarcārahasya* has been adopted for convenience from this passage.[366] However, it is probable that it is this work that is referred to

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unconscious substitution of the much more familiar number of the Śaiva Tattvas.

[364] *Chummāsaṃketaprakāśa*, f. 13r7–10 (vv. 216–219): *pūjāsaṃkrāmakathanakrameṇākrama-[tat]paraḥ | pīṭheśvarīmukhāyātagīticarcāmahodayaḥ |* 217 *ko 'py anuttaracidvyomaprāpakaḥ satatoditaḥ | vācyavācakasaṃbandhanirmukto jayatād ajaḥ |* 218 *pañcādhikaśateneha padaugho yaḥ sthitaḥ paraḥ | triṃśaccarcārahasyena nirbharas tena sarvadā |* 219 *carceyaṃ bhāti nitarāṃ samyaggarbhāgatāsamā | vaktrādvaktrakrameṇoccais satāṃ hṛdi vijṛmbhate*.

[365] Their origin from the Yoginīs of Uḍḍiyāna is also conveyed by the last of the thirty, the *Gītikathā*, f. 13v1–2: **yith āgatu* (conj. : *pīṭhāgatu* Cod.) **pīṭhesari* (em. : *peṭhīsari* Cod.) *vadanā | gītikathā kamukta †esa jha lakku † | anubhaveti nirupamacissadanā | saṃkāmādi*kamā* (conj. : *kurāu* Cod.) *avikampu*. The meaning of the whole verse is not apparent to me. But this much is probable: '…the *Gītikathā* *taught in the Krama (?), came *hither (*conj.*) from the mouths of the Pīṭheśvarīs *after they had experienced [it] (?) from the domain of incomparable consciousness through the process of [worship, instruction,] and transmission'.

[366] It is also that given on the outer cover of the Berlin manuscript of the *Chummāsaṃketaprakāśa*.

by Śiva[svāmin] Upādhyāya I in his *Vijñānabhairavavivṛti* under the title *Prākṛtatriṃśikā* 'The Thirty [Verses] in the Vernacular'. For that is a text on the Krama, since he directs his readers to a commentary on it by Bhaṭṭāraka (*Prākṛtatriṃśikāvivaraṇa*) for its multiple analyses of the Krama's circle of the Multitude (*vṛndacakram*);[367] and there is a Kathā among the thirty in the *Chummāsaṃketaprakāśa* that would accommodate such analysis:[368]

> *Vṛndakathā*:
> Just as in the external world the stars together with the moon and sun shine eternally, so the pure mass of the rays (*raśmivṛndaḥ*) [of the *vṛndacakram*] expands in the domain of the sensationless void of consciousness.

If a manuscript of this work should come to light it will be welcome not only for its subject matter but also for the light it might shed on Old Kashmiri, at present poorly understood.

The Vātūlanāthasūtra and its Commentary

Closely related in content to the Old Kashmiri verses transmitted in the *Chummāsaṃketaprakāśa*, but written in Sanskrit, is the published *Vātūlanāthasūtra*, which has come down to us with a commentary of unknown date attributed to one Anantaśakti in its final colophon,[369] though in the text itself the author avoids stating his name, referring to himself in both the introductory and concluding verses merely as "someone", an authorial convention seen elsewhere in this literature and no doubt intended to express the position that those who articulate the truth of the Krama's sudden enlightenment are like that truth itself devoid of social identity.[370]

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[367] *Vijñānabhairavavivṛti*, p. 68, ll. 11–12: *vṛndacakranirṇayas tu bahudhā bhaṭṭārakakṛtaprākṛtatriṃśikāvivaraṇe vicāryaḥ*.

[368] *Chummāsaṃketaprakāśa*, f. 3v, after v. 41: *bahi yākhiti rāji niccu gagani | tārācayu śaśidinakarayutta | tākhiti aparisacinnabhasadani | *vikasi* (conj. : *vikaci*) *rasmi*vindu* (corr. *bindu* Cod.) *achutta | vṛndakathā* (= Skt. *bahir yathā rājate nityaṃ gagane tārācayaḥ śaśidinakarayutaḥ tathā asparśacinnabhaḥsadane vikasati raśmivṛndo nirmalaḥ*).

[369] *Vātūlanāthasūtravṛtti*, p. 19, ll. 8–9: *samāpteyaṃ śrīmadvātūlanāthasūtravṛttiḥ. kṛtiḥ śrīmadanantaśaktipādānām*. The commentary by an Anantaśakti on the *Bahurūpagarbhastotra* is probably not by the author of the *Vātūlanāthasūtravṛtti*. Its phraseology and style are quite different and there is only one place at which it offers an interpretation in terms of the Krama (f. 13r, glossing *tridaśapūjyāya*: *śrīmaddarśane dvādaśottīrṇadevīdhāmarūpatrayodaśaparamarūpatvena pūjya ity arthaḥ* 'The meaning of *tridaśapūjya-* in *tridaśapūjyāya* is 'to be worshipped as the highest, as the thirteenth, which is the ground of the Goddess beyond the twelve taught in the venerable [Krama] doctrine').

[370] *Vātūlanāthasūtravṛtti*, p. 1., v. 6: *yoginīvaktrasaṃbhūtasūtrāṇāṃ vṛttir uttamā | kenāpi kriyate samyak paratattvopabṛṃhitā* '"Someone" will [now] write an excellent commentary

> Thus "someone" who is free of the error of [believing in] the differentiation [manifest] in the expansion that is incarnate existence has correctly articulated the matchless, ultimate secret that transcends all words and concepts, through the process of the flashing forth of the sudden realization of the unconditioned ultimate Being as the result of the expansion of consciousness.[371]

Each of its thirteen Sūtras conveys an esoteric teaching, which like the Old Kashmiri verses in the *Chummāsaṃketaprakāśa* is called indifferently a Kathā or Carcā; and all of these are among those covered in that text. Anantaśakti appears to knows the work of Niṣkriyānandanātha. For commenting on the third Sūtra, which teaches the instruction on the manuscript with its two boards (*pustakakathā*), he says that he will explain the means of attaining the ultimate that the venerable Gandhamādanasiddha taught Niṣkriyānandanātha by showing him the manuscript in his hand when he chose to favour him;[372] and he does so in terms that follow closely and further explain the details of the symbolism of the book and the separating of its boards set out in the verses of the *Chummāsaṃketaprakāśa*.[373] That work refers to the Siddha who taught Niṣkriyānandanātha simply as Siddhanātha 'The Siddha Lord', but the name Gandhamādana reported by Anantaśakti may well have been taken from the absent opening verses of that work. As for the revelation of the *Vātūlanāthasūtra*, Anantaśakti at the beginning of his commentary relates that the Pīṭheśvarīs first taught Vātūlanātha the Chummās (*chummāpadaughaḥ*) and then these Sūtras.[374]

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nourished by the highest reality on the Sūtras that have come forth from the lips of the Yoginīs'; p. 19, ll. 4–7: *iti paramarahasyaṃ vāgvikalpaughamuktaṃ bhavavibhavavibhāgabhrāntimuktena samyak | kṛtam anupamam uccaiḥ kenacic cidvikāsād akalitaparasattāsāhasollāsavṛttyā.*

[371] We see the same explicit anonymity in the *Bhāvopahārastotra* attributed to Cakrapāṇinātha by Ramyadeva (see here footnote 300 on p. 323: *kaś cit*), and in the anonymous *Kramavilāsastotra* (last verse: *ittham etad adhigamya kenacit*).

[372] *Vātūlanāthasūtravṛtti*, p. 4, ll. 4–6: *śrīmanniṣkriyānandanāthānugrahasamaye śrīmadgandhamādanasiddhapādair akṛtakapustakadarśanena yā parapade prāptir upadiṣṭā saiva vitatya nirūpyate* 'I shall explain at length the attainment of the highest level that the venerable Gandhamādanasiddha taught by showing the manuscript of truth on the occasion of his favouring the venerable Niṣkriyānandanātha'.

[373] Compare *Vātūlanāthasūtravṛtti*, p. 4, ll. 7–20 with *Chummāsaṃketaprakāśa*, vv. 16c–24 given above in footnote 360 on p. 340.

[374] *Vātūlanāthasūtravṛtti*, p. 2, ll. 1–7: *iha kila ṣaḍdarśanacaturāmnāyādimelāpaparyantasamastadarśanottīrṇam akathyam api śrīmadvātūlanāthasya pīṭheśvaryaś *chummāpadaugham* (em. : *pīṭheśvarya ucchuṣmapādaugham* Ed.) *uktvā tad anu paramarahasyopabṛṃhitatrayodaśakathāsākṣātkāradṛśā kramākramāstināstitathyātathyabhedābhedasavikalpanirvikalpabhavanirvāṇakalaṅkojjhitaṃ kim apy anavakāśaṃ paraṃ tattvaṃ sūtramukhenādiśanti*. I have emended the edition's *pīṭheśvarya ucchuṣmapādaugham* to *pīṭheśvaryaś chummāpadaugham* because

> Here, according to tradition (*kila*), the Pīṭheśvarīs first taught the venerable Vātūlanātha the collection of the Chummāpadas, though [in truth its teaching] cannot be taught, being beyond all doctrines, beginning with the six Darśanas[375] and the four [Śākta] Āmnāyas and ending with the Melāpa, and then taught [him] through the Sūtras the extraordinary, highest reality into which nothing can enter, which is free of the stain of [the dualities of] sequence and simultaneity, existence and non-existence, the real and the unreal, plurality and unity, the conceptual and the non-conceptual, existence in the world and liberation, doing so by directly revealing to his experience the thirteen Kathās nourished by the ultimate secret.

At the end of his commentary he adds the detail that they revealed the oral tradition to Vātūlanātha in the Sūtras at the time of their Great Assembly (*mahāmelāpaḥ*), an allusion to their gathering in the Karavīra cremation ground of Uḍḍiyāna for the worship of the Goddess, as taught at the beginning of the *Kālīkulakramasadbhāva*.[376]

The Kaulasūtra of Bhaṭṭaśrī Śitikaṇṭha

Also connected with the Kashmirian Krama's tradition of oral instruction is a collection of Sūtras composed by a certain Guru Bhaṭṭaśrī-Śitikaṇṭha. I have seen this only in a manuscript that prefaces the text with a remark by the copyist that his exemplar is fragmentary and that therefore what he is providing is only some of the Sūtras of this work, which is divided into two sections, the *Kaulasūtra* and the *Kulasūtra*.[377] Among them are five that are versions of

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ucchuṣmapāda could only be a person ('the venerable Ucchuṣma'), which would be nonsensical here, because the terms *chummāpada-* and *padaugha-* (= *chummāpadaugha-*) are seen in the *Chummāsaṃketaprakāśa*, and because the result is contextually appropriate.

[375] I surmise that the six Darśanas intended here are the Bauddha, Jaina, Vaidika, Vaiṣṇava, Saura, and Śaiva religious paths.

[376] *Vātūlanāthasūtravṛtti* pp. 18, l. 17–19, l. 2: *ṣaḍdarśanacaturāmnāyamelāpa*⟨ …⟩ **trayodaśakathāsākṣātkāropadeśabhaṅgyānuttarapadādvayatayā* (*trayodaśakathā* em. : *kathātrayodaśakathā* Ed.) *kasyacid avadhūtasya pīṭheśvarībhir mahāmelāpasamaye sūtropanibaddho vaktrāmnāyaḥ prakāśitaḥ* 'The oral teaching ⟨*that is beyond (?)⟩ the six Darśanas, the four Śākta traditions, and the Melāpa, was put into Sūtra form and revealed in oneness with the unsurpassed goal by the Pīṭheśvarīs at the time of the Great Assembly to a certain sage who had transcended all mundane conventions (*avadhūtasya*) by teaching him to experience directly the [truth of the] thirteeen Kathās'.

[377] *Kaulasūtra*, f. 1v1–2: *oṃ svasti prajābhyaḥ. oṃ śrīśāradā*devyai* (corr. : *dīvyai* Cod.). *atha kaulasūtrāntargatāni kānicit sūtrāṇi likhyante ādarśachinnabhinnatvāt*. The authorship is reported at the end of the manuscript, f. 5v6: *kṛtir gurubhaṭṭaśrīśitikaṇṭhasyeti śubham*.

Kathās or Chummās or the exegesis of these found in the *Vātūlanāthasūtra* and the *Chummāsaṃketaprakāśa*:

> The teaching concerning the manuscript is that of opening the two boards.[378]
>
> Bhairava stands between the full-bodied and emaciated [forms of the] Goddess.[379]
>
> The four goddesses Emission[, Stasis, Withdrawal,] and [the Nameless], who are Hunger[, thirst, envy, and thought], constantly delight their Lord as though with sanguinary sacrifice by offering up themselves to him.[380]

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[378] *Kaulasūtra*, f. 1v7: *paṭṭakodghāṭanaṃ pustakopadeśaḥ*; cf. *Vātūlanāthasūtra* 3: *ubhayapaṭṭodghaṭṭanān mahāśūnyatāpraveśaḥ*; *Chummāsaṃketaprakāśa*, f. 2v6–7, v. 22: *bhittvaitat paṭṭakayugaṃ ma[dhy]e paśya vimarśataḥ* | *mahāśūnyātiśūnyaṃ tu kṣarākṣaravivarjitam*; the Manuscript Kathā (*pustakakathā*) *ibid.*, f. 3r6–7: …*kulakaulikapuṭayugmu *vidāra* (em. : *vicāra* Cod.) | …*paśu majji śūnyata avikāra* '…Break apart the two boards that are the Kula and the Kaulika …behold the unchanging void between [them]'.

[379] *Kaulasūtra*, f. 1v8: *pūrṇakṛśāmadhyago bhairavaḥ*. Cf. *Chummāsaṃketaprakāśa*, f. 7v5, v. 105 (on Chummā 40 [f. 7v4–5]: *pūrṇa kisī* '[She is] full-bodied [and] emaciated'): *itthaṃ pūrṇasvarūpāpi mahāgrāsaikaghasmarā* | *sarvottīrṇaviyadvṛttim atyajantī kṛśā smṛtā* 'In this way she is full[-bodied] by nature. But being altogether gluttonous in her Great Devouring she is nonetheless said to be emaciated, since [even as she devours all things] she never surrenders her mode of existence as the all-transcending void'; and f. 2v3–6 (vv. 18c–21): *ūrdhvapaṭṭakarūpas tu prā[ṇa]ḥ sap[ta]śikhaḥ smṛtaḥ* | 19 *adhaḥsthapaṭṭako yas tu saṃsthito 'pānavigrahaḥ* | *pravāhadvayarūpo 'haṃ saṃsthito dvija tattvataḥ* | 20 *kulakaulakramonmeṣarūpau dvau pa[ṭṭa]kau smṛtau* | *udriktaśāntavisphārasamāveśamayau tv imau* | 21 *ūrdhvasthā pūrṇavibhavā śaktir unmeṣadharmiṇī* | *adhaḥsthā kṛśadeheyaṃ grāsinī śaktir aiśvarī* 'The outgoing breath with its seven flames is the upper board and the lower board is the ingoing. In reality, O brahmin, I am present as both these flows. The two boards represent the manifestation of the Kula and Kaula phases. They are the [two] states of immersion, that in which the extroversion of consciousness is active and that in which it has ceased. Above [as the upper board] is the fully-expanded Power, whose nature is extroversion. Below is the devouring Śakti of the Lord, her body emaciated'. The Sūtra also alludes to the practice taught in *Netra* 18.120 of installing a Bhairava flanked by a full-bodied and an emaciated Śakti to mark the site of a cremation; see Sanderson 2005b, p. 267, footnote 92.

[380] *Kaulasūtra*, f. 2r7–8: *prīṇayanti catasraḥ sṛṣṭidevīprabhṛtayaḥ kṣudhādyā *balibhir iva* (conj. : *iva balibhiḥ* Cod.) **patiṃ satataṃ* (conj. : *patisaṃtataḥ* Cod.) *svātmasamarpaṇena*; cf. *Vātūlanāthasūtra* 9: *devīcatuṣṭayollāsena sadaiva svaviśrāntyavasthitiḥ*; Anantaśakti's commentary: *devīcatuṣṭayaṃ kṣuttṛḍīrṣyāmananākhyam*; the Kathā of the Four Goddesses (*devīcatuṣṭayakathā*) in *Chummāsaṃketaprakāśa*, f. 7r7–8: *manana īśa tiśa kṣuta āgūriti paramākāśapadi thitikitti* | *vittiprapañcu *akame* (conj. : *akāme* Cod.) *pūriti bhuji nira⟨va⟩kāśu avitti* 'Thought, envy, thirst, and hunger, longing to be established in the domain of the highest void, having simultaneously satisfied themselves with all the diverse manifestations of cognition, relish the lacuna-less [consciousness] beyond cognition'; *Rājikā* qu. in the commentary on the Old Kashmiri *Mahānayaprakāśa*, p. 55, ll. 5–8: *bhuktvā viśvam aśeṣaṃ tṛptiṃ na yadā gataḥ kuleśānaḥ* |

> The essence of the self is made manifest by removing the three shrouds.[381]

> When the twelve rays unite without force the confidence of their leader dissolves. [This] one [among the twelve therefore] disappears. So there is a breaking of the circle caused by a deficiency in [their] discipline.[382]

And there are others that are Kathā-like and bear on the Krama but have no direct parallels in those works:

> There is but one Guru, the uninterrupted transmission of the rays [of enlightened consciousness] that have come to us through the initiatory lineage (*ovalliḥ*).[383]

> The [Goddess] that rules the wheels [of powers] emerges there from within, intoxicated by drinking the juice of the six elements [of the body].[384]

> The one true oral instruction is the revelation of the highest reality.[385]

> The teaching of the Krama is the sequence of states, namely that consciousness, flowing eternal like a river, manifests four states [in every cognition]: Emission, [Stasis, Withdrawal] and [the Nameless].[386]

In two introductory verses the author first praises the sage Durvāsas as the incarnation of Rudra (*rudrāvatāraḥ*) and as the guiding light of this tradition,

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devyā tadā svadehaś carur atra niveditaḥ kulādhipateḥ.

[381] *Kaulasūtra*, f. 3r7: *kañcukatritayāpavarjanāt svarūpāviṣkāraḥ*; cf. *Vātūlanāthasūtra* 6: *trikañcukaparityāgān nirākhyapadāvasthitiḥ*; *Chummāsaṃketaprakāśa*, f. 6r6: *bhūtabhāvanakañcukavilaye apāri anākhya*gagani* (em. : *gamani* Cod.) *viśśāmu*) 'When the shrouds of the gross elements, subtle elements, and negation have dissolved there is rest in the limitless void of the Nameless'.

[382] *Kaulasūtra*, f. 3v1–2: *dvādaśamarīcīnāṃ priyamelāpe nāyakāvaṣṭambhavicyutir ekāpāyāt samayalopajā cakrakhaṇḍanā*; cf. the *Chummāsaṃketaprakāśa*'s Kathā of the Incomplete Circle (*khaṇḍacakrakathā*), f. 5v1–2: *pasari *pasari* (conj. : *pamari* Cod.) *militi *ciccakkasa* (conj. : *miścakkasa* Cod.) *mañja bhuñjiti niju upabhogu | ye pallaṭia saṃvitti athakka †ma ya†thijyo khaṇḍamarīci*mahogu* (conj. : *sahogu* Cod.) 'The Mahaugha of the rays of the Khaṇḍa[cakra] comes about when after uniting within the cycle of consciousness in each flow [of cognition] and relishing their respective fields of experience they revert and so eliminate one †…†[of their number]'.

[383] *Kaulasūtra*, f. 1v4 (the first Sūtra): *avicchinnam ovallikramāyātamarīcisaṃkrāmaṇam evaiko guruḥ*.

[384] *Kaulasūtra*, f. 1v7–8, following on the instruction on the opening of the boards of the manuscript: *tatra ṣaḍdhāturasapānamattāntaś cakreśvarī vijṛmbhate*.

[385] *Kaulasūtra*, f. 2v8: *paratattvasākṣātkāra evaikā vāstavī kathā*.

[386] *Kaulasūtra*, f. 3v8–9: *cito nadīvat pravāhanityāyāś catasraḥ sṛṣṭyādidaśā iti daśākramaḥ kramārthaḥ*.

and then explains that he is putting into Sūtra form both the Kaula teaching composed by Mauninātha and other disciples of Śrīnātha and the Kula teaching that was first revealed to Durvāsas as Niṣkriya (Niṣkriyānandanātha) and then studied and propagated by Unmattanātha.[387] The Kula teaching is no doubt that of the *Chummāsaṃketaprakāśa* and the *Vātūlanāthasūtra*. The former does indeed make Niṣkriyānandanātha an incarnation of sage Durvāsas,[388] as does the **Uttaragharāmnāya*, since it refers to Niṣkriyānandanātha as Krodharāja 'the King of Wrath'[389] and Durvāsas' irascible nature is the salient characteristic of his mythology.[390] Moreover, it is probable that Bhaṭṭaśrī-Śitikaṇṭha's Unmattanātha is none other than Vātūlanātha under a synonym, both *unmatta-* and *vātūla-* meaning 'mad'. The identity of the Kaula teaching of Mauninātha and the other disciples of Śrīnātha is unknown to me. But it too is evidently in the same tradition of oral instruction, since the author refers to it as 'beyond the six philosophical systems', a distinctive characterization that is also seen in the *Chummāsaṃketaprakāśa* and the commentary on the *Vātūlanāthasūtra*.[391] Since the name Mauninātha means 'the Silent Nātha' it is possible that Bhaṭṭaśrī Śitikaṇṭha is referring to the Siddhanātha who initiated Niṣkriyānandanātha according to the frame-story of the *Chummāsaṃketaprakāśa*. For the salient feature of the latter's account of that initiation is that Siddhanātha remained silent when questioned.

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[387] *Kaulasūtra* 1v2–4: OṂ *ṣaḍdarśanātirikte 'rthe sūtradhārabhuvaṃ śritaḥ | rudrāvatāro durvāsāḥ stūyate 'sparśakāmasūḥ | *yac chrīnāthamukhāravindamadhupāḥ* (*yac chrī* em. : *yaś śrī* Cod.) *śrīmaunināthādayaḥ ṣaḍdarśanyatiśāyiśāsanavaraṃ saṃbadhnire kaulikam | yad durvāsasi niṣkriye prathitam apy unmattanāthaḥ kulaṃ saṃcarcy*āvir abhāvayat* (conj. : + + *vabhāvayat* Cod.) *tad ubhayaṃ sūtrair mayā badhyate*.

[388] *Chummāsaṃketaprakāśa*, f. 13v5–6, vv. 222c–223: *yaḥ sa eva purāhaṃ tu durvāsā nāma viśrutaḥ | yaḥ prāk prāptamahājñānaḥ siddhanāthaprasādataḥ | sa evāhaṃ tu saṃjāto niṣkriyo vigataspṛhaḥ*.

[389] See above, footnote 63 on p. 252.

[390] E.g. *Jayadrathayāmala*, *Ṣaṭka* 2, f. 2r–v: *rudrāṃśu⟨ḥ⟩ krodhanas tīkṣṇo durvāsā⟨ḥ⟩ siddhapūjitaḥ*; *Mahābhārata* 7.10.9ab: *durvāsā nāma viprarṣis tathā paramakopanaḥ*; 15.38.2: *tapasvī kopano vipro durvāsā nāma*. In Śākta Śaiva texts he is commonly referred to as Krodhamuni; see, e.g. *Uttarāmnāyayajñakrama* f. 18v: HRĪṂ ŚRĪṂ KHPHREṂ VĪRANĀTHĀYA SVĀHĀ HRĪṂ ŚRĪṂ KHPHREṂ DAŚAKAṆṬHĀYA 2 HRĪṂ ŚRĪṂ KHPHREṂ KRODHAMUNINĀTHĀ⟨YA⟩ 2; *Manthānabhairava*, *Siddhakhaṇḍa*, f. 467v3: *iti krodhamuniviracitaṃ mahādaṇḍakaṃ samāptam*; Vidyānanda, *Nityāṣoḍaśikārṇavārtharatnāvalī*, p. 222, l. 18–19: *śrīmatkrodhamunibhaṭṭāraka iti śrīmaddurvāsasa evābhidhānam*.

[391] *Chummāsaṃketaprakāśa*, f. 3r, 32c–33b: *pravakṣyāmi mukhāmnāyaṃ yathā prāptaṃ yathākramam | darśanāmnāyamelāpavarjitaṃ satatoditaṃ*; *Vātūlanāthasūtravṛtti*, p. 2, ll. 1–7: *ṣaḍdarśanacaturāmnāyādimelāpaparyantasamastadarśanottīrṇam*.

The dates of the oral instruction texts

The dates of these texts are obscure. The author of the commentary on the Old Kashmiri *Mahānayaprakāśa* quotes a passage with Krama content from a *Kulasūtra*,[392] and this is probably the work of Bhaṭṭaśrī-Śitikaṇṭha.[393] For though the Sūtra quoted does not appear in the text as known to me, that text is incomplete and the Sūtra is similar in style and content to others therein.[394]

As for the dates of the texts on the Chummās and the Kathās, they themselves contain no quotations and the only quotations of them known to me are of the *Chummāsaṃketaprakāśa* in the *Vijñānabhairavavivṛti* of Śiva[svāmin] Upādhyāya I and the *Gāyatrīmantravivaraṇa* of Śiva[svāmin] Upādhyāya II. These are very late works. The former was written during the period 1754–1763, while Sukhajīvana was the Pathans' governor of Kashmir,[395] and the latter during the period 1819–1839, while Kashmir was under the rule of Raṇjit Singh of Lahore.[396]

[392] Old Kashmiri *Mahānayaprakāśa*, p. 60, ll. 7–9: *kulapīṭhakṣetrādivarṇapañcapiṇḍapraṇavavyapadeśyam akhilābhāsakarūpāyā ahaṃbhāvābhimatasaṃvidaḥ samāśrayabhūtam ātmāyatanaṃ śarīram* 'The body, termed *kulam*, the Pīṭha, the holy site, the first letter (A), the Pañcapiṇḍa (KHPHREṂ), and Praṇava (OṂ), is the temple of the self, being the support of the awareness, identified with I-consciousness, whose nature is that it manifests all [that appears to it]'. For the Krama's correlation of the body with A, KHPHREṂ, and OṂ see Old Kashmiri *Mahānayaprakāśa* 2.5–6, 4.2, and the commentary on 5.1; also *Mahānayaprakāśa* (Triv.) 9.64.

[393] I see no reason to identify Bhaṭṭaśrī-Śitikaṇṭha with the author of the Old Kashmiri *Mahānayaprakāśa*. RASTOGI (1979, p. 220–221) takes this identity for granted, guided, it seems, by nothing more than their sharing a personal name. But this proves nothing. Moreover, when the author of the commentary on *Mahānayaprakāśa* has cited the *Kulasūtra* he has not attributed it, as we would expect him to do in accordance with convention if the author on whom he is commenting or he himself had written it, using such expressions as *yad uktam anenaiva* and *yad uktaṃ mayaiva*.

[394] Cf., e.g., *Kaulasūtra*, f. 2v7–8: *āmukhāvabhāsamānam akhilam ahaṃbhāvāspadaṃ vicāryamāṇaṃ na kiṃcid apy ahaṃbhāvaviṣayaḥ* 'No locus of I-consciousness presented to [consciousness] remains, when contemplated, the object of that I-consciousness'; f. 5v1: *īdṛgdevatādhāre kule cāmuṃḍāyatanaṃ mukhaṃ* 'In this body (*kule*) that is the abode of such deities, the mouth is the temple of Cāmuṇḍā'.

[395] See footnote 652 on p. 423.

[396] See footnote 653 on p. 423. The *Chummāsaṃketaprakāśa* is quoted but not named in the *Vijñānabhairavavivṛti*, p. 67, ll. 20–23: *niṣkriyānandanāthas tu karāṅkiṇyā iti paṭhati yathā: karās trayodaśākārāḥ …* (= vv. 99–100, except that the quotation has *nirālambaṃ paraṃ varam* where the MS gives *nirālambaṃ nirāmayam* [100d]). Śivasvāmin Upādhyāya II quotes the work by name in his *Gāyatrīmantravivaraṇa*, f. 17v: *yat kiṃcid vāgrūpaṃ kathāmātraṃ saiva gāyatrī. vannavihīna niruttaru *khassaru* (em. : *khasmaraṇa* Cod.) *jagasa mūlapakiti gāyatra* | **repha-*

The Old Kashmiri Chummās and verse Kathās are also of unknown date. Their language alone, as we have seen, does not imply that they were composed long after the major works of Kashmirian exegesis; nor does the absence of quotations before the eighteenth century imply that they and the *-saṃketaprakāśa* were composed close to that time, since we have an insufficient body of works from the preceding centuries in which absence of evidence might amount to evidence of absence.[397] We can discern at least that their tradition is older than the author of the Trivandrum *Mahānayaprakāśa*, since its unknown author reports that he or possibly another had explained the Chummās (*saṃketāḥ*) in another work. It is conceivable that the sets of these known to him were distinct from those that have survived. However, the one example that he cites is indeed found in the collection given by Niṣkriyānandanātha. For he refers to the Chummās as '*dṛṣṭanaṣṭa-* and others' (*dṛṣṭanaṣṭādi-*),[398] and this is evidently the aphorism that appears as the last of the hundred and five in the *Chummāsaṃketaprakāśa* in the form *diṭṭo niṭṭo* (Skt. *dṛṣṭaṃ naṣṭam*),[399] which Niṣkriyānanda explains as meaning 'As soon as [the differentiated world] is perceived it disappears':[400] Moreover, the same aphorism is surely alluded to in a verse from a hymn by a certain Rāma quoted by Rājānaka Rāma in his *Spandavivṛti* and, in a Krama context, by Abhinavagupta's pupil Kṣemarāja in his *Pratyabhijñāhṛdaya*:[401]

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takārahakāravikassaru (*repha* em. : *reka* Cod. • *vikassaru* em. : *vikasmaru* Cod.) *vannacitra ciñceya vicitra iti chummāsaṃketaprakāśe* (Skt.: *varṇavihīno niruttaraḥ khasvaro jagato mūlaprakṛtir gāyatrī. rephatakārahakāravikasvaro varṇacitra* *…[?] *vicitraḥ*). The Old Kashmiri verse is Kathā 21 (*Chummāsaṃketaprakāśa*, f. 8v).

[397] Rastogi (1979, pp. 224–225) assigns Bhaṭṭāraka, Anantaśakti, and, by implication, Niṣkriyānandanātha to the period a.d. 1700–1750. His reasoning, as far as one can detect it, is spurious. It appears to be that the works of Niṣkriyānandanātha and Bhaṭṭāraka must be of late origin because only Śivopādhyāya has mentioned them, and that Anantaśakti must belong to the same period because his and Niṣkriyānandanātha's works have similar contents. The precision of the period assigned is reached by substracting 25 years (one generation) from the date of Śivopādhyāya.

[398] *Mahānayaprakāśa* (Triv.) 1.34abc: *dṛṣṭanaṣṭādisaṃketakathāmātrasya marma yat* | *tat prapañcitam anyatra*; 1.21cd: **dṛṣṭanaṣṭādisaṃketakathāmātrāt prakāśate* (*dṛṣṭanaṣṭādi* em. : *dṛṣṭādṛṣṭādi* Ed. • *mātrāt prakāśate* conj. : *mātrātra kāśate* Ed.).

[399] *Chummāsaṃketaprakāśa*, f. 13r6: *diṭṭo naṭṭo* (em. : *dibbo nibbo* Cod.). The reading of the manuscript is meaningless. The emendation proposed follows Niṣkriyānandanātha's explanation in vv. 214–215b, for which see p. 337.

[400] For his gloss on this Chummā see p. 337.

[401] *Spandavivṛti*, p. 135 (*yad uktaṃ stotre*:) and *Pratyabhijñāhṛdaya* on 11, p. 25: (*yathoktaṃ śrīrāmeṇa:*) *samādhivajreṇāpy anyair abhedyo bhedabhūdharaḥ* | *parāmṛṣṭaś ca naṣṭaś ca tvadbhaktibalaśālibhiḥ*.

> The mountain of differentiated reality that others have not split even with the thunderbolt of Yogic trance disappears as soon as it is perceived by those empowered by devotion to you.

Since Rājānaka Rāma was a pupil of Utpaladeva,[402] this indicates a posterior limit for some form at least of this aphoristic tradition around the middle of the tenth century.

Abhinavagupta's works on the Krama

Abhinavagupta composed a commentary (*-vivṛti*) entitled *Kramakeli* on Eraka's *Kramastotra*. No manuscript of this has come to light, in spite of claims that one exists or existed in a private collection in Srinagar.[403] At present we have access only to a few quotations. The longest of these, given by Jayaratha in his *Tantrālokaviveka*,[404] is the source of the information given above that Śivānandanātha (Jñānanetranātha) transmitted his teaching to Keyūravatī, Madanikā, and Kalyāṇikā, that these jointly initiated Govindarāja, Bhānuka, and Eraka, and that the last was the author of the *Kramastotra* on which he is commenting. It also tells us that unlike Eraka, Govindarāja and Bhānuka abjured the

[402] *Spandavivṛti*, p. 169, ll. 5–7: *sadvidyāsarasīvibhūṣaṇavarasphārotpaloccāśayaprotsarpatparipakvabodhamadhupenedaṃ mayāgāyi yat | rāmeṇānupamapramodamadhuraṃ baddhāvadhānasya tac chrotuḥ kasya na cetanasya tanute viśrāntim antaḥ parām* 'I, Rāma have sung this [song] sweet with incomparable joy after drinking the nectar of the mature understanding that flows forth from the exalted mind of Utpala, that emanation [of enlightened consciousness] that is the finest pearl in the ocean of Śiva's wisdom. On what conscious being who hears it with fixed attention will it not bestow the ultimate inner rest?'. I have translated *-paripakvabodhamadhupena* here as 'after drinking the nectar of the mature understanding'; but the word *madhupaḥ* 'nectar-drinker' is established by convention in the meaning 'bee'. This undermines the possibility that the author wishes only to tell us that he has studied the works of Utpala rather than sat at his feet; for the metaphor of the pupil as a bee drinking the nectar of his teacher's knowledge is too common for this choice of words to have been apt if the author were not Utpala's direct disciple. The final colophon too asserts this pupilage.

[403] See Rastogi 1979, p. 164, footnote 2, reporting that in 1963 Paṇḍit Dīnanāth Yach told him that a manuscript of the *Kramakeli* was in the possession of Somnāth Rāzdān of Purshyar, Habba Kadal, Srinagar, but that the latter declined even to show it.

[404] *Tantrālokaviveka* on 4.173ab, vol. 3, pp. 192, l. 4–193, l. 11, following the words *yad uktaṃ tatraivānena yathā*. For this passage and a translation see footnotes 131 on p. 273, 133 on p. 274, and 405 on p. 353. Other citations or reports of its contents: *Parātrīśikāvivaraṇa* p. 267, l. 5 (Ed. p. 236, ll. 13–14); Kṣemarāja, *Śivastotrāvalīvivṛti*, p. 159, ll. 16–18; *Tantrālokaviveka* on 4.149, vol. 3, p. 162, ll. 6–7; and *Mahārthamañjarīparimala* pp. 100, l. 26–101, l. 7; p. 122, l. 22; p. 150, ll. 10–13; and p. 183, ll. 19–20.

quest for supernatural powers, devoting the rest of their lives to the instruction of disciples, that Govindarāja initiated a guru called Somānanda, who is evidently other than the famous author of the *Śivadṛṣṭi*, and that Bhānuka was the source of a lineage which passing through Ujjaṭa, Udbhaṭa, and a number of other unnamed teachers bestowed initiation on Abhinavagupta himself.[405]

Although little of this work has survived one striking feature of it emerges from Jayaratha's commentary on the *Tantrāloka*. The *Kramastotra* taught that there were thirteen Kālīs in the phase of the Nameless, and this is in accordance with what we see in the *Kālīkulapañcaśataka*, the *Kālikāstotra* of Jñānanetranātha, and the three texts with the title *Mahānayaprakāśa*, indeed in all the works considered here except the *Kālīkulakramasadbhāva*, which stands apart by teaching the worship of seventeen Kālīs in this phase.[406] Yet Abhinavagupta presents a text of the *Kramastotra* that teaches only twelve, lacking Sukālī between Yamakālī (the fifth) and Mṛtyukālī (the seventh). This revision,

[405] *Tantrālokaviveka* on 4.173ab, vol. 3, pp. 192, l. 10–193, l. 1: *tatrādyaḥ prāptopadeśa evaivaṃ manasy akārṣīd etāvaty adhigate kim idānīṃ kṛtyam astīti. itthaṃ ca niṣṭhitamanā yāvajjīvam upanatabhogātivāhanamātravyāpāra etadvijñānopadeśapātra*śiṣyopadeśapravaṇaḥ* (*śiṣyopadeśa* em. : *śiṣṭopadeśa* Ed.) *śarīrāntaṃ pratyaikṣiṣṭa. sa cedaṃ rahasyaṃ śrīsomānandābhidhānāya gurave saṃcārayāṃ babhūva. dvitīyo 'py evam āsta. tasyaiva caiṣā *śrīmadujjaṭodbhaṭādinānāguruparipāṭīsaṃtatir* (*ujjaṭodbhaṭādi* conj. : *ujjaṭodbhaṭṭādi* Ed.) *yatprasādāsāditamahimabhir asmābhir etat pradarśitam* 'Of these [three disciples] the first[, Govindarāja,] realized that now that he had gained all this knowledge nothing remained for him to achieve, and having decided this he waited for death, engaging in such action as was necessary to carry to completion the experience already in train [as the fruition of his past actions], and devoting himself to instructing such disciples as were fit to be taught this knowledge. He transmitted this esoteric teaching to a Guru called Somānanda. The second[, Bhānuka,] passed his time in the same way. It is from him that has descended this line of a number of successive Gurus beginning with Ujjaṭa and Udbhaṭa, by the grace of which I have been exalted [by initiation] and have given this explanation'. The rest of this quotation from the *Kramakeli* is given here in footnotes 131 on p. 273 and 133 on p. 274. It is unlikely that the Somānanda mentioned in this passage is the famous Guru of Utpaladeva and author of the *Śivadṛṣṭi*, since if it were the form in which he refers to him would have been more reverential. For whenever Abhinavagupta mentions him in his other prose works he affixes the respectful *-pādāḥ* to his name.

[406] *Tantrālokaviveka*, vol. 3, p. 190, ll. 4–6: …*śrīkramasadbhāvabhaṭṭārake anākhyacakre saptadaśa devyaḥ pūjyatvenoktāḥ*. The seventeen are Sṛṣṭikālī, Sthitikālī, Saṃhārakālī, Raktakālī, Sukālī, Yamakālī, Mṛtyukālī, Bhadrakālī, Paramārkakālī, Mārtaṇḍakālī, Kālāgnirudrakālī, Mahākālakālī, **Kṛṣakālī, Sarvāntakālī, Śivakālī, Krodhakālī**, and Mahābhairavaghoracaṇḍagrasanakālī. This comprises the thirteen Kālīs that make up the circle of the Nameless in the *Kālīkulapañcaśataka* with the addition of the four Kālīs given here in bold characters. See SANDERSON forthcoming *a* for the textual evidence for these names.

whose metaphysical significance has been considered above,[407] was achieved, by Abhinavagupta or a predecessor, by expunging the reading *sukālīm* in the verse devoted to that Kālī and putting *bhavānīm* in its place, a non-specific name of the Goddess that enabled the verse to be read as a second on Yamakālī, the deity who immediately precedes Sukālī.

To the objection that this disrupts the pattern of the hymn, which devotes only one verse to each Kālī, Jayaratha responds that there is no such pattern, since there is also a second verse devoted to Kālāgnirudrakālī. To the rejoinder that the verse in question is an interpolation, no doubt intended to undermine the argument from pattern, Jayaratha replies that he has seen it in Hrasvanātha's autograph of his commentary on the hymn and, as though conscious that this alone is insufficient to disprove the claim that it is an interpolation, adds that there are so many variants in the text of the hymn found in the various commentaries on it, affecting not only individual words throughout the text but also the order of verses, that the opponent has no reason other than prejudice (*pradveṣaḥ*) to reject Abhinavagupta's *bhavānīm*. He ends his tendentious argument by insisting that it is impossible to adjudicate between the readings *sukālīm* and *bhavānīm* on purely textual grounds and that the decision to prefer the latter has therefore to be based on his inherited tradition of instruction (*gurūpadeśaḥ*).

This last argument refers back to the claim that the tradition of twelve was that received by the three disciples Govindarāja, Bhānuka, and Eraka. To the objection that Jñānanetranātha himself taught that there were thirteen in his *Kālikāstotra* and that therefore this tradition can only be an unwarranted deviation in a branch of his spiritual descendants, Jayaratha replies that in fact Jñānanetranātha taught both twelve and thirteen in that work, so that both traditions are valid options. That argument is empty, since the verse on the twelve states that the Goddess manifests twelve divisions while remaining grounded in her own nature, which is evidently the thirteenth.[408] Since Jayaratha does not cite any textual evidence that the tradition of twelve occurs earlier in this line of transmission—he would surely have done so if any were available, since that would greatly have strengthened his position as Abhinavagupta's defender—one is bound to suspect that all this is special pleading to justify a major innovation. The fact that he can cite a passage from "scripture" (*āgamaḥ*) that appears to list only twelve Kālīs would at least show that Abhinavagupta's view has a basis

[407] See footnote 271 on p. 315.

[408] *Kālikāstotra*, f. 90v5–91r1 (v. 5). For text and translation see footnote 125 on p. 272.

in the tradition of the Kālīkula if not in that deriving from Jñānanetranātha. However, even if the passage is genuine and earlier than Abhinavagupta, I suspect that it has been modified to serve this purpose. The first line, giving the parts of the first six names that proceed -kālī reads *yat sṛṣṭisthitisaṃhāraraktaiś ca yamamṛtyubhiḥ*, which provides Sṛṣṭikālī, Sthitikālī, Saṃhārakālī, Raktakālī, Yamakālī, and Mṛtyukālī; but the conjunction *ca* is out of place and, more significant, the compound *yamamṛtyubhiḥ* has a plural ending rather than the dual it requires. The anomalies arose, I suspect, by dropping *-su-* for Sukālī after *yama-* and then inserting the redundant conjunction to restore the metre (← *-raktair yamasumṛtyubhiḥ*), with the ungrammatical plural left in place as an instance of the deviations from standard Sanskrit that mark the Śaiva scriptural (*aiśa-*) register of the language.[409]

The deletion of Sukālī is not the only respect in which Abhinavagupta's account of the Kālīs of the phase of the Nameless differs in his *Kramakeli* from the tradition of the Krama proper. He has also taught that their true order is other than that in which they are given in the scriptural account followed by the *Kramastotra*. Jayaratha explains that the conventional order is that of their worship (*pūjākramaḥ*) and that it has been designed to conceal the natural order in which they unfold in the process of cognition (*saṃvitkramaḥ*). Abhinavagupta has not changed the sequence of the verses of the hymn, but Jayaratha reports that he has made clear the true order, that in cognition rather than worship, through various statements in his commentary, telling us, for example, after his explanation of the verse on Sṛṣṭikālī (1) that one must understand that in reality the Kālī that follows her is not Sthitikālī (2) but Raktakālī (4).[410]

[409] This elaborate defence of Abhinavagupta's doctrine of the twelve Kālīs is set out in *Tantrālokaviveka*, vol. 3, pp. 189, l. 1–203, l. 11. The quotation cited as scriptural evidence for the doctrine of twelve Kālīs is on p. 191, ll. 12–15. If the plural ending in the compound *yamamṛtyubhiḥ* could be passed off as an element of the scriptural register of Sanskrit, then, it may be argued, there is no reason to consider the line suspect. However, while explicable as a reflex of the underlying vernacular—in all MIA and NIA languages the dual was defunct— the use of the plural for the dual is very rare in Śaiva literature in any context and I have noted no instance of its use in a Dvandva compound as here.

[410] *Tantrālokaviveka*, vol. 3, p. 162, ll. 3–7: *ata evāgamaikaśaraṇatayā pravṛtte 'pi śrīkramastotre grantha*kṛtā* (em. : *kṛtāṃ* Ed.) *saṃvitkramam eva pradarśayituṃ tadvivṛtau śrīsṛṣṭikālyādistutiślokavyākhyānānantaraṃ "śrīraktakālyā bhagavatyā ataḥ paraṃ sthitiḥ saṃbhāvyate ityādy uktam* 'It is for this reason that although the *Kramastotra* proceeds in complete dependence on scripture [our] author has made various statements in his commentary on it after his explanation of verses of the hymn devoted to Sṛṣṭikālī and the other [goddesses], in order to reveal [their true] order in cognition. Thus, for example, he has said [after his commentary on the verse

Abhinavagupta's departure from the mainstream Krama tradition in his treatment of the Kālīs of the phase of the Nameless would indeed be somewhat surprising if it had been formulated from within that tradition. However, in spite of Jayaratha's insistence we lack clear evidence that it was. There is no good reason to doubt Abhinavagupta's claim that he had received initiation and instruction in the Krama at some point in his career; but since his surviving Śaiva exegesis is overwhelmingly in the context of the Trika and since his presentation of that system is deeply imprinted with elements of the Krama it is probable that some or all of his Krama work should be seen as work from within the territory of the Trika, work which being outside the authority of the Krama proper could adjust and rearrange Krama elements for its own purpose, as in this matter of the number of the Kālīs of the phase of the Nameless.

Abhinavagupta also wrote a *Kramastotra*, a hymn to Śiva in thirty verses on the subject of true worship as the contemplation of the energetic nature of consciousness as manifest in the Kālīs of the Krama's phase of the Nameless. Here we see the revised number and order of the Kālīs in full. There is a further novelty in his referring to the holder of these powers (*śaktimān*) under the name Manthāna-.[411] This is no doubt the Manthānabhairava that his pupil Kṣemarāja places in this role.[412] I know of no scriptural authority of the Krama that makes Manthānabhairava Lord of its Kālīs. But perhaps the source of this variant is the Kalpa of the *Mahālakṣmīmata* which ends the fourth *Ṣaṭka* of the *Jayadrathayāmala*. For there Bhairava is visualized as Manthāna- at the centre of the array of Śaktis, the innermost circuit of which does indeed consist of twelve.[413]

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on Sṛṣṭikālī]: "It is implied that the position immediately after [her] is that of the goddess Raktakālī'".

[411] *Kramastotra* 28: *anargalasvātmamaye maheśe tiṣṭhanti yasmin vibhuśaktayas tāḥ* | *taṃ śaktimantaṃ praṇamāmi devaṃ manthānasaṃjñaṃ jagadekasāram*.

[412] *Śivasūtravimarśinī*, pp, 26, l. 14–27, l. 7; *Spandanirṇaya*, p. 6, ll. 5–9.

[413] *Jayadrathayāmala*, *Ṣaṭka* 4, f. 222r3–v3 (*Mahālakṣmīmate cakradevyutpattimantroddhārapaṭalaḥ*, vv. 10–23): 10 *adṛśyavigrahāc chāntāc chivāc chaktiḥ samutthitā* | *sā ca dvādaśabhedena saṃsthitā cakrabhedataḥ* | 11 *madhye sthitaṃ mahādevaṃ bhairavaṃ vikṛtānanam* | *śuddhasphaṭikasaṃkāśaṃ tuhinādrisamaprabham* | 12 *sitakundenduvarṇābhaṃ śaṅkhagokṣīrapāṇḍuram* | *daṃṣṭrākarālavadanaṃ mahograṃ bhṛkuṭīmukham* | 13 *ūrdhvakeśaṃ virūpākṣaṃ nāgayajñopavītinam* | *sarvābharaṇasaṃyuktaṃ sarpagonāsamaṇḍitam* | 14 *suvāsaṃ kṛttivasanaṃ gajacarmāmbarāvṛtam* | *pañcavaktraṃ daśabhujaṃ tripañcanayanair yutam* | 15 *kapālakhaṭvāṅgadharaṃ khaḍgakheṭakadhāriṇam* | *śaracāpakaravyagraṃ śūlapaṭṭiśadhāriṇam* | 16 *varadābhayahastaṃ ca nandantaṃ śaktimadhyataḥ* | *kiṃ tu raktamayaṃ devaṃ* ***manthānatvena*** *saṃsthitam* | 17 *kusumbharajasaṃkāśaṃ dāḍimī*kusumāñcitam* (em. : *kusumārcitam*) | *jātyāhiṅgulakaprakhyaṃ nitambonnatapīvaram* (conj. : *nitambatamuttamam* Cod.) |

These are the twelve Yogeśvarīs that form the retinue of Parā in the Trika, but Abhinavagupta considers these and the twelve Kālīs of the Krama to be identical in nature,[414] and this, after all, is a text of the Kālīkula.

The Krama also plays a role in his *Bhagavadgītārthasaṃgraha*, as the source of his interpretation of the *Gītā*'s innermost meaning. Thus, for example:[415]

> [In 11.18c Vāsudeva is called] *sāttvatadharmagoptā* 'concealer of the religious practice of the Sāttvatas'. The Sāttvatas are [so called in the meaning that they are] those who possess *sat-*. Here *sat-* means (1) the truth (*satyam*) of the absence of any manifestation of distinction between the two [powers,] cognition and action and (2) the reality that is the light [of all], namely Being (*sattā*). Their practice (*dharmaḥ*), which transcends all other paths, is that of projecting and withdrawing. For they are constantly absorbed in [observing] the grasping and transcendence [by consciousness of its contents]. It is this that he conceals. I have given a more thorough analysis of the esoteric teaching (*rahasyam*) given in this chapter [of the *Gītā*] in my commentary on the *Devīstotra*.

Thus Abhinavagupta takes the term *sāttvatāḥ* here not in the common sense, in which it refers to Vaiṣṇava devotees of Vāsudeva, but to denote those engaged in the most esoteric of Śaiva practices. That he means the Krama is indicated not only by the nature of the practice but also by his use of the term *rahasyam* to refer to it. For we find the same term used elsewhere in this commentary in Krama contexts:[416]

> The *devāḥ* [here] are the functions of the senses, [called *devāḥ*] because it is their nature to play,[417] [that is to say] the Karaṇeśvarīs, the goddesses well-known in the Rahasyaśāstra.

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18 *nibaddhamekhalādāmaghargharāvalimaṇḍitam* | *maṇibhūṣaṇaśobhāḍhyaṃ śiropādādibhis tathā* | 19 *suveṣaṃ veṣasampannaṃ divyagandhānulepanam* | *mahālāvaṇyasaṃyuktaṃ kiṃcid-vihasitānanam* | 20 *icchārūpadharaṃ devaṃ pare kṣīrārṇave sthitam* | *devyāḥ svarūpasaṃyuktā *vāhanāśvādisaṃyutāḥ* (*vāhanāśvādi* conj. : *vāhanāsvādi* Cod) | 21 *dvādaśāre mahādevī śṛṇu nāmān yathārthataḥ* | *siddhi⟨r⟩ ṛddhis tathā lakṣmī dīpti⟨r⟩ mālā śivā tathā* | 22 *sumukhī *vānarī* (em. : *cāmarī* Cod.) *nandā harikeśī hayānanā* | *viśveśī ca samākhyātā yogeśvaryo mahābalāḥ* | 23 *dvādaśasvarabhedena saṃsthitā⟨ś⟩ cakramadhyataḥ*.

[414] *Mālinīvijayottara* 20.46–47; *Tantrāloka* 3.251–254b, citing the *Trikasāra*.

[415] *Bhagavadgītārthasaṃgraha*, pp. 118, l. 18–119, l. 5: *sāttvatadharmagopteti sat satyaṃ kriyā-jñānayor ubhayor api bhedāpratibhāsātmakaṃ tathā sattātmakaṃ prakāśarūpaṃ tattvaṃ vidy-ate yeṣāṃ te sāttvatāḥ. teṣāṃ dharmaḥ anavaratagrahaṇasaṃnyāsaparatvāt sṛṣṭisaṃhāraviṣayaḥ sakalamārgottīrṇaḥ. taṃ gopāyate. etad evātrādhyāye rahasyaṃ prāyaśo devīstotravivṛtau mayā prakāśitam.*

[416] *Bhagavadgītārthasaṃgraha*, p. 34, ll. 7–8 on 3.11a (*devān bhāvayata* 'contemplate the Devas'): *devāḥ krīḍanaśīlā indriyavṛttayaḥ karaṇeśvaryo devatā rahasyaśāstraprasiddhāḥ.*

[417] He alludes to a semantic analysis of *devaḥ* 'god' from the root *div* 'to play (*divu krīḍāyām*) in

and:[418]

> But for those who know the Rahasya the meaning is as follows: the supreme ego-factor that exists beyond the intellect is the ultimate non-duality that is the non-dualistic awareness that everything is oneself.

Here he alludes to the *Dvayasaṃpattivārtika* of the Krama Guru Hrasvanātha/Vāmanadatta:[419]

> Beyond the level of the intellect is this level of the ego-factor. This whole universe is pervaded by it. It is this when penetrated that bestows liberation.

which itself alludes to the Krama practice of penetrating through the ego-factor that comes to the fore in the *mūrticakram* into the ego-less non-duality that unfolds in the *vṛndacakram*. The use of the term Rahasya to denote the Krama is also seen in the works of Kṣemarāja.[420]

That Abhinavagupta read the esoteric teachings of the *Gītā* in terms of the Krama is confirmed by the South Indian Maheśvarānanda. At the end of his *Mahārthamañjarī* he claims that when Kṛṣṇa revealed his awesome cosmic form to Arjuna in the climax of the events narrated in the *Gītā* he did so while experiencing the timeless state of identity with Kālasaṃkarṣaṇī embodied in her seventeen-syllable Vidyā, that it was this state, the ultimate of the Krama, that he transmitted to Arjuna in order to rouse him from his reluctance to go to war

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accordance with the first of the meanings of that root listed in 4.1 of the Paninian *Dhātupāṭha*: *divu krīḍāvijigīṣāvyavahāradyutistutimodasvapnakāntigatiṣu*. See also *Tantrāloka* 1.101–104b, in which he shows following the lost *Śivatanuśāstra* of Bṛhaspati how the word *devaḥ* is appropriate to that which it denotes (*anvarthaḥ*) in the first five and the last of these nine meanings.

[418] *Bhagavadgītārthasaṃgraha*, p. 44, ll. 9–11 on 3.48a (*evaṃ buddheḥ paraṃ buddhvā* 'having thus realized that which is beyond the intellect'): *rahasyavidāṃ tv ayam āśayaḥ. buddher yaḥ paratra vartate paro 'haṃkāraḥ 'sarvam aham' ity abhedātmā sa khalu paramo 'bhedaḥ*.

[419] *Dvayasaṃpattivārtika* A, f. 8r18–19; B, f. 6r8 (v. 5): *ahaṃkāramayī bhūmir buddhibhūmer parā hi sā | tayā vyāptam idaṃ sarvaṃ saiva vyāptā vimuktidā*.

[420] See, e.g., *Spandanirṇaya*, p. 7, 5–6: *tat khecaryūrdhvamārgasthaṃ vyomavāmeśigocaram iti rahasyanītyā* 'in accordance with the position of the Rahasya [stated in] "That is in the domain of Vyomavāmeśvarī in the path above Khecarī'; p. 20, ll. 20–23: *yady api rahasyadṛṣṭau na kaścij jaḍaḥ karaṇavargo 'sti api tu vijñānadehāḥ karaṇeśvarya eva vijṛmbhante tathāpīha suprasiddhapratītyanusāreṇopadeśyaḥ krameṇa rahasyārthopadeśe 'nupraveśya ity evam uktam* 'He has put the matter in these terms with the thought that although there is no "inert group of faculties" in the Rahasya doctrine—on the contrary [in that doctrine] the goddesses of the faculties manifest themselves as embodiments of consciousness—the student may be introduced to the teaching of the Rahasya doctrine indirectly by starting from the well-established [non-esoteric] understanding [of their nature]'.

with his own kin, and that it is this revelation that is the basis of all the *Gītā*'s eighteen chapters.[421] He ends his exposition by appealing to the authority of "the renowned Abhinavagupta", saying that had explained all this at length in his *Kramakeli*.[422]

As for the commentary on the *Devīstotra*, this has not come to light; but that it too was a work with Krama content is apparent from the context in which Abhinavagupta has referred to it in the passage in his commentary on the *Gītā* translated above, namely as the source of a detailed exposition of his view that the eleventh chapter of that text, in which Kṛṣṇa reveals his cosmic form, is in fact conveying the Esoteric Teaching (Rahasya) [of the Krama]. Since Maheśvarānanda has reported that Abhinavagupta did exactly this in his *Kramakeli*, we may wonder whether the commentary on the *Devīstotra* is not the *Kramakeli* under another name. For the *Kramastotra* is indeed a *devīstotram*, 'a hymn to the Goddess', and it would somewhat surprising if Abhinavagupta had presented the same view of the *Gītā* in detail in two separate works.[423]

Abhinavagupta and Bhūtirāja

These works belong to an early phase of Abhinavagupta's Śaiva exegesis. The simplicity of the *Bhagavadgītārthasaṃgraha*, the narrow range of the sources

[421] *Mahārthamañjarī* 70: *eṇaṃ cea mahatthaṃ jutthārambhammi paṇḍuuttassa* | *cholahasahassasattī devo uvadisaï mādhavo tti sivam* (= Skt. *enam eva mahārthaṃ yuddhārambhe paṇḍuputrasya ṣoḍaśasahasraśaktir deva upadiśati mādhava iti śivam*) 'It is exactly this Mahārtha that the god Mādhava with the sixteen thousand powers teaches to Arjuna at the beginning of the battle. [May this work, now completed bestow] salvation [on all]'; *Mahārthamañjarīparimala* ad loc., p. 177, ll. 6–10: *tam enam eva ṣoḍaśasahasraśaktiḥ ṣoḍaśādhikāvilāsalakṣaṇam akālakalitaṃ śrīkālasaṃkarṣaṇībhāvam anubhavan …arjunasyopadiśati upādikṣad iti yāvat* 'He who possesses sixteen thousand Śaktis teaches, that is to say, taught, this same [Mahārtha] to Arjuna while experiencing that identity with Kālasaṃkarṣaṇī that is the effulgence of the seventeen[-syllable Vidyā] and unaffected by time'; and p. 179, l. 15–16: *etat sarvatrāṣṭādaśādhyāyānusyūtam aṅgāṅgibhāvabhaṅgyā* 'This [teaching] pervades all the eighteen Adhyāyas [of the *Gītā*] in the sense that it is principal and everything else ancillary to it'.

[422] *Mahārthamañjarīparimala*, p. 183, l. 19–20: *etad vitatya *vikhāte* (conj. ; *vikhyātaiḥ* Ed.) *kramakelau kulāgame* | *nāthābhinavaguptāryaiḥ paryālocitam ādarāt.*

[423] K. C. Pandey has asserted (1963, p. 40) that the hymn on which Abhinavagupta commented was the *Devīstotra* attributed to the ninth-century Kashmirian poet and poetician Ānandavardhana. But that is implausible, since that *Devīstotra* is Paurāṇika in content and style rather than Tantric.

cited in it, and its author's modesty,[424] point to this conclusion, and, as we have seen, the *Devīstotravivaraṇa* is even earlier.[425] Moreover, at the time that Abhinavagupta wrote his commentary on the *Gītā* it was Bhūtirāja that he acknowledged as his Guru.[426] That he was still early in his scholarly career at that time is consonant with the fact that Bhūtirāja had also been the Guru of his father Cukhulaka (/Narasiṃhagupta).[427] His *Kramastotra*, the earliest of his dated works, was composed in A.D. 991, twenty-four years before his *Īśvarapratyabhijñāvivṛtivimarśinī*.[428] As for the *Kramakeli*, I have pointed to the possibility that it is none other than the *Devīstotravivaraṇa* cited in the *Bhagavadgītārthasaṃgraha* and therefore among his earliest works; but we can say with certainty only that Abhinavagupta wrote it before he composed the *Parātrīśikāvivaraṇa*, the second of his surviving works on the Trika, since that cites it.[429]

[424]For this modesty see, e.g., p. 51, l. 22–52, l. 3: *ity anena ślokena vaksyamāṇaiś ca ślokaiḥ paramarahasyam upanibaddham. tac cāsmābhir mitabuddhibhir api yathābuddhi yathāgurvāmnāyaṃ ca vivṛtam. mukhasaṃpradāyam antareṇa naitan nabhaścitram iva cittam upārohatīti na vayam upālambhanīyāḥ* 'The highest esoteric truth has been formulated in this and the verses that follow, and I, though of limited understanding, have explained it in accordance with that understanding and the tradition received from my teacher. I ask you not to find fault with me, for this leaves no impression in the mind, like a picture painted in the sky, unless one receives the tradition through oral instruction [by a Guru]'.

[425]See p. 357.

[426]*Bhagavadgītārthasaṃgraha*, p. 186, concluding verses, 1–2: *śrīmān kātyāyano 'bhūd vararucisadṛśaḥ prasphuradbodhatṛptas tadvaṃśālaṃkṛto yaḥ sthiramatir abhavat sauśukākhyo 'tividvān | vipraḥ śrībhūtirājas tadanu samabhavat tasya sūnur mahātmā yenāmī sarvalokās tamasi nipatitāḥ proddhṛtā bhānuneva | 2 taccaraṇakamalamadhupo bhagavadgītārthasaṃgrahaṃ vyadhāt | abhinavaḥ *saddvijaloṭakakṛtacodanāvaśāt* (**saddvija* corr. : *sadvija* Ed.) 'There was an illustrious [scholar called] Kātyāyana, the equal of Vararuci himself. Adorned by descent from him was Sauśuka, a brahmin of firm resolve and exceptional learning. After him came his son, the holy Bhūtirāja, who like the sun has rescued so many that were sunk in darkness. Abhinavagupta, a drinker of the nectar of the lotuses that are his feet, has composed [this] *Bhagavadgītārthasaṃgraha*, at the urging of the pious brahmin Loṭaka'.

[427]*Īśvarapratyabhijñāvivṛtivimarśinī*, vol. 3, p. 405, ll. 16–19: *bhaṭṭātriguptakulajātavarāhaguptajannābhavac cukhulakaḥ śivamārganiṣṭhaḥ | śrībhūtirājavadanoditaśambhuśāstratattvāṃśuśātitasamastabhavāndhakāraḥ* 'Cukhulaka, son of Varāhagupta, a descendant of the lineage of Bhaṭṭa Atrigupta, devoted to the path of Śiva, all the darkness of his bound existence completely dispelled by the essence of the reality of Śiva's teachings transmitted to him by the venerable Bhūtirāja …'.

[428]See footnote 597 on p. 411.

[429]See *Parātrīśikāvivaraṇa*, p. 267, l. 5: *vyākhyātaṃ caitan mayā taṭṭīkāyām eva kramakelau vistarataḥ* 'I have explained this at length in the *Kramakeli*, my commentary on that text'.

The **Kramavaṃśāvalī* reports that Bhūtirāja, whom it identifies as one of the pupils of Cakrabhānu, taught the Krama to Abhinavagupta. This adds weight to the view that in the period during which Abhinavagupta wrote the *Bhagavadgītārthasaṃgraha* the Krama was indeed central to his Śaivism. Jayaratha rejects the report. But his reason for doing so is simply that he considers it to be inconsistent with Abhinavagupta's adherence to the doctrine of the twelve Kālīs. For he insists that Cakrabhānu did not teach this doctrine to any of his disciples, citing as his evidence the fact that Cakrabhānu's teaching on this matter was still widely attested in Kashmir in the lineages derived from him, and adding that the author of the **Kramavaṃśāvalī* himself confirms that Bhūtirāja practised a different order of worship by writing that this Guru and his successors followed the *Kālīkulapañcaśataka*, which, like Cakrabhānu, teaches thirteen Kālīs in the phase of the Nameless:[430]

> And therefore we should reject as pure invention the claims of Gurus in our time who being ignorant that Abhinavagupta's preceptorial lineage is as it is [stated in the *Kramakeli*] have made, for example, the following assertion: "Another disciple of Cakrabhānu was the Ācārya called Bhūtirāja, who was the Guru of the Guru Abhinavagupta in the Kālīnaya". For Cakrabhānu never gave this teaching [seen in the *Kramakeli*] to any of his disciples, since we can see with hundreds [of Gurus] even today that a different teaching derives from him. Moreover, in that same [**Kramavaṃśāvalī*] you yourself have attested that Bhūtirāja's order of worship in this [phase] differs, when you write there: "Bhūtirāja and his successors, having adopted the doctrine of the *Devīpañcaśataka* …". If you hold that only twelve goddesses are required to be worshipped [by that text] in this [phase], then [it is clear that] you do not even know what it is that the *Devīpañcaśataka* teaches. So go. Ask your Guru. Why should I enlighten [you]?

But this argument is inconclusive, since it rests on the dubious assumption that Abhinavagupta could not have adjusted the tradition of the Krama but must

On the order in which Abhinavagupta composed his surviving works on the Trika (*Mālinīvijayavārtika*→*Parātrīśikāvivaraṇa*→*Tantrāloka*→*Tantrasāra*) see Sanderson 2005a, p. 124, footnote 88.

[430] *Tantrālokaviveka*, vol. 3, p. 193, l. 13–p. 194, l. 8 : *ataś cāsyaivaṃ gurukramam ajānānair adyatanaiḥ "śrībhūtirājanāmāpy ācāryaś cakrabhānuśiṣyo 'nyaḥ | abhinavaguptasya guror yasya hi kālīnaye gurutā" ityādi yad uktaṃ tat svotprekṣitam evety upekṣyam. na hi śrīcakrabhānunā prāyaḥ kasyacid apy evam upadiṣṭaṃ tanmūlatayaivedānīm *anyasyopadeśasya* (conj. : *asyopadeśasya* Ed.) *śataśo darśanāt. tatrāpi cātra śrībhūtirājasyānyathā pūjākrama iti "devīpañcaśatāśayam āśritya ca bhūtirājapūrvāṇām" ity abhidadhadbhir bhavadbhir evoktam. athātra dvādaśaiva devyaḥ pūjyatayā sthitā ity abhipretaṃ bhavatas tarhi śrīpañcaśatikārtham api na jānīṣe. tad gaccha. svaguruṃ pṛccha. kim asmadāviṣkṛtena.*

have inherited his teaching from his predecessors. Jayaratha has in any case overlooked a passage that he himself has cited elsewhere from an unidentified lost work by Abhinavagupta. In that Abhinavagupta tells us that he is the inheritor of the "glorious lineage of the Siddhas from the Bhaṭṭārikā to Bhūti". This can only be the lineage of the Krama, since no other tradition in this environment claims to have descended from a woman. The Bhaṭṭārikā, then, is Maṅgalā; and Bhūti is surely a *bhīmavat* abbreviation for Bhūtirāja.[431]

That Bhūtirāja was indeed a Guru of the Krama, as the **Kramavaṃśāvalī* reports, is indicated by two citations. Abhinavagupta himself quotes him in his *Tantrasāra* for his metaphysical analysis of the meaning of the name Kālī from the root *kal* in the meanings 'to project' and 'to know',[432] and Maheśvarānanda quotes him in his *Mahārthamañjarīparimala* as saying that the Mantra is identical with the Goddess herself because it emerges in its real nature by drawing all consciousness into itself.[433] That this is the Goddess of the Krama is apparent from the context of the citation. He cites this remark immediately after citing a statement to the same effect from the *Kramakeli*: "The Mantra is identical with the Goddess herself, namely this sacred consciousness (*bhagavatī saṃvit*) that has the nature described";[434] and the nature to which he refers is that stated in a line of the *Kramastotra* cited by Maheśvarānanda immediately before this citation, implying that the latter is a comment on the former:[435]

The Mantra rises radiant with the dissolution that is the [all-consuming] fire of

[431] *Tantrālokaviveka*, vol. 1, pp. 28, l. 18–29, l. 9 (on 1.9: *jayati gurur eka eva śrīśrīkaṇṭho bhuvi prathitaḥ | tadaparamūrtir bhagavān maheśvaro bhūtirājaś ca* 'Victorious is Śrīkaṇṭha, manifest on earth as the unique Guru, and his embodiment[s] the venerable Maheśvara and Bhūtirāja'): *…maheśvara iti yaḥ śrīsaṃtatyardhatraiyambakākhyamaṭhikayor gurutayānenānyatroktaḥ parameśa itīśa iti ca. yad āha: bhaṭṭārikādibhūtyantaḥ śrīmān siddhodayakramaḥ | bhaṭṭādiparameśāntaḥ śrīsaṃtāṇodayakramaḥ | śrīmān bhaṭṭādir īśāntaḥ paramo 'tha gurukramaḥ | trikarūpas trikārthe me dhiyaṃ vardhayatāṃtarām* 'Maheśvara [here] is the person he has identified in another work as his Guru in the Śrīsaṃtāna and Ardhatraiyambaka lineages under the names Parameśa and Īśa. As he states [there]: "May this threefold Guru lineage greatly increase my understanding of the teachings of the Trika: (1) the glorious lineage of the Siddhas, from the Bhaṭṭārikā to Bhūti, (2) the glorious lineage of the Śrīsaṃtāna, from the Bhaṭṭa to Parameśa, and (3) the supreme lineage from the Bhaṭṭa to Īśa"'.

[432] *Tantrasāra*, p. 30, ll. 15–17.

[433] *Mahārthamañjarīparimala*, p. 122, l. 23–24: *bhaṭṭaśrībhūtirājenāpy uktam "sarvakroḍīkāreṇa sthitatvād devy eva mantraḥ".*

[434] *Mahārthamañjarīparimala*, p. 122, l. 22: *śrīkramakelāv apy uktam: seyam evaṃvidhā bhagavatī saṃviddevy eva mantraḥ.*

[435] *Mahārthamañjarīparimala*, p. 122, l. 20–21: *śrīstotrabhaṭṭārake 'pi: "cidagnisaṃhāramarīcimantraḥ saṃvidvikalpān glapayann udeti" iti.*

> consciousness, eliminating all the conceptual constructions of [differentiated] cognition.

The Mantra is not identified, but it is evidently the Krama's seed-syllable KHPHREṂ. For the *Kramastotra* describes the manner of its arising in consciousness (*saṃvitkramaḥ*) as follows:[436]

> Thus one should contemplate the awesome circle [of the syllable KHPHREṂ], which embodies total withdrawal, from the fire of the aeon (R) to the power of the circle (Ṃ), dissolving the phases [of cognition] as it swallows up the universe and finally reaches the [ultimate] that resides in the void of [unlimited] consciousness.

and Abhinavagupta refers to it as the *saṃhārahṛdayam* 'the heart of resorption', contrasting it with 'the heart of emission' (*sṛṣṭihṛdayam*), the seed-syllable SAUḤ of the Trika's supreme goddess Parābhaṭṭārikā.[437]

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[436] *Tantrālokaviveka*, vol. 3, p. 223, ll. 11–15: *ata eva śrīstotrabhaṭṭārake 'pi "kālānalād vyomakalāvasānaṃ cintyaṃ jagadgrāsakalālayena | cakraṃ mahāsaṃhṛtirūpam ugraṃ gataṃ cidākāśapadastham ittham" ityādinā saṃhārakrameṇaivāsyodaya uktaḥ.*

[437] See *Tantrāloka* 4.185c–189b (SAUḤ), 189c–191b (KHPHREṂ), 191cd: *idaṃ saṃhārahṛdayaṃ prācyaṃ sṛṣṭau ca tan matam*; 5.54c–74 (SAUḤ), 75–78 (KHPHREṂ). The seed syllable as stated cryptically in 4.189c–191b has been interpteted as RKṢKHEṂ (PADOUX 1990, p. 424, footnote 117). This is also how it was understood by Swami Lakshman Joo when I studied the text with him. But this is incorrect. There is no such seed-syllable in the Śaiva Mantraśāstra. There are in fact two errors here. The first derives from the published text of the commentary of Jayaratha, which refers to the second element as *saṃhārakuṇḍalinyātmakasyaitadrūpalipeḥ kūṭavarṇasya* 'the sound KṢ[A], which is identical with the Kuṇḍalinī of withdrawal and whose written form embodies this'. The reading *kūṭa* in *kūṭavarṇasya* is, I propose, a corruption of *kuṇḍala* or *krūra*, which are both code-names for PH[A]. See *Jayadrathayāmala*, *Ṣaṭka* 4, f. 20v2–3, in a chapter listing code-names for the sounds of the syllabary (*varṇanāmapaṭalaḥ*): ***kuṇḍalaṃ*** *bhairavaṃ rāvaṃ rāviṇī yoginīpriyam | kuṇḍalīnātham atulam* ***krūraṃ*** *vai bhīmam aṅkuśam |* ***phakāraṃ*** *dhāmadhāmānaṃ nāmabhiḥ samudāhṛtam*. Abhinavagupta himself probably had another of these code-names for PH[A] in mind, namely *rāvaḥ* 'the resonance' or *rāviṇī* 'the resonator', since he refers to the sound in question in the phrase *antarnadatparāmarśaśeṣībhūtam*, 'reduced to nothing but an internally resonating awareness', speaking of the state of the external in this phase, after it has been dissolved in the fire of awareness (= R[A]) (*tat sad eva bahīrūpaṃ prāg bodhāgnivilāpitam*). The second error was to fail to understand that in this passage, as in the verse I have cited from the *Kramastotra*, the constituents of the syllable are stated not in their actual order as pronounced but in the order in which they are held to arise in consciousness (*saṃvitkramaḥ*), as explained by Jayaratha on this passage in *Tantrālokaviveka*, vol. 3, p. 221, ll. 16–18: *atra ca saṃvitkrameṇaiva śrīpiṇḍanāthasya vyāptiḥ. iti tadanusāreṇaiva tasyoddhāraḥ* 'And in these [verses] the correspondence of the Piṇḍanātha is in accordance with the order [of the arising of the phases corresponding to its components] in consciousness itself,

The Svabodhasiddhi of Bhūti

No work by Bhūtirāja is known to have survived. However, there is a short unpublished work that may be his. This is the *Svabodhasiddhi*, which its colophon attributes to Śrībhaṭṭa Bhūti.[438] The naming of the author as [Śrībhaṭṭa] Bhūti rather than [Bhaṭṭaśrī] Bhūtirāja is not itself an obstacle. For we have seen Abhinavagupta use Bhūti for Bhūtirāja in the unidentified work cited above;[439] and Kṣemarāja and Yogarāja have both referred to themselves as Kṣema and Yoga.[440] Moreover, the content of the text is consistent with its being a product of the Krama. Claiming oral instruction (*gurumukham*) as its authority[441] it teaches the attaintment of self-realization through the dissolution of the activity of the mind and senses brought about by coming to rest in one's own nature through direct intuition of one's consciousness (*svabodhaḥ*) or own being (*svasattā*), a state that cannot be taught, that cannot be attained except through one's own innate capacity, and that once attained liberates from all conceptual constructions, both experiential and theoretical. This is reminiscent of the Siddha-teachings of Hrasvanātha's *Svabodhodayamañjarī* and of the doctrine of sudden enlightenment taught in the *Chummāsaṃketaprakāśa*, Anantaśakti's

and so he has raised it [sound by sound] following that order [rather than that of their pronunciation, i.e., in the order R-PH-KHE-Ṃ rather than KH-PH-R-E-Ṃ]'. That the error is not Jayaratha's is evident from his citation in his commentary on these verses of a passage from an unidentified Krama text which shows a way of explaining the rise of the Mantra without deviating from the order of pronunciation" *śivanabhasi vigalitākṣaḥ kauṇḍilyunmeṣavikasitānandaḥ* | *prajvalitasakalarandhraḥ kāminyā hṛdayakuharam adhirūḍhaḥ* | *yogī śūnya ivāste tasya svayam eva yoginīhṛdayam* | *hṛdayanabhomaṇḍalagaṃ samuccaraty analakoṭidīptam* 'His senses dissolved in the void (= KH[A] of Śiva, with bliss fully expanded through the awakening of Kuṇḍalinī (= PH[A]), all the apertures [of his body] ablaze (= R[A]), immersed in the core of the heart of the beloved (= E), the Yogin rests as though in emptiness (= Ṃ). The heart of the Yoginī (= E) surges up in the sphere of the void of his heart (= Ṃ), brilliant as countless fires'.

[438] *Svabodhasiddhi*, f. 59r4–5: *iti śrībhaṭṭabhūtiviracitā svabodhasiddhis samāptā.*

[439] See footnote 431 on p. 362.

[440] Kṣemarāja, *Pratyabhijñāhṛdaya*, opening verse 2: *kṣemeṇoddhriyate sāraḥ saṃsāraviṣaśāntaye*; Kṣemarāja, *Spandasaṃdoha*, p. 25, closing verse 3cd: *kṣemeṇārthijanārthitena vivṛtaṃ śrīspandasūtraṃ manāk*; Kṣemarāja, *Śivastotrāvalīvivṛti*, p. 355, closing verse 3cd: *tasmād guror abhinavāt parameśamūrteḥ kṣemo niśamya vivṛtiṃ vyatanod amutra*; Yogarāja, *Paramārthasāravivṛti*, p. 1, opening verse 2cd: *vivṛtiṃ karomi laghvīm asmin vidvajjanārthito yogaḥ*; Yogarāja, *Śivāṣṭaka*, f. 9v10–(v. 8ab): *yogena caitanyaśivaḥ stuto 'yaṃ śivāṣṭakeneti śarīrasaṃsthaḥ* | *tenāśu sarvasya śivaṃ karotu śivaḥ *svahṛnmadhyamadhāmadhāmā* (*sva* corr. : *su* Cod.).

[441] *Svabodhasiddhi*, f. 59r3–4 (v. 33d, final words): *namāmy asamasundaraṃ gurumukhopadiṣṭaṃ śivam* 'I bow to the Śiva of unequalled beauty taught to me in the oral instruction of my Guru'.

commentary on the *Vātūlanāthasūtra*, and the anonymous *Mahānayaprakāśa*. It also contains phrasing and terminology found in these and other texts of the Krama, including the *Śrīpīṭhadvādaśikā* of Bhūtirāja's Guru Cakrabhānu and the Krama-based *Prajñākālīvidhi* of the second *Ṣaṭka* of the *Jayadrathayāmala*:

> *Svabodhasiddhi*, f. 56v2–6 (vv. 2–3): *aśeṣadarśanāveśaviśeṣādhivivarjitam | svasaṃvedanasaṃvedyaṃ svasthaṃ vande paraṃ śivam | nirastakalpanājālavikalpaughavighātine | namo 'stu paramānandapadātītāya śambhave* 'I venerate the supreme Śiva located in the self, who can be known only in self-experience, who is devoid of the mental torment of all specific doctrines. I bow to Śambhu, the destroyer of the flow of conceptual construction, free of the snare of the mind's imaginings, transcending the level [even] of the highest bliss'. Cf. *Chummāsaṃketaprakāśa*, f. 3r2 (v. 29cd): *prāptaṃ *mayā* (conj : *tvayā* Cod.) *anirdeśyaṃ vikalpaughavilāpakam* 'I attained that undesignatable [reality] that eliminates the flow of conceptual construction'; Anantaśakti, *Vātūlanāthasūtravṛtti*, final verse: *iti paramarahasyaṃ vāgvikalpaughamuktaṃ* 'Thus [I have explained] the ultimate esoteric teaching that is free of the flow of conceptual construction'; and Cakrabhānu, *Śrīpīṭhadvādaśikā* 3cd (Testimonium: unattributed citation by Ramyadeva on *Bhāvopahāra* 47): **nirastaśāstrārthavikalpajālā devyaḥ śmaśāne karavīrakākhye* (see footnote 187 on p. 291) '[Supreme] are the goddesses [Jayā etc.] in the Karavīra cremation ground[. For they are] free of the snare of conceptual construction that is the doctrines of the Śāstras'. For the notion that the ultimate ground transcends the highest bliss see *Chummāsaṃketaprakāśa*, f. 5v3–6, vv. 71–73: (on the Chummā *akulapavesu* 'entrance into the transcendent ground'): *nirāvaraṇanirdhāmanirānandaṃ nirāśrayam | paraprakāśam aspandaṃ śāntacinmātravigraham | nānāśaktikarasphāraviśrāntipadam acyutam | niyatānubhavakṣīṇasvasvarūpaikagocaram | akulaṃ gurubhiḥ proktaṃ niḥsvabhāvaṃ sadoditam | sa so 'ham iti saṃkrāmāt praveśas tatra jāyate* 'The Gurus [of the Krama] term Akula the unobscured [reality] that is free of the [three] radiances [of the object, means, and agent of cognition], beyond bliss, unlocated, the highest light, motionless, its substance nothing but quiescent consciousness, the stable point in which the expansion of the rays that are its many powers is grounded, located nowhere but in that nature of the self in which all specific experience is obliterated, beyond any [definable] essence, eternally present. Entry into that occurs by immediate transmission through the intuition that it is this that is one's identity'; *Kālīkulakramasadbhāva*, f. 4v2 (v. 2.47c): **nitye śūnye* (em. : *nityaśūnya* Cod.) *nirānande* 'In the eternal void, beyond bliss'; and *Kālīkulapañcaśataka* A, f. 20r5 (5.22cd), on Kālī in the phase of the Nameless: *ravimadhye nirānandā cinmarīcyantabhāsikā* 'Beyond bliss in the centre of the [twelve] suns, illuminating the limit of the rays of consciousness'.

> *Svabodhasiddhi*, f. 56v10–11 (v. 6): *mamāham iti hṛdgranthicchedanaika-*

kṛpāṇikām | *spandāspandakṛtagrāsāṃ naumy ahaṃ śuddhasaṃvidam* 'I venerate that pure consciousness that has devoured both active and quiescent states, the knife that alone can cut through the heart's knots of 'my' and 'I'. Cf. *Jayadrathayāmala*, *Ṣaṭka* 4, f. 179r7–179v1: **spandāspandakṛtagrāsā* (*spandāspanda* conj. : *sadāspanda* Cod.) '[Pratyaṅgirā], who has devoured both the active and the quiescent states'; *ibid.*, f. 168v4: *spandāspandāntarodāravīryavyaktikalālayā* '[Naṭṭeśvarī], whose ground is the power of the manifestation of the exalted vigour that lies between the active and quiescent states'; Arṇasiṃha, *Mahānayaprakāśa*, f. 129v1–2 (v. 249): *spandāspandaparispandasaṃdhānojjhitavigraham* | *sarvatrāvasthitaṃ vande vācātītam anāmayam* 'I venerate that perfect reality beyond expression that is present in everything, its nature free of the consciousness that is the oscillation of the active and quiescent'.

Svabodhasiddhi, f. 56v11–12 (v. 7): *vyapadeśavihīnasya tattvasya kathanaṃ katham* | *svasaṃvedanasadyuktyā gamyate yadi kena cit* 'How can the process of oral instruction convey that nameless reality. If some rare person grasps it then it is by the higher method of self-experience'; and f. 57r11–12 (v. 14): *bodhamātragrahaḥ kāryas suprabuddhena cetasā* | *tāvad yāvat svasāmarthyāt svaniṣṭhaḥ kevalo bhavet* 'With fully awakened awareness he should take hold of nothing but his consciousness until by his own ability he comes to rest in the self and so attains liberation'. Cf. *Mahānayaprakāśa* (Triv.) 1.20: *mahātīvratame* + + + + *svānubhavasthite* | *kathanādikramātītā viśuddhis *tasya* (conj. : *tatra* Ed.) *kāśate* 'In the most extreme [descent of power] (*mahātīvratame*), that rests in self-experience [alone], unimpeded awareness dawns for him without his descending to the processes of instruction or [worship]'.

Svabodhasiddhi, f. 57r1–5 (vv. 9–10): *upeyaprāptyupāyo 'yaṃ svabodhajāgarūkatā* | *svabodhajāgarūkatvān nirvibhāgā sthitir muneḥ* | *upāyo nāparaḥ kaścit svasattānugamād ṛte* | *tām evānusaran yogī svastho yaḥ sa *sukhī* (corr. : *svakhī* Cod.) *bhavet* 'This method of attaining the goal is to be constantly awake to one's own consciousness. By this means the sage achieves the state free of differentiation. There is no method other than holding to awareness of one's own being. It is by maintaining awareness of this that the meditator will attain happiness, resting in the self'. Cf. *Jayadrathayāmala*, *Ṣaṭka* 2, f. 101r3–4 (*Prajñākālīvidhi*, v. 24): **sukhena* (corr. : *mukhena* Cod.) *sādhyate sā tu svasattāgrahaṇena tu* | *prajñāyogena *yogeśī* (corr. : *yogeśi* Cod.) *siddhyate nānyathā kva cit* 'But by taking hold of one's own being Yogeśvarī [Kālī] is effortlessly accomplished. It is by [this] meditation of direct insight that she is mastered and never otherwise'.

Svabodhasiddhi, f. 58r1–7 (vv. 22–24): *abhedabodhasaṃbodhāt svarūpānubhavasthitim* | *vyutthitas san niruddho vā labhate yas sa tattvavit* | *yasya sarvāsv avasthāsu *svasthitir* (corr. : *susthitir* Cod.) *naiva lupyate* | *tasya kiṃ*

> *nāma kurvanti śāstrabhramaṇavibhramāḥ* | *vigalitasadasadvikalpas sadasad-bhramajanitamohamuktātmā* | *jīvann api janamadhye vigatabhayaḥ sarvadā yogī* 'One is enlightened who by realizing undifferentiated consciousness attains stability in the experience of his own nature both when he has emerged from immersion and when he is in it. Of what benefit are agitated wanderings in the Śāstras to one whose rest in the self is never interrupted in any state [of consciousness]? For him the conceptual constructions 'is' and 'is not' have ceased to exist. He is free of the delusion caused by the error of these two. Even while living in the midst of society [this] meditator is ever free of fear'. With v. 24ab cf. Jñānanetra, *Kālikāstotra*, f. 90v1–2 (v. 1): *sitatarasaṃvidavāpyaṃ sadasatkalanāvihīnam anupādhi* | *jayati jagattrayarūpaṃ nīrūpaṃ devi te rūpam* 'Supreme, O Goddess, is your formless form in the form of the three worlds, that can be attained [only] by the purest awareness and is devoid of the conceptual constructions 'is' and 'is not', free of all limiting adjuncts'; *ibid.*, f. 91v1 (v. 10ab): *sadasadvibhedasūter dalanaparā kāpi sahajasaṃvittiḥ*; '[You, O Goddess, are supreme], that unique innate awareness that seeks to obliterate the projection of the difference of 'is' and 'is not"; and *Chummāsaṃketaprakāśa*, f. 2r3 (v. 4): ……*nirāveśā sadasadbhramavarjitā* | *nirvikalpāvikalpā tu saṃvidujjhitadharmiṇī* '[The level (*bhūmih*)] that cannot be penetrated, free of the error of 'is' and 'is not', free of both discursive and non-discursive awareness, transcending the attributes of cognition'.

However, while the identity of the author of the *Svabodhasiddhi* with the Krama teacher Bhūtirāja is not refuted by his being called Bhūti or by the nature of his work's content, I see no evidence that makes this identity more than plausible.[442]

Krama works known only from quotations or reports

Several such works have already been mentioned above: a work by Ojarāja (perhaps a commentary on the *Kālīkulapañcaśataka*), Eraka's *Kramastotra*, commentaries thereon by Hrasvanātha, the author of the Trivandrum *Mahānayaprakāśa*, and others unnamed, an unidentified work by Hrasvanātha, Abhinavagupta's commentary *Kramakeli*, his *Devīstotravivaraṇa*, if that is other than the *Kramakeli*, the **Kramavaṃśāvalī*, a hymn by Prabodhanātha or possibly two, the *Rājikā*, the *Pūjātilaka*, some verses from an unidentified Krama scripture or scriptures cited by the author of the commentary on the Old Kashmiri *Mahānayaprakāśa*, the *Stotramālā* by the same, a work probably

[442] There are other names in Bhūti- in Kashmirian sources. We have the Saiddhāntika Bhūtikaṇṭha (see above, p. 242), and the minister Bhūtikalaśa (Kalhaṇa, *Rājataraṅgiṇī* 7.26).

by the author of the anonymous *Mahānayaprakāśa* on the oral instructions, the *Prākṛtatriṃśikāvivaraṇa* of Bhaṭṭāraka, the *Akulakālikātriṃśikā* and *Akramakallolakārikā* of Ramyadeva, a hymn by his son, and the hymn of a certain Rāma that alludes to the Chummā *diṭṭo niṭṭo*.[443] To these may be added the *Kramasūtra*, from which we have a passage on how by means of the internal *kramamudrā* the meditator achieves immersion even when his awareness is extroverted,[444] a collection of verses (*vimuktakāni*) by a certain Bhaṭṭa Dāmodara, from which we have a verse stating that the five Flow Goddesses liberate when perceived and bind when not,[445] the Old Kashmiri *Siddhasūtra*, of which we have a verse on the pervasion of the graphic constituents of the syllable OṂ by the five elements,[446] a work by a Somarāja, pupil of Bhojarāja and grand-

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[443] See footnote 89 on p. 262 (Ojarāja); p. 273 (Eraka's *Kramastotra*); p. 276 (Hrasvanātha's commentary on the *Kramastotra*); p. 317 (a commentary on the *Kramastotra* by the author of the Trivandrum *Mahānayaprakāśa*); p. 276 (an unnamed work by Hrasvanātha); p. 276 (unnamed commentators on the *Kramastotra*); p. 352 (the *Kramakeli*); p. 359 (the *Devīstotravivaraṇa*); p. 273 (the **Kramavaṃśāvalī*); p. 294 (Prabodha's lost hymn or hymns); p. 306 (the *Rājikā* and *Pūjātilaka*); p. 306 (some unidentified Krama scriptures and the *Stotramālā*); p. 317 (a work on the oral instructions); p. 344 (Bhaṭṭāraka's *Prākṛtatriṃśikāvivaraṇa*); p. 326 (Ramyadeva's *Akulakālikātriṃśikā* and *Akramakallolakārikā*); p. 326 (a hymn by the son of Ramyadeva); and p. 351 (a hymn by Rāma).

[444] *Pratyabhijñāhṛdaya*, p. 42, ll. 11–15 (*yathoktaṃ kramasūtreṣu*).

[445] *Pratyabhijñāhṛdaya*, p. 30, ll. 6–7 (*yathā coktaṃ sahajacamatkāraparijanitākṛtakādareṇa bhaṭṭadāmodareṇa vimuktakeṣu*), emending *vāmeśādyāḥ* to *vāmeśyādyāḥ*.

[446] The commentary on the Old Kashmiri *Mahānayaprakāśa*, p. 32, ll. 8–12: *yat siddhapādā ādidiśuḥ: pithiva āpā *ti* (em. : *tā* Ed.) *teju takāru su vātaśatti tiryaga *avayava ti* (corr. : *avayavati* Ed.) | *nabhu rā pañca *akāru su ehuya siṣṭipasaru ākalati* (Skt.: *pṛthivy āpas tejaś ca takāro vātaśaktir tiryagavayavaś ca. nabho raḥ. pañca akāraḥ. eṣa eva sṛṣṭiprasara ākalyate*) 'Earth, water, and fire are the *ta* [shape], the power of air the cross-stroke, and ether the *ra* [shape]. The five [combined] make the character *a*. It is this that is considered the source of creation'. The character *a* in the Kashmirian script (Śāradā) can indeed be visualized in this way, as a *ta* with a *ra* pendent from the right end of its horizontal head-stroke and the two connected at their middle by a short cross-stroke. The first Pāda is quoted again at p. 60, l. 1 and attributed to 'the Siddha' *siddhasya subhāṣitam*. It is perhaps the source of this verse that the author of the anonymous *Mahānayaprakāśa* has in mind when he refers to the Sūtras of the Siddha (*siddhasūtrāṇi*) for the view that practising the Krama worship in full bestows supernatural abilities (8.28ab): *pūjanāt khecaratvaṃ hi siddhasūtreṣu gadyate. ātmajñānāt pravartante yatheccham aṇimādayaḥ* 'For it is stated in the *Siddhasūtra* that worship leads to the ability to travel through the air. Self-realization enables one to manifest at will the [eight] supernatural powers, such as the ability to contract one's size'.

pupil of Hrasvanātha,[447] a work by an unknown spiritual descendant of Naverakanātha, one of the pupils of Keyūravatī,[448] and the *Kālikākrama*.

I have suggested above that the *Kālikākrama* may have been a scriptural text, though the verses cited lack the vocatives indicative of dialogue and any of the deviations from Paninian norms that would prove this.[449] A certain lack of concision and awkwardness of expression suggest that it may be a work attributed to supernatural revelation rather than claimed by a human author. But they too prove nothing conclusively. In any case, the text shows a concern with philosophical dialectic that is conspicuously lacking in the other scriptures of the Krama. These qualities are evident in a passage that expounds the doctrine that the phenomena of experience have no reality apart from cognition:[450]

> Cognition manifests itself both internally and externally in the form of various [phenomena]. The objects [of the mind and senses] have no existence apart from cognition. Therefore the world is of the nature of cognition. For no-one has ever witnessed the existence of an object apart from the cognition [of it]. Therefore it is settled that cognition itself has become these [objects]. By force of the contemplation of phenomena the identity with cognition that pertains to its objects [is established,] by means of negation and assertion with regard to the distinction between "is" and "is not". Cognition and its object have a single nature because they are experienced simultaneously.

The probable meaning of the awkwardly phrased penultimate sentence is that the existence of objects is inseparable from cognition because they are seen only when cognition is present and not when it is absent (*anvayavyatirekābhyām*). There is nothing specific to the Krama in this, though Krama authors shared this view with other Śaiva non-dualists and may well have been the first to adopt and adapt it from Buddhist circles.[451] However, the Krama background of the

[447] *Tantrālokaviveka*, vol. 3, pp. 196, l. 13–197, l. 4: two verses in praise of Vāmana (Hrasvanātha) and Bhojarāja.

[448] *Tantrālokaviveka*, vol. 3, pp. 196, ll. 1–10: two verses in praise of Keyūravatī and Naverakanātha.

[449] See p. 252.

[450] *Śivasūtravimarśinī*, p. 118, ll. 1–7: *kālikākrame 'pi: tattadrūpatayā jñānaṃ bahir antaḥ prakāśate | jñānād ṛte nārthasattā jñānarūpaṃ tato jagat | na hi jñānād ṛte bhāvāḥ kenacid viṣayīkṛtāḥ | jñānaṃ tadātmatāṃ yātam etasmād avasīyate | astināstivibhāgena niṣedhavidhiyogataḥ | jñānātmatā jñeyaniṣṭhā bhāvānāṃ bhāvanābalāt | yugapadvedanāj jñānajñeyayor ekarūpatā*.

[451] The *Kālīkrama*'s position that cognition and its object have a single nature because they are experienced simultaneously no doubt rests on the oft-cited principle stated by Dharmakīrti in *Pramāṇaviniścaya* 1.55ab (Vetter 1966, p. 94): *lhan cig dmigs pa nges pa'i phyir | sngon dang de blo gzang ma yin* (*sahopalambhaniyamād abhedo nīlataddhiyoḥ* [qu., e.g.,

text is apparent in the use of the expression *kālagrāsaḥ* 'devouring of time' in the following:[452]

> A meditator will attain the state of Nirvāṇa if by rejecting the mental activities of "is" and "is not", resorting to the inner state [between those two], and transcending through non-duality the net of conceptual constructions, higher and lower, he rests always content in himself alone, intent solely on devouring time, immersed in the state of transcendental solitude.

In *Tantrāloka* 29.43 Abhinavagupta refers to "other Gurus and consorts taught in the *Kālīkula*", saying that they should be called to mind though not explicitly worshipped in the system of Kaula Trika worship that he outlines in this chapter.[453] Commenting on this Jayaratha cites a passage of an unnamed work by Abhinavagupta which identifies these as the five Gurus Viśvayoni, Jagadyoni, Bhāvayoni, Prajāpatiyoni and Kulayoni, and their five consorts Vīryayoni, Kṣobhayoni, Bījayoni, Sṛṣṭiyoni, and Sargayoni.[454] They are derived from the sequence of worship taught for the phase of Emission in the Krama's *Kālīkulapañcaśataka* and in no other source.[455] This, then, may be from an otherwise unknown work by Abhinavagupta on the Krama.

The Trika

I pass now from the Krama and Abhinavagupta's Trika-based Krama to the Trika itself. The defining feature of its scriptures is that they teach the propitiation of the triad of goddesses Parā/Mātṛsadbhāva, Parāparā and Aparā, who are

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Nareśvaraparīkṣāprakāśa p. 32]) 'The blue [object] and the cognition of it are not other, because they are invariably cognized together'.

[452] *Śivasūtravimarśinī*, pp. 133, l. 12–134, l. 2: *nirasya sadasadvṛttīḥ saṃśritya padam āntaram | vihāya kalpanājālam advaitena parāparam | yaḥ svātmanirato nityaṃ kālagrāsaikatatparaḥ | kaivalyapadabhāg yogī sa nirvāṇapadaṃ labhet*. The term *kālagrāsaḥ* is found *passim* in the Krama texts. It also appears in the works of Abhinavagupta (*Mālinīvijayavārtika* 1.152–156; *Parātrīśikāvivaraṇa*, p. 256, ll. 13–14; and *Tantrāloka* 1.98cd) but no doubt under Krama influence.

[453] 29.43ab: *anyāś ca tatpatnyaḥ śrīmatkālīkuloditāḥ*; 29.45ab: *te viśeṣān na saṃpūjyāḥ smartavyā eva kevalam*.

[454] *Tantrālokaviveka*, vol. 11, Āhnika 29, p. 33, ll. 10–11: *yad uktam anenaiva: viśvaṃ jagad bhāvam atho prajāpati kulaṃ tataḥ | yoniśabdāntakaṃ proktaṃ gurūṇāṃ pañcakaṃ tv idam | vīryaṃ kṣobho bījaṃ sṛṣṭiḥ sarga itīmāḥ śaktaya uktāḥ*.

[455] *Kālīkulapañcaśataka* A, f. 12r (3.19–21a): *tathānyaṃ śṛṇu saṃkṣepā⟨d⟩ durvijñeyaṃ maheśvara | viśvayoniṃ jagadyoni⟨ṃ⟩ bhavayoniṃ prajāpatim | pañcamaṃ kulayoniṃ ca patnīs teṣāṃ śṛṇuṣva me | retayoniṃ bījayoniṃ sṛja⟨ṃ⟩ sṛṣṭiṃ tathaiva ca | pañcamaṃ kṣobhayoniṃ ca*.

enthroned, both in the Trika's initiation Maṇḍala and in the visualization that is a component of regular worship, on three lotuses resting on the tips of the prongs of a trident, with Parā/Mātṛsadbhāva in the centre and the other two to her right and left.[456]

Both the Kālīkula and the Krama had influenced the Trika by the time of the exegetes. The later Trika scripture *Devyāyāmala* had incorporated Kālasaṃkarṣaṇī as a fourth goddess above the three of the older tradition, a variant of Trika worship that is also found within the encyclopaedic scriptural tradition of the Kālīkula itself; and the *Trikasadbhāva* had added the Kālīs seen in the Krama's phase of the Nameless to the pantheon installed in the Trika's Maṇḍala.[457]

While in the Krama we have an internally differentiated tradition with numerous authors, in the exegesis of the Trika proper we have only the works of a single author, Abhinavagupta, all on a single scripture, the *Mālinīvijayottara*. The principal of these works are, in the order of their composition, the *Mālinīvijayavārtika* and the *Tantrāloka*. A third commentary, the *Śrīpūrvapañcikā*, survives only in citation.[458] The first, comprising two chapters of 1135 and 335 verses respectively, declares itself a commentary on the opening verse of the *Mālinīvijayottara* but accomplishes this commentary in a form that covers the contents of the whole work, the first chapter covering the first seventeen chapters of the scripture and the second the rest. The *Tantrāloka*, comprising 5859 verses in thirty-seven chapters (Āhnikas), offers itself as a comprehensive Paddhati on the Trika taught in the *Mālinīvijayottara*. Much that is in the *Mālinīvijayavārtika* appears again more or less revised in the *Tantrāloka*,[459] but there is important material in the former that was not repeated or reformulated, most notably the section 1.15–399, which presents a metaphysical explanation of the origin and differentiation of the principal divisions of the Śaiva scriptures, based, I propose, on the account of the canon given in the lost Śaiva scripture *Śrīkaṇṭhīyasaṃhitā*/*Śrīkaṇṭhī* in a long passage preserved in the *Nityādi-*

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[456] See SANDERSON 1986.

[457] On the influence of the Kālīkula and Krama on the scriptural Trika and the existence of variants of Trika worship in the Kālīkula itself see SANDERSON 1986, pp. 188–204 and SANDERSON 1990, pp. 58–64. In the former I have called these two developments Trika IIa and Trika IIb.

[458] All that survives of the *Śrīpūrvapañcikā* without doubt is a passage quoted and attributed by Jayaratha on *Tantrāloka* 23.75 (*etadvivaraṇe eva pañcikāyām*). Abhinavagupta refers to it twice in his *Parātrīśikāvivaraṇa* (p. 194, ll. 17–19; p. 205, ll. 21–22).

[459] On the priority of the *Mālinīvijayavārtika* see SANDERSON 2005, p. 142, footnote 24.

saṃgrahapaddhati of Rājānaka Takṣakavarta.[460]

The *Tantrāloka* is not a Paddhati in the narrow sense, that is to say, a detailed practical guide to the performance of the system's rituals. Rather it builds on the basis of the *Mālinīvijayottara* a theory-rich account of his vision of the Trika's teaching of the nature of ultimate reality and the means of its realization. These means include ritual, but since Abhinavagupta held to the view, in opposition to the Saiddhāntikas, that it is knowledge rather than ritual that liberates, he also teaches methods that do not descend to the level of ritual performance and rationalizes ritual itself as process of cultivating the insight that in his higher methods comes about through direct, non-conceptual intuition or the gradual refinement of a conceptual awareness of ultimate reality (*vikalpasaṃskāraḥ*) to the point at which it transcends its conceptual character to become immediate experience (*sākṣātkāraḥ*).

He structures his account of the Trika's means of liberation in this way on the basis of three verses in the *Mālinīvijayottara* that define three modes of immersion in Śiva: non-conceptual (*śāmbhavaḥ samāveśaḥ*), through conceptual thought alone (*śāktaḥ samāveśaḥ*), and through meditational and ritual activity (*āṇavaḥ*).[461] In the first chapter he sets out the fundamentals of his soteriology and its metaphysical basis, defining the three modes of immersion, adding a transcendent fourth, immersion without method (*anupāyaḥ samāveśaḥ*), meaning by that a sudden direct self-realization that once established requires no further application of means to sustain it. The second is devoted to this mode of self-realization, the third to non-conceptual immersion (*śāmbhavaḥ samāveśaḥ*), and the fourth to immersion through thought alone (*śāktaḥ samāveśaḥ*). The methods that constitute immersion through meditational and ritual activity (*āṇavaḥ samāveśaḥ*) are explained in chapters 5 and following. The meditational methods are taught first. The fifth chapter teaches visualization of the flow of the powers of consciousness through the faculties (*dhyānam*), meditation on the flow of the vital energies (*prāṇatattvasamuccāraḥ*) with the help of the Mantras SAUḤ and KHPHREṂ, meditation on these and other syllables (*varṇatattvam*), and internal Yogic posture (*karaṇam*). The remaining methods are gathered under the heading *sthānakalpanā* 'visualizing the positioning of internal structures in external substrates'. Chapter 6 teaches how the cycles of

[460] A transcript of this account has been published in Hanneder 1998, pp. 237–268 from MS Stein Or. d. 43 in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. This is a copy of the manuscript of the *Nityādisaṃgrahapaddhati* listed here in the bibliography.

[461] *Mālinīvijayottara* 2.21–23.

external time and, by extension, the sounds of the syllabary circulate internally in the vital energy. Chapter 7 shows how the sequences of Mantras of various kinds are to be mastered by contemplative repetition within the cyclical flow of the breath (*cakrodayaḥ*). Chapters 8–11 explain the order of worlds (*bhuvanādhvā*) (8), the order of the Tattvas (*tattvādhvā*) (9), the correlation between the order of the Tattvas and the *Mālinīvijayottara*'s hierarchy of the categories of perceiver (*pramātā*) (10), and the order of the five Tattva-segments (*kalādhvā*) (11). These chapters look both backwards and forwards: backwards in as much as these structures of the worlds, Tattvas, and Tattva-segments are seen as arrayed within the microcosm, forwards in as much as a precise knowledge of these structures is ancillary to the officiant's performance of initiation, whose treatment will follow. Chapters 13 and 14 are preliminary to the discussion of that topic. The first analyses the nature of the 'descent of [Śiva's] power' (*śaktipātaḥ*) that leads to liberation, directly or through initiation, and the second analyses the nature of the absence of this descent, the state of occlusion (*tirobhāvaḥ*) that holds consciousness in bondage.[462]

The external practices of ritual, beginning with initiation, are the principal subject matter from the 15th chapter to the 33rd. Chapter 15 teaches the ritual of worship in the form that it is to take when done by an officiant as a preliminary to initiation, the neophyte's initiation known as the *samayadīkṣā*, and the rules of discipline that bind all initiates. The following chapters cover the full initiation known as the *nirvāṇadīkṣā* (16–17), an abbreviated form of initiation (18), the form of initiation to be performed for those close to death (*sadyonirvāṇadīkṣā*) (19), the procedure known as scales-initiation (*tulādīkṣā, dhaṭadīkṣā*) (20), initiation for the dead (*mṛtoddhārī dīkṣā*) (21), initiation after conversion from another faith (*liṅgoddhāradīkṣā*) (22), the rituals for the consecration to office of Gurus and Sādhakas (*ācāryābhiṣekaḥ*, *sādhakābhiṣekaḥ*) (23), initiation during cremation (*antyeṣṭidīkṣā*) (24), and the ritual of making offerings to the deceased (*śrāddhavidhiḥ*) (25). Chapters 26 and 27 teach the ritual of daily worship to be performed by initiates for the rest of their lives, including the procedure for the consecration (*pratiṣṭhā*) of Liṅgas and other substrates of personal worship. Chapter 28 covers worship to be offered on special occasions (*naimittikavidhiḥ*) requiring the assembling and gratification of initiates and Yoginīs (*cakrayāgaḥ*), procedures for gaining encounters with Yoginīs (*yoginīmelakaḥ*), the procedures to be adopted in the Guru's regular teaching

[462] See *Tantrālokaviveka*, vol. 4, p. 2, ll. 1–6.

of the scriptures (*vyākhyāvidhiḥ*), penances (*prāyaścittavidhiḥ*), and the ritual of the worship of the Guru (28). Having completed his treatment of the rituals of the basic form of the Trika, he devotes the 29th chapter to worship, initiation, and consecration in a higher, Kaula form of the same. It is in this context that he sets out as an option the system of Kālīkula worship taught in the *Mādhavakula* of the *Jayadrathayāmala*'s fourth *Ṣaṭka*. He then covers the Mantras (30), Maṇḍalas (31), and Mudrās (32) of the system, and summarizes the sets of the Trika's ancillary deities (33), thus bringing his treatment of ritual to its end. Chapters 34 to 36 explain the relationship between the three methods of immersion (34), and give an account of the hierarchy of revelation (35) and of the transmission of the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata*, of which the *Mālinīvijayottara* was considered to be the essence (36). Abhinavagupta ends his treatise with a chapter on the value of his composition (*śāstropādeyatvam*) (37). He states the position of the *Mālinīvijayottara* in the Śaiva canon: above the Saiddhāntika scriptures are those of Bhairava; within those the highest are the texts of the Śākta-orientated Vidyāpīṭha; of those the foremost is the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata*; and the *Mālinīvijayottara* is the latter's ultimate distillation. The value of the *Tantrāloka*, then, lies in his view in the fact that as the systematic exposition of the teachings of this Tantra it conveys the highest essence of the entire Śaiva revelation. He ends with an account of his patrilineal descent from Atrigupta, a learned brahmin of Madhyadeśa who was settled in Kashmir by King Lalitāditya (r. *c*. 725–761/2), of his intellectual history, the various Gurus who had taught him, and the circle of his disciples. Within the framework of this encyclopaedic treatment he has inserted numerous incidental discussions. Particularly noteworthy are his treatments of the metaphysical basis of the Sanskrit syllabary (*mātṛkācakram*) in the 3rd chapter, of the gradations of Guru-hood in the 4th, of causality in the 9th, of objectivity (*vedyatā*) in the 10th, and of the nature of death and the destinies of the soul thereafter in the 28th.

Though the *Tantrāloka* is based on the *Mālinīvijayottara* it reaches far beyond that source to draw on a great number of scriptural texts from the whole range of the Śaiva Mantramārga. Among texts of the Trika he cites principally the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata*, the *Triśirobhairava* [= *Anāmaka*], the *Devyāyāmala*, the *Tantrasadbhāva*, the *Kularatnamālā*, the *Trikasadbhāva*, the *Trikasāra*, the *Bhairavakula*, the *Vīrāvalī*, and the *Parātrīśikā*. From the Kālīkula he cites the *Mādhavakula*, the *Kramasadbhāva*, the *Ūrmikaulārṇava*/*Bhogahasta*, the *Kālīkula*, and the *Kālīmukha*.[463] The identity of the *Kālīkula* is not certain, but it

[463] Abhinavagupta refers to a text with this name as his source for the option of using a

is very probably the *Kālīkulapañcaśataka*.[464] He also cites a number of Kaula texts of uncertain affiliation: the *Ānandeśvara*, the *Utphullaka*, the *Kulagahvara*, the *Kramarahasya*, the *Khecarīmata*, the *Gama*, the *Tattvarakṣāvidhāna*, the *Nandiśikhā*, the *Nirmāryāda*, the *Niśāṭana*/*Niśisaṃcāra*, the *Bhargaśikhā*, the *Yogasaṃcāra*, the *Yoginīkaula*, the *Yonyarṇava*, the *Sarvavīra*/*Sarvācāra*, and the *Haiḍara*. Descending below this level in his herarchy of revelation he draws on the *Picumata*/*Brahmayāmala*, the principal scripture of the Yāmala division, and in the Dakṣiṇa division on the *Svacchanda* to a great extent and incidentally on the *Aghoreśvarīsvacchanda*. Among scriptures of the Siddhānta he cites the *Kacabhārgava*, the *Kāmika*, the *Kālottara*, the *Kiraṇa*, the *Dīkṣottara*, the *Niḥśvāsa*, the *Parākhya*, the *Pauṣkara*, the *Mataṅga*, the *Mayasaṃgraha*, the *Mukuṭottara*, the *Rauravasūtrasaṃgraha*, the *Sarvajñānottara*, and the *Svāyam-*

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sword, dagger, knife or clear mirror as one's substrate of worship (*Tantrāloka* 27.44): *khaḍgaṃ kṛpāṇikāṃ yad vā kartarīṃ makuraṃ ca vā | vimalaṃ tat tathā kuryāc chrīmatkālīmukhoditam*. No text of this name has been mentioned elsewhere in the literature known to me, but it is no doubt either the *Kālīkula* or a text closely related to it. For we have a close parallel in *Kālīkulapañcaśataka* A, f. 18r5 (4.73), referring to the worship of the phase of Withdrawal: *athavā churikāṃ sthāpya kartarīṃ vā sudāruṇām | mahāmukurapṛṣṭhe* (em. : *mahāmukuṭapṛṣṭhe* Cod.) *tu pūjyā saṃhārabhairavī*.

[464] His quotation of the *Kālīkula* in *Tantrāloka* 35.33–34 (*śrīmatkālīkule coktaṃ pañcasrotovivarjitam | daśāṣṭādaśabhedasya sāram etat prakīrtitam | puṣpe gandhas tile tailaṃ dehe jīvo jale 'mṛtam | yathā tathaiva śāstrāṇāṃ kulam antaḥ pratiṣṭhitam*) appears to be a condensed citation of *Kālīkulapañcaśataka* B, f. 27r4–v1 (2.35–38): *etad rahasyaṃ paramaṃ kulaṃ jñātaṃ na kenacit | śaivād bāhyam idaṃ deva pañcasrotovinirgatam |* 36 *daśāṣṭādaśabhedasya śaivasya parameśvara | antarlīnam idaṃ jñānaṃ na jñātaṃ tridaśeśvaraiḥ |* 37 *sarvatra saṃsthitaṃ deva sugūḍhaṃ kulam uttamam | puṣpe gandha ivāsaktaṃ tailaṃ yadvat tilādiṣu |* 38 *tathaiva sarvaśāstrāṇāṃ kulam antaḥ pratiṣṭhitam*. The citation in 13.306 (**kālīkulavidhau* [conj. : *kulakālīvidhau* Ed.] *coktaṃ vaiṣṇavānāṃ viśeṣataḥ | bhasmaniṣṭhāprapannānām ityādau naiva yogyatā*) is close to *Kālīkulapañcaśataka* A, f. 29v3–5 (7.51c–53b): *tāntrikāṇāṃ na śaivānāṃ na dadyād vaiṣṇavātmanām | bhasmaniṣṭhāprapannānām asthimālādidhāriṇām | vedoktādikriyārūḍhidānadharmatapojuṣām | tīrthāśramaprapannānāṃ na deyaṃ pāramārthikam*, with the *Kālīkula*'s *vaiṣṇavānāṃ viśeṣataḥ* being seen in a parallel passage in the *Devīdvyardhaśatikā*, f. 4v4–5 (41c–42): *tantrācāraratānāṃ ca siddhāntādikriyānvitām | vedoktādikriyārūḍhāṃ* ***vaiṣṇavānāṃ viśeṣataḥ*** *| *laukikānāṃ* (conj. [supported by *Kālikākrama* redaction: *laukikā ca*] : *kaulikānāṃ* Cod.) *kriyā*yuktāṃ* (em. [Aiśa gen. pl.] : *yuktās* Cod.) *tebhyo *rakṣyaṃ* (corr. : *rakṣaṃ* Cod.) *mahākramam*. In 28.14c–15b he includes the *Kālīkula* among sources that give information on the Kaula days sacred to the Mothers (*kulaparva*) (*kulaparveti tad brūmo yathoktaṃ bhairave kule | haiḍare trikasadbhāve trika****kālīkulā****dike*). There is no such information in the *Kālīkulapañcaśataka*. However, the reading is suspect since if *kālīkulādike* is correct, the *trika-* that precedes is problematic, since it does not denote a specific text and no *Trikakālīkula* is known or probable.

bhuvasūtrasaṃgraha, considering their prescriptions valid except where specific instructions in non-Saiddhāntika scriptures block their application for those initiated into the practice ordained in these more restricted traditions. His purpose is to formulate a position for the Trika than enables its followers to see it not merely as the highest revelation but as that which pervades and validates all others. The *Mālinīvijayottara* was a fitting base for this project for two principal reasons. The first is that it offers a bridge from the Śākta ground of this exegesis to the Siddhānta since it shows striking continuities with the latter system. The second is that the 18th chapter of the *Mālinīvijayottara* could be read as formulating the view that while the hierarchy of revelation leads upwards to culminate in the Trika, the highest revelation within the Trika itself, to be found in this chapter, transcends trancendence by propagating the position that all forms of Śaiva practice, including that of the Siddhānta, are equally valid provided they are informed by the nondualistic awareness enjoined here.[465]

Though the *Tantrāloka* is work of the Trika based on a text untouched by the Kālīkula, Abhinavagupta reads the Kālīkula-influenced strata of the tradition into the very core of his exegesis and develops this further in the light of post-scriptural Krama theory, though always doing so obliquely as though to conceal the purely Śākta ground of his Śaivism from profane eyes,[466] as examples from the opening chapters are sufficient to demonstrate. Thus the opening benedictory verse of the work reveals this character by showing in a veiled matter that the author's chosen deity (*iṣṭadevatā*) is Kālasaṃkarṣaṇī.[467] In the first chapter he alludes to the twelve Kālīs as the fullest expression of Bhairava's nature, presenting them in a syncretistic fashion as the three principal goddesses of the Trika subdivided by emission, stasis, withdrawal, and the [nameless] fourth.[468] In the third chapter, after defining the twelve vowels from A to AḤ (omitting Ṛ Ṝ

[465] On the hierarchical unity of the Mantramārga as formulated by Abhinavagupta and his commentator and the position that the Trika ultimately neither enjoins nor forbids any particular form of Śaiva practice, requiring only that the method adopted, whether it be, for example, the Saiddhāntika's Liṅga worship or the Kaula's rejection of that worship, should be animated by non-dualistic awareness, see my commentary on the second of the opening verses of Abhinavagupta's *Tantrasāra* (Sanderson 2005a, pp. 102–122).

[466] On the place of the Krama in Abhinavagupta's Trika see Sanderson 1995, pp. 53–62.

[467] See Sanderson 2005a, pp. 101–102.

[468] *Tantrāloka* 1.107: *tasya śaktaya evaitās tisro bhānti parādikāḥ | sṛṣṭau sthitau laye turye tenaitā dvādaśoditāḥ*. Jayaratha on this verse, taking these twelve as the Kālīs beginning with Sṛṣṭikālī: *parādikās tisraḥ śaktayaḥ sṛṣṭau sthitau laye saṃhāre turye anākhye ca bhānti … ekaikasyāś cātūrūpyeṇa śrīsṛṣṭikālyādyātmakatayā*.

ḶḸ) as the principal circle of Bhairava's powers, he equates them both with the twelve Kālīs of the Krama and with the twelve Yoginīs that form the retinue of Parā in the Trika.[469] In the same chapter he equates the Trika's syllabary-goddess Mālinī with Kālasaṃkarṣaṇī as the highest state, saying that the first self-limitation that she manifests is that of her pairing with Bhairava, that is to say, of the relationship between her as power and him as the powerful, though in reality she transcends this duality.[470] The fourth chapter's account of *śāktaḥ samāveśaḥ*, immersion in Śiva through the refinement of conceptual thought, is centred on an account of the rise in consciousness of these same Kālīs. Both the fourth and the fifth chapter teach the Krama's seed-syllable KHPHREṂ on a par with the Trika's SAUḤ; and when in the fifth Abhinavagupta teaches meditation on the flow of the powers of consciousness through the faculties (*dhyānam*), the powers are again the twelve and though they are not explicitly identified with the Krama's Kālīs it is clear that they are to be understood as these.[471]

On the *Tantrāloka* we have an extensive commentary written by Rājānaka Jayaratha in the thirteenth century.[472] It is of great value to the student of this text, since Jayaratha tries to cite in full the scriptural passages that Abhinavagupta frequently paraphrases in a condensed form. It has been described as exhaustive. But this is an exaggeration. The coverage is uneven and often cursory, especially on matters of ritual where we would be grateful for more information than he seems to have possessed. Moreover, a number of scriptural sources on which Abhinavagupta had drawn were no longer accessible to Jayaratha and his Kashmirian contemporaries. He never declares this fact and no doubt expected no one to be in a position to deduce it. It is only the survival of manuscripts of these texts in other parts of the sub-continent that enables us to see that he lacked access to these texts, since his interpretations of Abhinavagupta's terse paraphrases, though always unhesitating, are sometimes wrong.[473] Nonethe-

[469] *Tantrāloka* 3.251–254b.

[470] *Tantrāloka* 3.232c–234; *eṣā vastuta ekaiva parā kālasya karṣiṇī | śaktimadbhedayogena yāmalatvaṃ prapadyate*.

[471] *Tantrāloka* 5.19c–36. Jayaratha on 5.26c–27b indicates that he takes the twelve to be the twelve Kālīs by saying that the nature of the twelve has not been elaborated here because that has already been done in the preceding chapter. This can only be a reference to the treatment of the twelve Kālīs in the fourth.

[472] On this dating see below, p. 418.

[473] For a demonstration of some of these concealed lacunae in his knowledge see SANDERSON forthcoming *a*, in which these are considered in an analysis of the contraction of the knowledge-base of Kashmirian Śaivism in the period between Abhinavagupta and recent times.

less, within the limitations imposed on scholarship by a tradition obliged to maintain the fiction of undiminished knowledge, it is an impressive work. An earlier commentary by Subhaṭadatta, who gave initiation both to Jayaratha and to his father, the minister Śṛṅgāraratha,[474] has been lost, no doubt because Jayaratha's commentary supplanted it.[475]

After writing his *Tantrāloka* Abhinavagupta produced in his *Tantrasāra* a condensed and simplified coverage of its teachings for the benefit of those unable to master that long and much more complicated work. His *Tantroccaya*, probably written after the *Tantrasāra*, offers an even briefer version. These two works stay close to the content of the *Tantrāloka*, but not to such an extent that we can see them as mere summaries. Thus in his treatment of Kaula worship in the 29th chapter of the *Tantrāloka* Abhinavagupta teaches two Paddhatis, one based on the Mantras of the Trika and the other, as we have seen, drawn from the *Mādhavakula* of the Kālīkula. But in the *Tantrasāra* he substitutes a Paddhati based on the *Parātrīśikā*, while in the *Tantroccaya* he prescribes a form of Krama worship. Here Caṇḍayogeśvarī, the name under which the Goddess is invoked in the Krama's principal Mantras, is worshipped as the thirty-eighth Tattva enthroned above Bhairava, the thirty-seventh (above the thirty-six from Śiva to Earth of the common Śaiva model), as the source of all emissions and resorptions, either surrounded by her retinue of twelve [Kālīs] or solitary, as their totality.[476]

There is also the *Tantravaṭadhāṇikā*, a brief review of the contents of the *Tantrāloka* in 99 verses, mostly restricted to what is covered in the first five chapters of that work. Its author identifies himself in the opening and closing verses as Abhinavagupta, but the attribution is doubtful, unless we take this to be another author with the same name. Two verses (2.1–2) have been cited by Jayaratha on *Tantrāloka* 2.2, but without attribution. If he had thought them to

[474] *Tantrālokaviveka*, concluding verses 35–39.

[475] From Jayaratha's brother Jayadratha we have the *Haracaritacintāmaṇi*, a collection of accounts of Śiva's deeds in the world of men, the majority of which are told in versions that associate them with local sites of pilgrimage and the local religious calendar. The Śaivism of initiates transcends this level of common observance. But Jayadratha integrates it by introducing these narratives with verses that present their content as symbolic of the higher truths taught in the Śaiva scriptures.

[476] *Tantroccaya*, p. 177: *tatra śaktitrayātmā yo 'sau paramaśivaḥ saptatriṃśo bhairavas tam apy ullaṅghya tam āsanapakṣīkṛtyāṣṭātriṃśattamī yāsau bhagavatī paramasaṃvid uktā saiva *caṇḍayogeśvaryātmikā* (corr. : *caṇḍayogīśvaryātmikā* Cod.) *viśvagrāsasṛṣṭicakravāhinī *dvādaśabhir* (corr. : *dvādaśābhir* Ed.) *marīcirūpābhir devatābhiḥ saha kevalā vā viśvābhedavṛttyā pūjyā*.

be the work of Abhinavagupta then we would expect him to have said so, that being his habit. The colophon of the *Tantravaṭadhānikā* supports this doubt, since it attributes it to 'a certain Ācārya Abhinavagupta' (*śrīmadabhinavaguptā-cāryaviśeṣa-*), an expression that evidently does not refer to the famous author of the *Tantrāloka*.

We also have an extensive prose commentary (*-vivaraṇa*) by Abhinavagupta on the *Parātrīśikā*, a short text teaching a form of the Trika known as the Anuttara, Ekavīra, or Parākrama, in which a simplified, essentializing form of worship and meditation is directed to Parā alone and her seed-syllable SAUḤ. This commentary was written between the *Mālinīvijayavārtika* and the *Tantrāloka*.[477] A much shorter and markedly less brilliant commentary on this text, the *Parātrīśikālaghuvṛtti/Anuttaravimarśinī*, has been published as his. But I see no reason to accept the attribution and good reasons not to do so.[478] The work is probably South Indian.[479] We also have a short commentary (-*vivṛti*) on the text written by the Kashmirian Rājānaka Lakṣmīrāma, also called Rājāna Lasaka/Lāsaka (Lasa Kāk Rāzdān), at some time near the end of the eighteenth century or the beginning of the nineteenth. But this is ignorant of, or chooses to overlook, the true character of the text as instruction in the worship of, and meditation on, the Mantra of the Trika's Parā, wrongly taking the Mantra to be the Aghora, that is to say, the thirty-two-syllable Mantra of [Sakala-]Svacchandabhairava,[480] thus assimilating the text to the *Svacchanda*-based cult of that deity, which, as we shall see, appears to have been the most widely established form of Śaiva ritual practice in Kashmir down to modern times. A verse in praise of that deity is the first of the two final verses of the work. His engagement with the tradition of the *Svacchanda* and *Netra* is evidenced by a composite manuscript which contains among a number of short

[477] On the place of the *Parātrīśikāvivaraṇa* in the order of Abhinavagupta's works see SANDERSON 2005, p. 124, footnote 88.

[478] See SANDERSON 2005a, p. 142, footnote 24.

[479] The attribution is already seen in the *Mahārthamañjarīparimala* of the South Indian Maheśvarānanda (pp. 8, 52, 66, 114), who refers to it as the *Trīśikāśāstravimarśinī* (p. 114). His date remains to be determined, but from the sources he cites we can see that he cannot have been earlier than the twelfth century. On this form of the Trika in south India see SANDERSON 1990, pp. 32–34, 80–82.

[480] *Parātrīśikāvivṛti*, p. 14 on v. 26: *aghoramantreṇa ca saptaviṃśativāram aṣṭottaraśatākṣamālā-pādena mantritām*; p. 15 on 28: *caturdaśavāram aghorābhijaptena puṣpena*; p. 16 on 30c–32b: *maheśvarīṃ parāṃ devīm aghoramantreṇa parayā bhaktyā atyādareṇa pūjayet*; pp. 11–12 on v. 21 imposes the *Svacchanda*'s system of worlds (*bhuvanāni*).

Śaiva texts two attributed to this author: a **Niṣkalasvacchandadhyānavivaraṇa*, an analysis in twenty-two lines of a verse of the *Svacchandoddyota* that is used in the Kashmirian Paddhatis for the visualization accompanying the plenary oblation (*pūrṇāhutiḥ*) of Niṣkalasvacchanda, and an **Amṛteśvaradhyānavivaraṇa* in seventeen lines on the opening verse of the *Netroddyota*, which is used in the same context for Amṛteśvarabhairava.[481]

Two other works by Abhinavagupta, though not narrowly tied to the Trika in a technical sense, were written on its basis. These are the *Bodhapañcadaśikā* and the *Paramārthasāra*, a Śaiva rewriting of the Sāṃkhya-Vedāntic *Paramārthasāra/Ādhārakārikā* attributed to Śeṣamuni. The latter has come down to us with a commentary by the ascetic Yogarāja, a pupil of Abhinavagupta's pupil Kṣemarāja,[482] who has also given us the *Śivāṣṭaka*, a hymn to Caitanyaśiva, 'the Śiva who is Consciousness'. While the commentary on the *Paramārthasāra* is devoid of esoteric references, the hymn reflects the Krama-orientated idiom of the author's teacher Kṣemarāja.[483]

Several other short works have been attributed to Abhinavagupta. Among these the *Paramārthadvādaśikā*, the *Mahopadeśaviṃśatika*, and the *Rahasyapa-*

[481] See **Niṣkalasvacchandadhyānavivaraṇa*, f. 91v3 (colophon): *iti rājānakalasakākena vivaraṇaṃ viracitam* (the verse is *Svacchandoddyota*, vol. 3, p. 177, ll. 16–19); and *Amṛteśvaradhyānavivaraṇa*, f. 91v17 (colophon): *iti lasakākakṛtā vivṛtiḥ*. For the use of these verses in the Paddhatis see, e.g., *Śivanirvāṇapaddhati*, pp. 256–257.

[482] The Trika in the technical sense, as opposed to the philosophical discourse of the Pratyabhijñā texts, appears at the end of the *Bodhapañcadaśikā* (v. 15) in a reference to Bhairava, the identity of all things, seated on a lotus above the trident of the three powers of creative impulse, cognition, and action [i.e. Parā, Parāparā, and Aparā], and in the *Paramārthasāra* in (1) v. 4 (see also v. 41) in its reference to the four spheres (*aṇḍacatuṣṭayam*) that constitute the created universe, those of Śakti, Māyā, Prakṛti, and Earth, which is a classification drawn from and distinctive of the Trika's *Mālinīvijayottara* (2.49); and (2) vv. 43–46, which should be understood as a metaphysical reading of SAUḤ, the seed-syllable of the Trika's goddess Parā (cf. *Tantrāloka* 4.186c–189b for this encoding).

[483] This orientation is apparent in the *Śivāṣṭaka*'s two opening verses, f. 9r16–20: *yo 'ntaś *caran* (em. : *carat* Cod.) *prāṇabhṛtāṃ hṛdabje dhvanaty abhīkṣṇaṃ bhramarāyamāṇaḥ | aśnaṃś ca śabdādiparāgam uccaiḥ namo 'stu caitanyaśivāya tasmai | 2 svadīdhitīnāṃ karaṇeśvarīṇāṃ cidarkamūrtiḥ samudetya madhye | grāsīkaroty eṣa haṭhāt trilokīṃ namo 'stu caitanyaśivāya tasmai |* 'Obeisance to Caitanyaśiva, who resonates constantly like a bee in the lotus of the heart, moving within all living creatures and eagerly devouring the pollen of the objects of the senses. Obeisance to Caitanyaśiva. Behold: as the sun that is consciousness rises up in the midst of his rays, the goddesses that are the faculties [of sense-perception and action], he violently devours the three worlds [that are the objects, means, and agent of cognition]'.

ñcadaśikā are certainly not his. The first is the work of Ramyadeva;[484] and the second and third are evidently South Indian compositions.[485] The attribution of the *Anubhavanivedanastotra* and the *Dehasthadevatācakrastotra* rests on oral report alone, and the subject of the latter, the mental worship of Ānandabhairava and his consort Ānandabhairavī surrounded by the eight Mothers, has no parallel in Abhinavagupta's other works. The *Paryantapañcāśikā* is attributed to Abhinavagupta in its colophon, but it has not been cited in any Kashmirian source, nor has it come down to us, to my knowledge, in any Kashmirian manuscript. The manuscript transmission of the text is South Indian and the work appears to have been known only there.[486] The *Anuttarāṣṭikā* and the *Paramārthacarcā*, survive in Kashmirian manuscripts with colophons that assert that Abhinavagupta is their author. But I know of no evidence that confirms this assertion. Nor am I aware of any that refutes it. However, the fact that Jayaratha cites a line from the former without attribution does not inspire confidence, since this goes against his usual practice when quoting Abhinavagupta.[487]

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[484] See footnote 309 on p. 326.

[485] The *Mahopadeśaviṃśatika* is for the most part a reworking and reframing of the first part (vv. 2–8) of the *Nirguṇamānasapūjā* (Raghavan 1980, pp. 70–75), which is one of the more than 300 hymns ascribed to Śaṅkara in the South Indian Smārta tradition under the spiritual authority of the Śaṅkarācāryas of Śṛṅgerī and Kāñcī. On South Indian features in the *Rahasyapañcadaśikā* see Sanderson 1990, pp. 34–35, footnote 21.

[486] The text was edited by V. Raghavan on the basis of a manuscript in Trivandrum that appears to be a *codex unicus*. It is mentioned as a work of Abhinavagupta in v. 20 of the South Indian *Gurunāthaparāmarśa* of Madhurāja/Mādhura of Madurai, a verse found in both highly divergent recensions of the text, that of the Trivandrum manuscript and that of a copy of a Devanāgarī manuscript in private possesion in Madras. It has been claimed that Madhurāja was a pupil of Abhinavagupta (Pandey 1963, pp. 20–22) and if that were true this testimony would be compelling. But not one of the verses that mention Madhurāja/Mādhura is common to both recensions and none states that he was anything more than a devotee of Abhinavagupta's works and an adept in the Parākrama, the system of meditative worship taught in the *Parātrīśikā*. The only citations of the *Paryantapañcāśikā* that I have located are in the South Indian *Mahārthamañjarīparimala* of Maheśvarānanda, a work of *c.* 1300 (see pp. 412–416) and the South Indian *Īśvarapratyabhijñāvimarśinīvyākhyā*, folio sides 8, ll. 18–19 and 9, ll. 7–8. In none of these citations is the name of its author stated.

[487] *Anuttarāṣṭikā* 2a is cited without attribution in *Tantrālokaviveka*, vol. 3, p. 99, ll. 11–13: *anibaddhasya "saṃsāro sti na tattvatas tanubhṛtāṃ bandhasya vārtaiva kā" ityādinyāyenālabdhaprarohasyāpi bandhasya kīlanam …*

The Pratyabhijñā

All Abhinavagupta's exegesis proceeds on the basis of the doctrine of dynamic non-duality newly developed on slight scriptural foundations by Utpaladeva, the pupil of Somānanda, in his *Īśvarapratyabhijñākārikā*, its two auto-commentaries (the *-vṛttiḥ* and the *-vivṛtiḥ*), the *Ajaḍapramātṛsiddhi*, the *Īśvarasiddhi*, the *Saṃbandhasiddhi*, and his commentary on Somānanda's *Śivadṛṣṭi*.[488] That philosophically argued doctrine was transmitted through the latter's pupil Lakṣmaṇagupta to Abhinavagupta, who in the final phase of his Śaiva scholarship wrote commentaries on the key texts of this tradition:[489] the *Īśvarapratyabhijñāsūtravimarśinī* on the *Īśvarapratyabhijñākārikā*, and the vast *Īśvarapratyabhijñāvivṛtivimarśinī* on the *Vivṛti*. Utpaladeva's works elaborate their position for the most part in the pan-Indian language of philosophical debate, eschewing the esoteric terminology of the Trika or Krama. Nonetheless, they were composed within a lineage of Gurus following those traditions. Somānanda wrote an analyic commentary (*-vivṛtiḥ*), now lost, on the Trika's *Parātrīśikā*,[490] which Abhinavagupta studied before composing his own commentary on this text;[491] and Jayaratha claims that this lineage from Somānanda through Utpaladeva and Lakṣmaṇagupta to Abhinavagupta was versed both in the Trika and in the Krama of the *Kālīkulapañcaśataka*.[492]

On Abhinavagupta's *Īśvarapratyabhijñāvimarśinī* we have a commentary (*Bhāskarī*) written by Rājānaka Bhāskarakaṇṭha in the seventeenth or eighteenth century.[493] That author has also left us the *Cittānubodhaśāstra*, a com-

[488] On Abhinavagupta's superimposition of this doctrine on the *Mālinīvijayottara* see Sanderson 1992, pp. 291–306.

[489] For the evidence that the philosophical commentaries were written after the Trika commentaries see Sanderson 2005a, p. 124, footnote 88.

[490] Abhinavagupta refers to it and quotes from it in his *Parātrīśikāvivaraṇa*, pp. 191, ll. 28–30; 204, ll. 8–9; 206, ll. 10–11; 207, ll. 20–22; 208, ll. 1–2; 216, ll. 27–28; 218, ll. 7–8, 26; 220, ll. 6–12; 225, ll. 12–14; 255, l. 31–256, l. 4; 279, ll. 14–16.

[491] *Parātrīśikāvivaraṇa*, p. 285, ll. 29–30: *śrīsomānandamataṃ vimṛśya mayā nibaddham idam* 'I have composed this [commentary] after reflecting on Somānanda's understanding [of the text]'.

[492] *Tantrāloka*, vol. 3, p. 194, ll. 8–10: *śrīdevīpañcaśatike 'py asya śrīsomānandabhaṭṭapādebhyaḥ prabhṛti trikadarśanavad asya guravaḥ* 'In the case of the *Devīpañcaśataka* too his [Abhinavagupta's] teachers were as in the case of [the scriptures of] the Trika, from the venerable Somānanda onwards'.

[493] On his date see below, p. 422. There is also the *Īśvarapratyabhijñākaumudī* of one Bhaṭṭāraka Sundara. I have not yet seen it; and I have no information concerning its date.

mentary (*-ṭīkā*) on the Kashmirian *Mokṣopāya* (later expanded and vedānticized as the *Yogavāsiṣṭha*), and a free rendering into Sanskrit of Old Kashmiri Śaiva verses by Lal Děd (*Lalleśvarīvākyāni*).

Exegesis of the Vāmakeśvarīmata

From Jayaratha we have a commentary (*-vivaraṇa*) on the *Vāmakeśvarīmata*, also known as the *Nityāṣoḍaśikārṇava*, the primary scripture of the Kaula cult of the goddess Tripurasundarī. The commentary is technical, abounding in polemics against divergent views of the minutiae of ritual practice,[494] and as such suggests that Jayaratha was a practitioner of this relatively new tradition rather than of the Trika or the Krama, though he makes no explicit statement to that effect. He also quotes in this commentary from another work of his in this tradition.[495]

He refers to a number of earlier Kashmirian scholars of this system of worship. He tells us that it was first propagated in Kashmir by Īśvaraśivācārya and Śaṅkararāśi, and then passed on through one Viśvāvarta to all subsequent Kashmirian lineages down to the time of Jayaratha himself.[496] He also mentions in this tradition the exegetes Rājānaka Kalyāṇavarman,[497] Allaṭa,[498] an unnamed author of a Vārtika (*vārtikakāraḥ*),[499] his own Guru's Guru,[500] and someone he refers to simply as the Guru.[501]

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[494] *Vāmakeśvarīmatavivaraṇa*, p. 1, v. 3: *parakṛtakukalpanāmayatimirāndhyāpohanāya manāk śrīvāmakeśvarīmatam uddyotayituṃ mamodyamo 'dyāyam* 'Today I commence this effort briefly to illuminate the *Vāmakeśvarīmata* in order to dispel the blindness caused by the darkness of the fanciful interpretations [of this text] produced by others'.

[495] *Vāmakeśvarīmatavivaraṇa*, p. 58, ll. 8–12. On the relative modernity of this tradition see Sanderson 1988, p. 689 (= 1990, p. 157).

[496] *Vāmakeśvarīmatavivaraṇa*, p. 48, ll. 11–14: *vastuto hy asya darśanasya etad eva ācāryadvayaṃ kaśmīreṣv avatārakam. *tataś* (em. : *tanaś* Ed.) *śrīviśvāvartamukhenaiva lakṣyate yat tad evāsmatparyantaṃ śiṣyapraśiṣyakrameṇa sarveṣām eva prāptam* 'For in fact it was these two Ācāryas that first propagated this system in Kashmir. It is their teaching, passed on through Viśvāvarta, that has been inherited by all without exception through a continuous succession of pupils and their pupils [and so on] down to myself'. In speaking of "these two Ācāryas" he is referring back to Īśvaraśivācārya, mentioned in p. 47, l. 15, and Śaṅkararāśi, mentioned in p. 48, l. 2.

[497] *Vāmakeśvarīmatavivaraṇa*, p. 48, l. 8–9; p. 117, l. 25.

[498] *Vāmakeśvarīmatavivaraṇa*, p. 54, l. 4.

[499] *Vāmakeśvarīmatavivaraṇa*, p. 9, ll. 15–16; p. 12, ll. 19–23; p. 30, ll. 5–6

[500] *Vāmakeśvarīmatavivaraṇa*, p. 19, ll. 6–15; p. 57, ll. 14–16.

[501] *Vāmakeśvarīmatavivaraṇa*, p. 20, ll. 4–9 (*guravo 'pi: …*); p. 68, ll. 10–13 (*guravo 'pi: …*). I

None of their works has come down to us. As for their dates, we know little beyond the fact that they are known to Jayaratha in the thirteenth century. Pandey[502] dates the introduction of the system in Kashmir to the ninth century on the evidence (1) that Jayaratha quotes a verse which refers to Īśvaraśivācārya as the abbot of the Śūramaṭha (*śūramaṭhādhipatiḥ*)[503] and (2) that the historian Kalhaṇa records that a Maṭha of this name was founded for the benefit of ascetics by Śūra, while he was the minister of king Avantivarman, who ruled from 855/6 to 883.[504] I am unable to understand by what route other than thoughtlessness this scholar arrived at the unstated position that if Īśvaraśivācārya was abbot of this foundation then he must have been the first to hold that office and was therefore a contemporary of the founder. There is certainly no reason to think that the Śūramaṭha had only one abbot and then ceased to exist. On the contrary we know that it was still in existence in the eleventh century.[505] The error is so blatant that it would be unnecessary to point it out were it not that, as so often happens in such cases, the date has been inadvertently repeated.[506]

As for the commentator Rājānaka Kalyāṇavarman, it is probable that he was Jayaratha's great-great-grandfather.[507] If so, then his active life may be dated approximately to the years 1125–1175,[508] and the introduction in Kashmir of the system of the worship of Tripurasundarī by Īśvaraśivācārya and Śaṅkararāśi to an unknown time before that, certainly after the founding of the Śūramaṭha and almost certainly after the time of Abhinavagupta and Kṣemarāja, that is to say, after *c.* 1050, since neither author shows any knowledge of the existence of this tradition and its primary scripture. Abhinavagupta is aware of a Kaula

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take these to be plurals of respect (*ādare bahuvacanam*).

[502] Pandey 1963, p. 578.

[503] *Vāmakeśvarīmatavivaraṇa*, p. 48, ll. 19–20: *yad bhavanto 'pi: "śrīśūramaṭhādhipater lebhe guruvaraparamparopanatam | cakram idam īśvaraśivāt pūrvācāryo 'smadīya eva purā" iti* 'As you yourselves [have declared]: "The first Ācārya of my lineage received this Cakra, that had come down through the unbroken line of excellent Gurus, from Īśvaraśiva, the abbot of the Śūramaṭha"'.

[504] *Rājataraṅgiṇī* 5.38.

[505] Kalhaṇa refers to the Śūramaṭha as a place of sanctuary in the capital during the reigns of Abhimanyu (958–972) (*Rājataraṅgiṇī* 6.223) and Saṃgrāmarāja (1003–1028) (*ibid.*, 7.26).

[506] Gnoli 1999, p. 700, in a note on Īśānaśiva mentioned in *Tantrāloka* 22.30, asserts that this author is "the same as Īśvaraśiva, the propagator of the *Vāmakeśvarīmata* in Kashmir in the 9th century", referring the reader to Pandey 1963, pp. 578–582.

[507] *Vāmakeśvarīmatavivaraṇa*, pp. 117–118.

[508] For Jayaratha's date see below, p. 418.

tradition of worshippers of the Nityās,[509] but nothing requires us to identify that with the cult of Tripurasundarī seen in the *Vāmakeśvarīmata/Nityāṣoḍaśikārṇava*, since there were earlier traditions of the worship of Tripurā accompanied by nine Nityās or by eleven Nityās and Kāmadeva, which though antecedents of this cult are certainly not to be confused with it.[510]

The Śaivism of the Svacchanda and Netra

Two other major traditions of Śaiva worship are evidenced in Kashmir: (1) that of Svacchandabhairava and his consort Aghoreśvarī, based on the *Svacchandatantra*, and (2) that of Amṛteśa[bhairava] and his consort Amṛtalakṣmī, based on the *Netratantra*. The first of these texts is the principal scripture of the Dakṣiṇa or Bhairava division of the Śaiva Mantramārga and of its Mantrapīṭha subdivision.[511] The second presents itself as transcending the various divisions

[509] *Tantrāloka* 28.123cd, referring to *nityātantravidaḥ* 'followers of the Nityātantras' for their calendar of Kaula special days (*parvadināni*); also *Parātrīśikāvivaraṇa*, p. 238, ll. 25–26: *yathā nityātantreṣv aikārātmakamohanabījaprādhānyahetuḥ*.

[510] See, e.g., *Tantrālokaviveka*, vol. 9, p. 139, ll. 14–15, quoting a *Navanityāvidhāna*. The *Manthānabhairavatantra* speaks of the *navanityāgamāḥ* as a class of Tantras above the Pramāṇaśāstras of the Lākulas (on whom see Sanderson 2006) [and the Siddhāntas] but below the Bhairava Tantras of the left and right streams (*Kumārīkhaṇḍa*, f. 213r.: *navanityāgamajñānāṃ śivatattvaṃ paraṃ padaṃ*; *Siddhakhaṇḍa*, f. 8v3–4: *nityātantrāṇi cibukād pūrvāmnāyaṃ lalāṭataḥ | paścimaṃ ṣoḍaśāntāt tu tadūrdhve na ca kiṃcana*) and includes a cult of these Nine (*navanityākramaḥ*) (Kulanityā, Vajreśvarī, Tvaritā, Kurukullā, Lalitā, Bheruṇḍā, Nīlapatākā, Kāmamaṅgalā and Vyomavyāpinī) with Tripurā as the tenth and their leader (*Siddhakhaṇḍa*, f. 203r–v). Evidence of a system of eleven Nityās survives in the scripture *Nityākaula*, of which a single, incomplete manuscript has come down to us. Here the goddess Tripurā is worshipped surrounded by a circle of twelve deities comprising eleven Nityā goddesses and Kāmadeva. The eleven Nityās of this text are Hṛllekhā, Kledinī, Nandā, Kṣobhanī, Madanāturā, Nirañjanā, Rāgavatī, Madanāvatī, Khekalā, Drāvaṇī and Vegavatī; see *Nityākaula*, f. 2r7–2v1: + + + + *tu nāmāni kathayāmi* **tanūdari* (cor. : *tanodari* Cod.) | *hṛllekhā kledinī nandā kṣobhanī madanāturā | nirañjanā* [*rāgavatī tathānyā ma*]*danāvatī | khekalā drāvaṇī caiva tathā vegavatī varā | ekādaśaitā devyās te madano dvādaśa smṛtaḥ*. Its earlier prominence is indicated by the fact that a syncretistic text of the cult of Kubjikā, the *Ciñciṇīmatasārasamuccaya*, contains a section drawn from the *Nityākaula*, or from some lost text closely related to it, in which it sets out this Yāga as the 'teaching of the southern order' (*dakṣiṇagharāmnāyaḥ*), grouping it with the cult of Kubjikā, the Kālīkula, and a form of unmarked Kaulism agreeing closely with that found in the Trika, which it calls the teachings of the orders of the North, West and East respectively.

[511] The *Svacchanda* is at the head of the list of Dakṣiṇa Tantras in the *Brahmayāmala*, as the first of eight *-bhairava* scriptures (f. 199r [39.33c–35b]: *svacchandabhairavaṃ devi krodhabhairavam eva ca | unmattabhairavaṃ devi tathā caivograbhairavam | kapālībhairavaṃ caiva*

of the Śaiva canon, teaching a system of worship that is universal and at the same time can be inflected to be practised in the context of any system of worship by the substitution of appropriate deity-visualizations to accompany the Mantras of the core cult. These substitutions apply in the first instance to the Śaiva divisions. Thus one can propitiate Amṛteśa as Sadāśiva in the context of the Siddhānta, as Bhairava in that of the Dakṣiṇa, as Tumburu in that of the Vāma, and as Kuleśvara in the Kaula cult of the eight Mothers. However, the cult of Amṛteśa and/or Amṛtalakṣmī is not limited to these divisions. It can be extended to absorb the worship of any deity male or female, including the Pañcarātra's Vāsudeva, Sūrya, Bhadrakālī, the Buddha, and the forms of Śiva worshipped by or for the uninitiated laity. I have argued elsewhere that the *Netra* is providing in this way for a cult in the hands of a new class of Śaiva officiants working in what was traditionally the professional domain of the brahmanical royal chaplain (*rājapurohitaḥ*), specializing in rituals for the protection of the monarch and his family and taking over the performance of worship on the king's behalf of the full range of deities whose worship is prescribed in the brahmanical calendar, including those of the major royal festivals of the Indrotsava and the Navarātra.[512]

These two cults, of Svacchandabhairava and Amṛteśabhairava, appear to have been very well established in Kashmir. Indeed we may say that if any cults constituted the basic Śaivism of the brahmins of the valley, it was these. For they form the basis of all the surviving Śaiva Paddhatis used as practical guides by Kashmir's Śaiva officiants and other initiates down to recent times.[513] We see this, for example, in the *Kalādīkṣāpaddhati*, the detailed manual for Śaiva initi-

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tathā jhaṃkārabhairavam | śekharaṃ ca tathā caiva vijayabhairavam eva ca). It is the first of the thirty-two Dakṣiṇatantras listed in the account of the Śaiva canon that precedes the *Jñānapañcāśikā* in a Nepalese manuscript of the *Kālottara* recensions (*Kālottara*, f. 2r2–5 [v. 17–21]: 17 *svacchandabhairavaṃ caṇḍa⟨ṃ⟩ krodham unmattabhairavam | asitāṅgaṃ ruruṃ caiva kāpālīśaṃ samuccayam* | 18 *aghoraṃ *ghoraghoṇaṃ ca* [conj. : *ghoṇasaṃghoraṃ* Cod.] *niśāsaṃcāra *diṅmukham* [em. : *durmukham* Cod.] | **bhīmāṅgaṃ* (conj. : *bhīmāsaṃ* Cod.) *ḍāmarārāvam bhīmavetālavarddhakam* | 19 *ucchuṣmaṃ †vāhikaṃbelaṃ† śekharaṃ puṣpam advayam* | *triśiraṃ caikapādaṃ tu siddhayogeśvarīmatam* | 20 *pañcāmṛta⟨ṃ⟩ prapañcaṃ ca yoginījāla*śaṃvaram* (corr. : *sambaraṃ* Cod.) | *viśvārikaṇṭhasaṃkocaṃ tilakodyānabhairavam* | 21 *evaṃ dvātriṃśat tantrāṇi sottarāṇi ca ta⟨d⟩ dvayam* | *catuḥṣaṣṭipramāṇāni dakṣiṇāsyodbhavāni tu*. It is also the first of the sixty-four Bhairavatantras listed in the *Śrīkaṇṭhī* (*Tantrālokaviveka*, vol. 1, p. 42, l. 5). For its position as the first of the Tantras of the Mantrapīṭha see p. 234.

[512] See Sanderson 2005b.

[513] On the fact that the Kashmirian Śaiva Paddhatis are based on the *Svacchanda* and *Netra* see Sanderson 2005b, p. 240 and footnotes 20–21.

ation, composed by Manodadatta in A.D. 1335/6 and subsequently elaborated in more than one version,[514] and in such anonymous works as the *Agnikārya-paddhati* for the Śaiva fire-sacrifice, and the *Śivanirvāṇapaddhati* for Śaiva cremation together with the Paddhatis for the Śaiva Śrāddhas to be performed for the dead.[515]

It is also apparent in the *Nityādisaṃgrahapaddhati*, a digest of passages bearing on daily (*nitya-*) and occasional (*naimittika-*) Śaiva worship compiled by Rājānaka Takṣakavarta at some time after the eleventh century[516] from a wide range of scriptural texts and Paddhatis, a number of which survive only here.[517] For the passages he has chosen cover three modes of worship, that of the Siddhānta, and the two based on the *Svacchanda* and the *Netra*.

Lost Paddhatis

Rājānaka Takṣakavarta cites a number of Paddhatis, of which a few are evidently lost products of Kashmir. The Saiddhāntika Paddhati of Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha has already been mentioned.[518] He also cites passages from a Paddhati by Viśvāvarta, and these reveal that it taught both worship of Śiva according to the

[514]On the date of the *Kalādīkṣāpaddhati* and its subsequent expansion see Sanderson 2004, p. 362, footnote 34.

[515]A volume published for local use containing the *Śivanirvāṇapaddhati* and the Paddhatis for the offerings of water to the dead and the subsequent Śrāddhas is among the Sanskrit texts from Kashmir republished in photographic reproduction by Lokesh Chandra (1984). Also in this corpus of post-mortuary Śaiva ritual is the *Śivagopradānavidhi*.

[516]On this prior limit of Takṣakavarta's date see below, p. 420.

[517]His digest contains passages from or references to the following scriptures: *Aghorīpañcaśataka*, *Adbhuta*, *Anantavijaya*, *Analasiddhānta*, *Anilasiddhānta* (probably a scribal error for the preceding), *Īśvarasaṃhitā*, *Ucchuṣmatantra*, *Umāyāmala*, *Kālottara*, *Kiraṇa*, *Kubjikāmata*, *Gaurīyāmala*, *Gaurīśvarāgama*, *Cakreśvaramata*/*Cillācakreśvara*, *Caturviṃśatisāhasrā*, *Catuṣpañcāśikā*, *Candrahāsa*, *Jayāsaṃhitā* (= *Jayākhyasaṃhitā*), *Dūtiḍāmara*, *Devyāyāmala*, *Nandīśvarāvatāra-Niḥśvāsa*, *Parāgama* (= *Parākhya*), *Pauṣkarapārameśvara*, *Bṛhatkālottara*, *Maṅgalaśāstra*, *Mataṅga*, *Mayasaṃgraha*, *Mahālakṣmīmata*, *Mukuṭa*, *Mṛgendra*, *Mṛtyujitsārasaṃgraha*, *Mṛtyuñjaya* (= *Netratantra*), *Yakṣiṇīpārameśvara*, *Raurava*, *Lakṣmīkaula*, *Lalitamahātantra*, *Vāthula*, *Vājasaneyā*, *Vidyāpurāṇa*, *Vīṇāśikhottara*, *Śaṅkarabhairava*, *Śikhākāmeśvara*, *Śikhātantra*, *Śivadharma*, *Śrīkaṇṭhī*, *Śrīpūrva* (= *Mālinīvijayottara*), *Sārasvatamata*, *Siddhayogeśvarītantra*, *Svacchanda*, *Svāyambhuva*, *Haṃsapārameśvara*, and *Hāṭakeśvara*. He also cites the following Paddhatis: *Karmoddyota* of Dharmaśiva, *Tantrāloka*, *Nārāyaṇakaṇṭhapaddhati*, *Brahmaśambhupaddhati*, *Vāmadevapaddhati*, *Vāmadevīya[saṃgraha]*, *Viśvāvartapaddhati*, an unnamed Paddhati by Vairocanācārya, and *Somaśambhupaddhati*.

[518]See p. 244.

Siddhānta[519] and that of Amṛteśabhairava following the *Netratantra*.[520] The passages cited do not allow us to conclude that it did not also include prescriptions pertaining to the worship of Svacchandabhairava or some other system or systems. The author's name, which is of a distinctively Kashmirian type,[521] and the absence of any reference to this work outside the Śaiva literature of Kashmir indicate that this is a work of that region.

Takṣakavarta also gives extracts from the Paddhati of Dharmaśiva, called *Karmoddyota*. Because of its author's Saiddhāntika initiation-name we would expect it to deal only with the rituals of the Saiddhāntika Mantramārga. But in fact it is clear that it too had a wider scope. After setting out the varieties of rosary (*akṣamālā*) appropriate to worship for various supernatural ends (*siddhiḥ*), Dharmaśiva teaches the procedure for its preparation for use (*saṃskāraḥ*). After empowering it by repeating over it the principal Mantra and its auxiliaries, the worshipper should sprinkle it with water scented with camphor and sandalwood and then show the Mudrā. The last, it says, should be whichever is prescribed in the Kalpa that he is following.[522] This implies that it sets out general procedures that can be adjusted as necessary to accommodate the propitiation of non-Saiddhāntika Mantras. The same appears from its treatment of the procedure for the repetition of Mantras (*japavidhiḥ*), which he refers to as applicable to the *pañcasrotaḥ śaivam*, which is to say, to the Śaivism of the Mantramārga in its five branches, of which the principal three are the Siddhānta, the Vāma, and the Dakṣiṇa, opposing this to the Kula Śaivism (*kulam*) of the Śāktas.[523] To the same effect he rules in this context that one should visualize in one's heart the iconic form prescribed for one's Mantra in accordance

[519] *Nityādisaṃgrahapaddhati*, f. 35v1: *ittham amantrapūjādau śrīviśvāvartabhāṣitā | siddhāntadṛṣṭyā tv adhunā vacmi bhairavaśāsane*.

[520] *Nityādisaṃgrahapaddhati*, ff. 22v8–9, 23r1: *ity eṣa nyāsavidhi⟨ḥ⟩ siddhāntanayāśritaḥ kathitaḥ. sarvasrotaḥsaṃgrahasārāśayato 'pi kathyate so 'lpaḥ …śrī*viśvāvarta* (em. : *viśvārta* Cod.) *evaṃ hi jagāda nijapaddhatau*. The *Sarvasrotaḥsaṃgrahasāra* is the *Netra*. Other citations: f. 13v6–14r2 (*devāditarpaṇaṃ proktaṃ *śrīviśvāvartapaddhatau* [corr. : *śrīviśveṣartapaddhatau* Cod.]); and f. 32r1 (*āvāhādiprayogo 'yaṃ śrīviśvāvarta*bhāṣitaḥ* (em. : *bhāvitaḥ* Cod.)–32r9.

[521] On this and other Kashmirian names ending in *-āvarta*, *-varta* etc. see p. 258.

[522] *Nityādisaṃgrahapaddhati*, f. 37r5–37v6 (*akṣamālāvidhir hy eṣa karmoddyote nirūpitaḥ*); f. 37r12–v1: *vinyasya dakṣiṇe haste pṛṣṭhe tasyāṃ japec ciram | sāṣṭaṃ śataṃ hṛdādīnāṃ daśāṃśenābhimantrayet | toyena secayet tena candracandanagandhinā | mudrāṃ pradarśayen mantrī* ***nijakalpakramoditām***.

[523] *Nityādisaṃgrahapaddhati*, f. 41r10–42r11 (*karmo[ddyote] dhārmaśive py evaṃ japavidhi⟨ḥ⟩ smṛtaḥ*); f. 42r9: *dvaite proktam idaṃ jñānaṃ sa dvaitārthe tato nyaset | pañcasrotasi śaive 'smiñ japaḥ proktaḥ kule 'nyathā*.

with the particular ritual system that one is following.[524]

That the systems envisaged by Dharmaśiva include the worship of Bhairava can be inferred from a passage on the rising degrees of merit to be gained by bathing the Liṅga with various liquids. For he begins with water and ends with wine (*mṛdvīkārasaḥ*),[525] and bathing the substrate of worship with wine is a strictly non-Saiddhāntika practice, as Takṣakavarta makes clear by following this citation with a passage from the lost *Aghorīpañcaśataka*. That teaches that wine and the like should be used to bathe any image in which non-dual Mantras have been installed, and may also be used in the case of natural ('self-created') Liṅgas and the ovoid stones gathered from the bed of the Narmadā river known as Bāṇaliṅgas, but never in the case of a fixed Liṅga fashioned by man and empowered with the Mantras of the Siddhānta. Non-dual Mantras here are evidently those other than the Mantras of the Siddhānta, and this is confirmed later in the passage when it states that one should gratify an image with wine or other fermented liquors when it has been empowered with the Mantras of the Vāma, Dakṣiṇa, or Trisiddhānta. The last of these is evidently the Trika under a synonym.[526]

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[524] *Nityādisaṃgrahapaddhati*, f. 41r10–11: *yathā japaṃ prakurvīta tathā vyāptir ihocyate | saṃyamyākṣāṇi manasā rājīvāsanasaṃsthitaḥ | mūlamantraṃ samuccārya nāde līnaṃ svakāraṇe | dhyātvā hṛdi svamantrasya* ***svakarmaproktavigraham*** *| sūkṣmadehasya hṛtpadme śivadehe viśec chivam*.

[525] *Nityādisaṃgrahapaddhati*, f. 34r1–3: **gāvaḥ* (em. : *yāvaf* Cod.) *pṛthivyāṃ yāvatyas taddānaphalatulyatām | yāti liṅge jala*snānād* (em. : *snānā* Cod.) **gāndhaiś* (em. : *gadyaiś* Cod.) *śataguṇaṃ tataḥ | gandhasnānāc chataguṇaṃ kṣīrasnānaṃ tatas tathā | dadhisnānaṃ śataguṇaṃ tac cājyena tataḥ śatam | *sadyaḥprītidamṛdvīkārase* (conj. : *sadyafpītitadṛdvīkārase* Cod.) *naitatsamaṃ phalam | sādhakasya vinirdiṣṭaṃ śrīmaddharmaśivena tu*.

[526] *Nityādisaṃgrahapaddhati*, f. 34r3–7: *advaitamantrayuktā ye tathā bāṇāḥ svayambhuvaḥ | vāmāmṛtādibhir dravyaiḥ proktaṃ teṣāṃ tu tarpaṇam | na hi tat sthāpite liṅge *siddhāntamantrakalpite* (em : *siddhānte mantrakalpite* Cod.) *| jalāc chataguṇaṃ gāndhaṃ gandhāc chataguṇaṃ payaḥ | kṣīrāc chataguṇaṃ dādhnaṃ dadhnaś śataguṇaṃ ghṛtam | ghṛtāc chataguṇaṃ* ⟨**vāmaṃ*⟩ (conj.) *vāmadakṣiṇaśāsane | ghṛtatulyaṃ madhusnānaṃ drākṣā cekṣurasaṃ samam | tasmāc chreṣṭhatamaṃ snānaṃ surayā vāsavena vā | tṛṇāgrabindumātreṇa liṅga*snānena tarpaṇam* (conj. : *snāneṣatarpaṇe* Cod.) *| kṛtaṃ bhavati tat tulyam aśvamedhaśataiḥ samam | vāme kuryāt trisiddhānte vihitaṃ bhairave sadā | bhairave tu prapannānāṃ snānaṃ snānaṃ phalādhikam | aghorīpañcaśatake proktam etad dhi śambhunā.*

Other citations from the Paddhati of Dharmaśiva: f. 20r4–12, on the nature of the *mūrtiḥ* that is the base for *nyāsaḥ*; f. 46r1 (*bāhye tatra baliṃ prāha śrīmān dharmaśivābhidhaḥ*), on the bali offering; f. 55v9–10 (*karmoddyote viśeṣo 'yaṃ śrīmaddharmaśivoditaḥ*), concerning the ritual preparation of the clarified butter for use in the oblations into the fire (*ājyasaṃskāraḥ*); f. 57r14 (*kalaśāṣṭakam uddiṣṭaṃ śrīmaddharmaśivena tu*), requiring eight vases to be placed around the

A Paddhati by a Dharmaśiva has also been cited by Abhinavagupta in his *Tantrāloka*. That this is the same work as the *Karmoddyota* is probable, since Abhinavagupta refers to it as the *Karmapaddhati*, which is probably a metrically convenient abbreviation for **Karmoddyotapaddhati*. He looks to it for its instructions concerning an expiatory fire-sacrifice to be performed before initiation *in absentia*. This gives a Mantra for the burning of the initiand's sins that was used for this purpose in the practice of the Śaiva Gurus of Kashmir until recent times, a circumstance that adds to the likelihood that Dharmaśiva was a Kashmirian.[527]

To these may be added the Paddhati of Īśānaśivācārya, of which we have

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sacrificial fire.

[527] *Tantrāloka* 21.50–56b: *śrīmān dharmaśivo 'py āha pārokṣyāṃ karmapaddhatau* | *parokṣadīkṣaṇe samyak pūrṇāhutividhau yadi* | 51 *agniś ciṭiciṭāśabdaṃ sadhūmaṃ pratimuñcati* | *dhatte nīlāmbudacchāyāṃ muhur jvalati śāmyati* | 52 *vistaro ghorarūpaś ca mahīṃ dhāvati cāpy adhaḥ* | *dhvāṃkṣādyaśravyaśabdo vā tadā taṃ lakṣayed guruḥ* | 53 *brahmahatyādibhiḥ pāpais tatsaṅgaiś copapātakaiḥ* | *tadā tasya na kartavyā dīkṣāsminn akṛte vidhau* | 54 *navātmā phaṭpuṭāntaḥsthaḥ punaḥ pañcaphaḍanvitaḥ* | *amukasyeti pāpāni dahāmy anu phaḍaṣṭakam* | 55 *iti sāhasriko homaḥ kartavyas tilataṇḍulaiḥ* | *ante pūrṇā ca dātavyā tato 'smai dīkṣayā guruḥ* | 56 *parayojanaparyantaṃ kuryāt tattvaviśodhanam* 'And the venerable Dharmaśiva has stated on the subject of initiation *in absentia* in his *Karmapaddhati* that if during this initiation when one correctly executes the plenary oblation the fire sputters and billows smoke, if it assumes the colour of a dark cloud, if it repeatedly flares up and subsides, if spreading, fierce in appearance, it runs out along the ground beneath it, or if it emits a harsh sound such as that of the cawing of a crow, then the Guru should understand that this is the effect of [major] sins such as brahminicide and associated minor offences [committed but not expiated by the initiand]. In this situation he should not perform the initiation without first having done the following rite. He should make a thousand offerings into the fire of sesame seeds and rice grains, reciting [as he casts in each handful a Mantra comprising] Navātman with PHAṬ before and after, followed by five PHAṬS, then AMUKASYA PĀPĀNI DAHĀMI, and then eight PHAṬS. At the end he should offer a plenary [oblation]. Only then may the Guru perform through initiation the purification of the Tattvas that culminates in the fusion [of the initiand] with the highest [reality]'. The Mantra, substituting the name of an initiand Śivasvāmin, would be [OṂ] PHAṬ H-S-KṢ-M-L-V-R-YŪṂ PHAṬ 6 ŚIVASVĀMINAḤ PĀPĀNI DAHĀMI PHAṬ 8 [SVĀHĀ], the numerals indicating the number of times that the preceding syllable should be repeated. This procedure is seen in the Kashmirian Śaiva manual for cremation. There it is performed, as in Dharmaśiva's Paddhati, before the purification of the Tattvas that is to be done at the time of cremation in the case of a person who has not received initiation while alive. See *Śivanirvāṇapaddhati*, p. 274 (= CHANDRA 1984, p. 202b), ll. 1–3, p. 275 (= CHANDRA 1984, p. 202c), ll. 3–5: *(tad anu) navātmahomaḥ* (PHAṬ HASARAKṢAMALAVAYAŪṂ PHAṬ SVĀHĀ *sahasraṃ 1000 vā 100 vā 10 hutvā. pūrṇā. tejo 'si* PHAṬ PHAṬ AMUKASYA PĀPĀNI DAHĀMI SVĀHĀ. …*adīkṣitasya tattvaśodhanaṃ kuryāt. āhutīnāṃ *1000 sahasraṃ 100 śataṃ vā* (conj. : *100 śataṃ śataṃ vā* Ed.) *yathāśakti. ājyāhutiḥ śreṣṭhā. tadabhāve tilayavataṇḍulaiḥ. yathāsau pṛthvītattvam āvāhya saṃpūjya cāhunet.*).

a single citation in the *Tantrāloka*. That passage gives a ruling that excludes converts to Śaivism from holding office as Ācāryas or Sādhakas, with the exception in the former case of converts who achieve self-realization. In giving this ruling, Abhinavagupta tells us, Īśānaśiva was explaining the meaning of a statement on this subject in the Trika's *Devyāyāmala*.[528] The fact that it cites this source makes it likely to have been a Kashmirian work, since it is probable that the *Devyāyāmala* too was a product of this region.[529] It cannot, however, have been a Paddhati on the Trika, since Abhinavagupta informs us that there was no such work when he composed his *Tantrāloka*.[530]

It will have been noticed that Dharmaśiv[ācāry]a and Īśānaśivācārya have Saiddhāntika initiation-names, whereas all the Kashmirian Saiddhāntikas of the -kaṇṭha lineage, as well as all the authors of the Krama and Trika, refer to themselves and each other under their secular names. It is probable that the adoption of a new name at the time of initiation, or at least its public use, was the practice of ascetics, and that these two authors then provide an exception to what I have identified in the introduction as the dominant character of the Śaivism of the Kashmirian exegetes, namely that it is that of married householders.[531] That there were Śaiva ascetics in Kashmir as elsewhere in India is clear from local literary sources. In Act 3 of Jayantabhaṭṭa's topical play *Āgamaḍambara*, written during the reign of Śaṅkaravarman (r. A.D. 883–902), we encounter the ash-dusted abbot (*bhaṭṭārakaḥ*) Dharmaśiva receiving Saṃkarṣaṇa, who as the king's minister for the protection of religion throughout the land[532] has come to his hermitage to calm the anxiety of the Śaivas of all divisions caused by the recent suppression of the followers of the licentious Śaiva Black-Blanket observance (*nīlāmbaravratam*), an event whose historicity

[528] *Tantrāloka* 22.28c–31b. For *śrīdevyā yāmalīyoktitattvasamyakpravedakaḥ* in 22.31ab (Ed.) read *śrīdevyāyāmalīyoktitattvasamyakpravedakaḥ* '[Īśānaśivācārya,] who has correctly explained the esssence of what the *Devyāyāmala* has taught [on this matter]'.

[529] See footnote 83 on p. 259.

[530] *Tantrāloka* 1.14–15: *santi paddhatayaś citrāḥ srotobhedeṣu bhūyasā | anuttaraṣaḍardhārthakrame tv ekāpi nekṣyate | ity ahaṃ bahuśaḥ sadbhiḥ śiṣyasabrahmacāribhiḥ | arthito racaye spaṣṭāṃ pūrṇārthāṃ prakriyām imām* 'There are various Paddhatis in abundance on [the practice of] the various streams [the Siddhāntatantras, Vāmatantras, Dakṣiṇatantras, Gāruḍatantras, and Bhūtatantras]. But not one is seen on the procedures of the supreme doctrine of the Trika. Therefore, at the repeated request of my excellent disciples and fellow students, I am composing this clear and comprehensive treatise'.

[531] See p. 240.

[532] *Āgamaḍambara*, p. 132: *śaalāe vaśuṃdhalāe dhammalaṣkādhiāle ṇiutte* (= Skt. *sakalāyā vasundharāyā dharmarakṣādhikāre niyuktaḥ*).

is reported by Jayanta in his *Nyāyamañjarī*.[533] It appears that Dharmaśiva is approached here as the official representative of all the Śaiva persuasions, Pāśupata, Kālamukha, Mahāvratin, and Mantramārgic Śaiva.[534] From the eleventh century we have the testimony of the satirist Kṣemendra. Writing for a Kashmirian audience he mocks three Śaiva ascetics in his *Deśopadeśa*: Nayanaśiva (= Netraśiva), Rūpaśiva, and Dhyānaśiva.[535] The names suggest in the satirical context their inability to take their eyes off women (Eye-Śiva, Eyefull-Śiva, and Ogle-Śiva) while at the same time being, like Dharmaśiva, regular Saiddhāntika initiation-names such as are found in inscriptions and Śaiva literature.[536]

We also have references to and citations from a number of *Svacchanda*-based initiation Paddhatis, otherwise lost or not yet discovered, in Śivasvāmin's expanded text of the *Kalādīkṣāpaddhati* of Manodadatta, the initiation manual of the Śaiva gurus of Kashmir. It quotes a passage from a metrical Paddhati by a Guru Viśvāvasu for its treatment of the preparation of the five products of

[533] *Nyāyamañjarī*, vol. 1, p. 649, ll. 4–7: **asitaikapaṭanivītāniyatastrīpuṃsavihitabahuceṣṭam* (*asitaika* em. : *amitaika* Ed.) | *nīlāmbaravratam idaṃ kila kalpitam āsīt viṭaiḥ kaiścit* | *tad apūrvam iti viditvā nivārayāmāsa dharmatattvajñaḥ* | *rājā śaṅkaravarmā na punar jainādimatam evam* 'King Śaṅkaravarman, knowing the essentials of [brahmanical] religious law, prohibited the Nīlāmbaravrata on the grounds that with its many acts committed by licentious couples wrapped up in a single black blanket it was an observance without precedent reportedly invented by certain dissolute rogues; but he did not act in this way against the Jainas and other [non-brahmanical religious]'.

[534] *Āgamaḍambara*, p. 188, l. 10–11, in which the minister of religious affairs declares to Dharmaśiva as the government's current policy of toleration of all the Śaiva persuasions: *tad ime śaivapāśupatakālamukhā mahāvratinaś ca yathāsukham āsatām* 'So these, the Śaivas, Pāśupatas, Kālamukhas, and Mahāvratins, may relax'.

[535] *Deśopadeśa* 8.46–47: *nayanaśivaḥ khalvāṭo* + + + *danturaś ca rūpaśivaḥ* | *jaṭino viśanti yāge dhyānaśivas tantramantrahīnaś ca* | *triphalākṣālanavimalo dhūpāḍhyo bhasmamuṣṭihatayūkaḥ* | *veśyānām upadhānaṃ dhanyo jaṭināṃ jaṭājūṭaḥ* '[Three] Śaiva ascetics, bald Nayanaśiva …buck-toothed Rūpaśiva, and Dhyānaśiva devoid of [knowledge] of both the rituals and their Mantras [now] enter [before] the Maṇḍala. The massed tresses of Śaiva ascetics, cleansed by washing with nutmeg, areca nut, and cloves, richly fumigated with incense, their lice killed with fist-fulls of ash, are fortunate indeed, for they are prostitutes' pillows'.

[536] Thus among 49 initiated chanters of the Tamil hymns of the Tevāram named as beneficiaries in an inscription in the Rājarājeśvara (Bṛhadīśvara) temple of Rājarāja I (r. 985–1014) at Tañjāvūr (*South Indian Inscriptions* 2, no. 65) there are 9 Dharmaśivas and 2 Netraśivas; in the series of more than 95 12th-century images of named Śivācāryas in Dārāśuram (L'Hernault 1987, pp. 20–21, 31–35) there are 6 Dharmaśivas and 1 Netraśiva; the Rajor inscription of A.D. 960 (*Epigraphia Indica* 3, no. 36) mentions a Rūpaśiva; and there is a Dhyānaśiva in the preceptorial lineage of Aghoraśiva as reported by the latter in his *Dviśatikālottaravṛtti*, in a verse given in Goodall 1998, pp. xiv–xv.

the cow (*pañcagavyavidhiḥ*) among the preliminary rites of initiation.[537] It follows this with a quotation of the beginning of a passage on the same procedure from a prose *Dīkṣākalpa*.[538] The two texts are related but it is not possible to determine which drew on which.[539] The *Kalādīkṣāpaddhati* also quotes a prose *Dīkṣākalpalatā*, probably the same work, on the appropriate times of the year for the holding of initiation ceremonies[540] and on the cutting off of the candidate's hair tuft (*śikhā*) at the end of the purification of the highest of the five segments (*kalāḥ*) of the cosmic hierarchy, the procedure taught in the latter passage being said to follow the teaching of the *Svacchanda*.[541] It is also mentioned together with an otherwise unknown text, the *Dīkṣāsārasamuccaya*, as a source that does not support the view of an unnamed author of a certain *Dīkṣāpaddhati* that at the end of the ritual that bestows brahmanhood during the first preliminary initiation (*śiṣyasaṃskāraḥ*, = *samayadīkṣā*) the officiant

[537] *Kalādīkṣāpaddhati* A, f. 20r11–v9 : *atra ca viśvāvasuguravaḥ*: *pañcagavyavidhaye 'tha saṃbhavāt pātrasaptakam upāharec chubham* | *mṛṇmayāvadhimaṇeḥ samukṣitaṃ cāstrataḥ kavacato 'vaguṇṭhitam* | *prācy atho navapadīṃ śivādinā prārcya tattvanavakena madhyataḥ* | *supratiṣṭhitasuśāntidīptimatsāmṛtātmakam atho saratnavat* | *pātrapañcakam athātra madhyage varmamantritapayaḥ śikhāṇunā* | *pūrvage dadhi ghṛtaṃ ca dakṣage cāstramantraparimantritaṃ nyaset* | *āpyage hṛdaṇunātha gomayaṃ gojalaṃ ca śirasātra saumyage* | *aiśage kuśajalaṃ ca netrataḥ saptaśaḥ samabhimantritaṃ nyaset* | *palāni vedāgnibhujendusaṃkhyāny aṅguṣṭhato 'rdhaṃ kramaśo 'pi madhyāt* | *hṛdādibhiḥ saptamabhājane 'tha saṃmiśrayet tāni kuśāsanasthe iti.*

[538] *Kalādīkṣāpaddhati* A, f. 20v9–10: *tathā ca dīkṣākalpe: atha pañcagavyavidhaye saṃbhavataḥ pātrasaptakaṃ hṛdyam ityādy uktam.*

[539] The beginnings of both are so similar that one surely was drawing on the other: *pañcagavyavidhaye 'tha saṃbhavāt pātrasaptakam …śubham* (Viśvāvasu's verse); and *atha pañcagavyavidhaye saṃbhavataḥ pātrasaptakaṃ hṛdyam* (*Dīkṣākalpa*'s prose).

[540] *Kalādīkṣāpaddhati* A, f. 10v1–4: *tathā śrīdīkṣākalpalatāyām: tatra śaranmadhuyogo vara iha dīkṣāvidhau tadaprāptau varṣāṃ vinānyadāpi na doṣaḥ.*

[541] *Kalādīkṣāpaddhati* A, f. 166v15–167r7: *tathā ca śrīsvacchandabhairavatantramatānusāreṇa dīkṣākalpalatāyām: atha ṣaṭkāraṇakāraṇabhūtāṃ vyāptrīm anaupamyāṃ śuddhāṃ śāntyatītāṃ śikhāgragāṃ śaṣpakoṭijalakaṇavad dhyātvā prāṇanaśakter muṇḍāntoccapravāhinyāḥ chettum adhovahanātmabandhakatāṃ tadanukāriṇīṃ dehe niṣkalaśikhābhimantritakartaryā śiśuśikhāṃ chindyād iti* 'And likewise in the *Dīkṣākalpalatā* in accordance with the position of the *Svacchandabhairavatantra*: "Then he should meditate on [the highest segment, that of] Śāntyatītā as the cause of the six causes [namely, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Rudra, Īśvara, Sadāśiva, and Anāśrita], all-pervading, matchless, and pure, [visualizing it] on the tip of the [candidate's] hair-tuft as resembling a droplet of water on the tip of a blade of grass. Then in order to eliminate the capacity of the power of the vital energy that flows up to reach the upper limit of the head to bind [the soul] by flowing downwards he should visualize the hair-tuft of the candidate as mirroring that [power] within the body and cut it away with a razor empowered by the recitation of the Śikhā [Mantra] of Niṣkala[svacchanda]"'. This has in mind *Svacchanda* 4.217–218b.

should have the initiand drink scented water mixed with ashes from the fire-pit as a substitute for the juice of the Soma plant, thus silently supporting the position of the *Kalādīkṣāpaddhati* that the officiant should simply imagine that he is making the candidate drink this liquid.[542] The same *Dīkṣāpaddhati* is criticized for ordaining that after the cutting of his hair-tuft the candidate should be purified not merely by bathing, as the *Svacchanda* requires, but by a bath preceded by the shaving of his hair (*vapanam*).[543] The *Kalādīkṣāpaddhati* also quotes passages from a *Gurupustaka*, giving a prayer in verse in which the officiant asks Śiva to grant permission for him to proceed with initiation,[544] the procedure for purifying the Mantras before the culminating act of fusing the

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[542] *Kalādīkṣāpaddhati* A, f. 101v12–16: *etadante manasā somaṃ pāyayet. manasā manobhāvanayaiva. yat tu* ***kenacid*** *atra pātre gandhodakaṃ kṛtvā kuṇḍāgnibhasmamiśritaṃ tac chiṣyaṃ pāyayed ity uktaṃ likhitaṃ ca* ***svakṛtadīkṣāpaddhatau*** *tan nirmūlatvād upekṣyaṃ śrīsvacchandatantrarāje tadadarśanāt somaśambhudīkṣākalpalatādiṣu dīkṣāsārasamuccayagrantheṣu ca* 'At the end of these [rites that bestow brahmanhood] [the officiant] should mentally have [the initiand] drink Soma. Mentally means simply by imagining this in his mind. As for the position of a certain person that he should put scented water mixed with ash from the fire-pit in this vessel and make the initiand drink it, which he has both taught and written in his *Dīkṣāpaddhati*, that should be not be heeded, for it is not evidenced in the *Svacchandatantrarāja*, in such [Paddhatis] as Somaśambhu's and the *Dīkṣākalpalatā*, or in the *Dīkṣāsārasamuccaya*'.

[543] *Kalādīkṣāpaddhati* A, f. 167v10–15: *atra ca śiṣyaṃ vapanaṃ snānaṃ ca kārayitvā iti *yat* (em. : *yaḥ* Cod.) *kenāpi nijakṛtapaddhatau likhitaṃ* ⟨*tan*⟩ *nirmūlatvād upekṣyam. snānaṃ samācarec chiṣya iti śrīsvacchandatantroktyā śiṣyasya snānamātreṇaiva śuddhir iti ṭīkādāv api likhitvāt* 'The statement bearing on this matter by a certain [Ācārya] in a Paddhati that he has composed', namely "Having caused the candidate to be shaved and to bathe", should not be heeded, because it has no basis [in any authoritative source]. For the *Svacchandatantra* says "Let the candidate bathe" (4.219c) and in the commentary on that text and [related sources] we read that [his] purification is by bathing alone'. The commentary mentioned here is not Kṣemarāja's. For on this verse-quarter he comments only on the reason for the bath: *chinnaśikhatvāt* 'because he is one whose hair-tuft has been cut off'.

[544] *Kalādīkṣāpaddhati* A, f. 72r–v12: *yathā gurupustake: "pūrvam eva tvayā śambho niyukto 'haṃ śivādhvare | guruḥ parāpare sthitvā lokānugrahakṛd bhava | tvacchaktyāghrātahṛdayo bhagavann amuko mayā | dṛṣṭas tato 'nugrahāya pravṛtto 'haṃ na lobhataḥ | tvam eva cātra bhagavan pramāṇaṃ sarvakarmaṇām | sākṣibhūtaḥ svayaṃ kartā paramaḥ śaṅkaraḥ śivaḥ | tad viśeṣeṇa mām eva samadhiṣṭhāya saṃnidhim | vidhatsva yena tvatpādasamānakriyatām iyām | tvadājñāṃ hṛdaye kṛtvā karomi nikhilāḥ kriyāḥ | anyathā kartum īśā hi lokeśā api kiṃ prabho | tvadādeśād dīkṣaṇīyaḥ śaktyāviṣṭo mayāmukaḥ | vibhor āvedayiṣyāmi yad yat karma karomy aham | dehy ājñāṃ me jagannātha prasīda bhagavan mama" iti*. This text is that used at the beginning of the preliminary initiation (= *samayadīkṣā*) as taught in the *Śiṣyasaṃskārapaddhati*, an anonymous Paddhati for that ritual (f. 1v4–18). It is possible, therefore, that this Paddhati is an extract from the *Gurupustaka* itself.

candidate with Śiva (*yojanikā*),[545] the procedure for that act of fusion,[546] and its Mantra.[547] On the laying down with a powdered cord of the design of the Navanābhamaṇḍala, prescribed for initiation by the *Svacchanda*, it quotes first the *Svacchanda* itself and then a passage in verse to the same effect from the work of one Śrīkaṇṭhācārya.[548] It is probable that this too was a Kashmirian Paddhati for initiation.

Rājanaka Ānanda, in the encomium of his patrilineage (the Padmapura Rājānakas of the Gautama Gotra) found at the end of his commentary (*-tattvavivṛti*), completed in 1654, on the Mahākāvya *Naiṣadhacarita*, reports that his patrilineal ancestor Rājānaka Śitikaṇṭha composed the *Gurupustikā* at the request of the king Saṃgrāmasiṃha and also the *Kalpalatā* "for the pleasure of the learned".[549] Saṃgrāmasiṃha was probably the Cāhamāna ruler of Sānchor (Satyapura), whose son Pratāpasiṃha installed an inscription in 1387.[550] It is probable that these two works are the *Kalādīkṣāpaddhati*'s *Gurupustaka* and *Dīkṣākalpalatā*, since the latter is also referred to in that work simply as the *Kalpalatā* in a passage that mentions these two as among the sources on

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[545] *Kalādīkṣāpaddhati* A, f. 169r13–15: *tathā ca gurupustake tantre: dhāmno 'nte śodhayāmy astraṃ svāhety ekaikayāhutiḥ. evaṃ sarvatra. mūlaṃ tu śatajāpena śodhayed iti*.

[546] *Kalādīkṣāpaddhati* A, f. 170r15–v4: *sā ca gurupustake tantre: iti hutvā yojanikāṃ kuryāc chaivīm pare śive | āveśāt kulajāt kaulasārād vā sāmarasyataḥ | vinyasya hṛdayākāśe śāmbhavyā krodhinīdṛśā prāṇaspandād āṇavād vā vyāpinīsphārasaṃsphurād iti*.

[547] *Kalādīkṣāpaddhati* A, f. 175r5–15: OṂ HŪṂ PARAMAŚAIVE NIRAÑJANE PADE AMUKĀṆUṂ YOJAYĀMI VAUṢAṬ. *iti manasā yojanikāmantraṃ saṃdhāya pūrṇāhutiṃ pātayet. pūrṇāhutyante mantrākṣarakoṭiṃ mantrākṣaraprāntaṃ niyojayet.* OṂ HŪṂ AMUKĀṆUCAITANYAṂ NIṢKALE MANTRE YOJAYĀMI HŪṂ NAMAḤ *iti manasā mantrasya prānte yojanikāṃ kṛtvā śiṣyaṃ saṃmīlitamantraṃ kuryāt. tena caitanyamātrāvaśeṣayuktyā muktir bhavatīti guravaḥ. iti gurupustake yojanikāmantraḥ.*

[548] *Kalādīkṣāpaddhati* A, f. 90v9–: *iti śrīsvacchandabhairavamatam. tathā ca śrīkaṇṭhācāryeṇa pāpabhakṣaṇamatāntaram avalokyoktaṃ yathā: ...*.

[549] Rājānaka Ānanda in **Rājānakavaṃśapraśaṃsā* A, f. 2, ll. 16–19 (vv. 17–18: *śitikaṇṭhaḥ sutas tasya sotkaṇṭhaḥ śivadarśane | *saṃgrāmasiṃhārthanayā* (em. : *saṃgrāmasiṃhārcanayā* Cod.) *cakre yo gurupustikām | tasya kalpalatākartur budhānāṃ prītaye sutau | adbhutāṃ yodhaśrīkaṇṭhāv abhūtāṃ siddhim āgatau* 'Śitikaṇṭha, the son of this [Modaka], devoted to the realization of Śiva, composed the *Gurupustikā* at the request of Saṃgrāmasiṃha and the *Kalpalatā* for the pleasure of the learned. He had two sons, Yodha and Śrīkaṇṭha, who both achieved an extraordinary degree of supernatural power [through their Śaiva practice]'. An incomplete and undated Śāradā paper manuscript in 93 folios of a work entitled *Gurupustikā* has come down to us; (TRIPĀṬHĪ 1971, p. 436: Ms. C 4115). But I have not yet examined it.

[550] See RAY 1931–1936, vol. 2, p. 1141. The only alternative that I can see is the Cāhamāna of Lāṭa who was the son of Sindhurāja and ruled *c.* 1215–45. But he is too early.

which Manodadatta drew when he composed the original work of this name.[551] Manodadatta completed his *Kalādīkṣāpaddhati* in 1335/6[552] and the Rājānaka Śitikaṇṭha patronized by Saṃgrāmasiṃha was, according to Rājānaka Ānanda, the great-grandson of the Rājānaka Śitikaṇṭha who wrote the *Bālabodhinīnyāsa*. That work was completed in 1471. If we assume that the active life of its author was approximately 1425–1475 and work backwards through time to the author of the *Gurupustikā* and the *Kalpalatā*, assigning twenty-five years to each generation, then the author of those two works will have been active in approximately 1350–1400. This is too late for his compositions to have been among Manodadatta's sources. However, apart from the fact that the calculation by generations of twenty-five years is only a very rough and unreliable guide, the genealogy itself is questionable. While Rājānaka Ānanda makes our Śitikaṇṭha the son of Modaka and the father of Yodha and Śrīkaṇṭha, and Yodha the grandfather of the author of the *Bālabodhinīnyāsa*,[553] that author's own account of his lineage, at least in the two manuscripts that I have seen, omits our Śitikaṇṭha, making Yodha the son rather than the grandson of Modaka.[554] Furthermore, it is Śivasvāmin, the enlarger of the *Kalādīkṣāpaddhati*, that claims that Manodadatta used these texts, not Manodadatta himself. The expanded text contains a series of hymns of which the latest is the *Śambhukṛpāmanoharastava* com-

[551] *Kalādīkṣāpaddhati* A, f. 9v13–16: *śrīmanmṛgendra**gurupustakatantra**tantrālokasvatantramata**kalpalatā**disāraṃ āhṛtya saṃśayaśamāya ṣaḍadhvadīkṣāśikṣām jagāda gururājamanodadattaḥ* 'In order to still doubts Manodadatta, king among Gurus, declared his instruction on the [procedure of the] initiation through the six paths after extracting the essence of the *Mṛgendra*, the *Gurupustakatantra*, the *Tantrāloka*, the *Svacchanda* (*svatantramatam*), the *Kalpalatā*, and other [texts]'.

[552] See footnote 514 on p. 387.

[553] Rājānaka Ānanda in **Rājānakavaṃśapraśaṃsā* A, ff. 2, ll. 14– 3, 7 (vv. 16–22): **modakas* (em. : *sodakas* AB) *tanayas tasya śivatattvaprabodhakaḥ* | *vedāntavidyāsiddhāntavedī siddhapathaṃ śritaḥ* | 17 *śitikaṇṭhaḥ sutas tasya sotkaṇṭhaḥ śivadarśane* | **saṃgrāmasiṃhārthanayā* (em. : *saṃgrāmasiṃhārcanayā* Cod.) *cakre yo gurupustikām* | 18 *tasya kalpalatākartur budhānāṃ prītaye sutau* | *adbhutāṃ yodhaśrīkaṇṭhāv abhūtāṃ siddhim āgatau* | 19 *śrīkaṇṭhaḥ prācyasaṃskāraprakārān nirvikāradhīḥ* | *kaniṣṭho 'pi parāṃ niṣṭhāṃ siddhatāṃ śaiśave 'śrayat* | 20 *śivādvayopadeṣṭābhūj jyeṣṭho lokaduriṣṭahā* | *yodho *'pi* (em. : *vi* Cod.) *śiṣyasaṃtatyā yo 'dhaḥkṛtaprajāpatiḥ* | 21 *yodhād bodhāmbudher jātā *dvijarājāḥ* (corr. : *dvijarājā* Cod.) **sadoditāḥ* (em. : *sadoditaḥ* Cod.) | *arjuno 'tha trinayano mahāratha iti trayaḥ* | 22 *śitikaṇṭho 'rjunasuto vivavre bālabodhinīm* | *samīkṣayārthatritayaṃ cakre ca mahimastutau*.

[554] Rājānaka Śitikaṇṭha in **Rājānakavaṃśapraśaṃsā* A, f. 9, ll. 16–18 (vv. 4c–5a): *tatputraś ca modakaḥ samabhavad vedāntasiddhāntavid dhyāyaṃ dhyāyam iyāya devasadanaṃ devaṃ mṛḍānīpatim* | *tasmād yodhagurur babhūva bhagavān*.

posed by Rājānaka Ratnakaṇṭha in the seventeenth century,[555] though the consequent inference that Śivasvāmin was active during the time of or later than Ratnakaṇṭha is undermined by the fact that the hymns appear to have been clumsily inserted into the text, the instructions that precede them being repeated after them to re-establish the flow of the Paddhati.[556]

The claim that the Śaiva Guru Rājānaka Śitikaṇṭha was asked to compose his *Gurupustikā* by a king ruling in distant Sānchor in the far southwest of Rajasthan may surprise. But the later Śitikaṇṭha of this patriline reports in his *Bālabodhinīnyāsa* that his grandfather Yodha, the son of our Śitikaṇṭha according to Rājānaka Ānanda, had given Śaiva initiation to a number of kings, enabling them thereby to conquer their enemies and so enjoy long and prosperous reigns.[557] He does not identify them; but Rājānaka Ānanda's report that the *Gurupustikā* was commissioned by Saṃgrāmasiṃha (Sangram Singh) suggests that they may have been rulers of the Rajput kingdoms of Rajasthan. No king of Kashmir can have been among them since the country had been in the hands of Muslim rulers since 1339.

[555] The context is the ritual of *pavitrārohaṇam* to be performed immediately after a post-initiatory consecration ceremony (*abhiṣekaḥ*). *Kalādīkṣāpaddhati* A, f. 196v4–11: *ity abhiṣekaḥ. tataḥ pavitrārohaṇam. abhiṣekānantaraṃ saparivāraṃ mantraṃ yathāsaṃbhavaṃ saṃtarpya bhagavantaṃ viśeṣārcābhiś ca saṃpūjya pavitrārohaṇe *ca* (corr. : *ca bhagavataṃ bhagavantaṃ* Cod.) *stutidaṇḍapraṇatyādimahotsavanṛttagītavāditrarahasyārcanacarcābhiś bhagavantaṃ saṃtoṣya pavitrakān pūjayet. tatra stutir yathā:* …. The hymns that follow are the *Bhairavastotra* of Abhinavagupta, called here *Paramaśivastuti* and *Bhairavadaśaka* (ff. 196v12–197v8), the *Aparādhasundarastava* ascribed to Śaṅkarācārya (ff. 197v8–199r13), the *Bhairavastotra* of Rājānaka Śaṅkarakaṇṭha (ff. 199r13–200r5), the *Śambhukṛpāmanoharastava* of his son Rājānaka Ratnakaṇṭha (ff. 220r6–201v15), and a hymn attributed to Mahākavi Paṇḍita Jagaddhara (ff. 201v16–203r1) that is not among the thirty-eight of his *Stutikusumāñjali* as commented upon by Rājānaka Ratnakaṇṭha in his *-laghupañcikā*.

[556] *Kalādīkṣāpaddhati* A, f. 203r4–5, after the hymns: *iti stutibhiḥ puṣpañjalīn dāpayitvā śiṣyān daṇḍapraṇatīś ca kārayitvā nṛttagītavāditrarahasyārcanacarcābhiś ca śrīśivaṃ saṃtoṣya pavitrakān pūjayet.* This repeats the meaning and most of the wording of the passage that introduces the hymns in f. 196v8–11: *stutidaṇḍapraṇatyādimahotsavanṛttagītavāditrarahasyārcanacarcābhiś bhagavantaṃ saṃtoṣya pavitrakān pūjayet. tatra stutir yathā:* ….

[557] Rājānaka Śitikaṇṭha in **Rājānakavaṃśapraśaṃsā* A, f. 9, ll. 18–19 (v. 5): *tasmād yodhagurur babhūva bhagavān saṃprāpya dīkṣāṃ yataḥ | prājyaṃ rājyam *apāstavairinikarāś* (*apāsta* Govind Kaul's transcript [em.] : *apāsya* Cod.) *cakruś ciraṃ bhūbhujaḥ* 'His son was the Guru Bhagavat Yodha, having obtained initiation from whom kings were freed of their enemies and enjoyed long and glorious reigns'.

Kṣemarāja's Exegesis of the Svacchanda and Netra

That the cults of Svacchandabhairava and Amṛteśa were already well established in Kashmir in the tenth century can be seen from the fact that both the *Svacchanda* and the *Netra* received elaborate running commentaries from Abhinavagupta's pupil Kṣemarāja: the *Svacchandoddyota* and the *Netroddyota*. The centrality of these two Tantras during this early period is evident not merely from the existence of these learned commentaries—he also refers to a long commentary on the *Svacchanda* by a Rājānaka Bhullaka, now lost[558]—but also from the fact that in both Kṣemarāja stresses that his motive is to re-establish what he sees as the true, non-dualistic perspective of these texts, which, he says, had been overshadowed by the prevailing view, that of the Saiddhāntika dualists, an unjustifiable inroad into non-Saiddhāntika territory that had both imposed a less enlightened reading of their teachings and led to the suppression of elements of non-dualistic practice (*advaitācāraḥ*),[559] such as the offering of fermented liquor to Svacchandabhairava, that were vital to the proper performance of their rites. Kṣemarāja has also left us his *Bhairavānukaraṇastotra*, a hymn to Svacchandabhairava in which he gives a non-dualistic reading of the symbolism of all the details of the visualization of this deity.

As in the works of Abhinavagupta, the philosophical basis of Kṣemarāja's exegesis was that of Utpaladeva's system, but though he was a disciple of Abhinavagupta, the Trika enters very little into his analysis. The system of esoteric Śākta doctrine and practice that animates his exegesis is rather that of the Krama. We could see this as evidence of a difference in religious perspective between the teacher and the pupil, and there certainly are such differences—we should be wary of the tendency to assume in line with the religious theory of unbroken transmission that disciples were mere clones of their teachers—but it may be more accurate to say that both propagated Krama-based analyses, Abhinavagupta of the Trika's *Mālinīvijayottara* and Kṣemarāja of the *Svacchanda* and *Netra*.[560]

[558] E.g., *Svacchandoddyota*, vol. 5a, p. 211, ll. 9–10: *bṛhaṭṭīkākārarājānakabhullakena* ....

[559] On *advaitācāraḥ* see Sanderson 2005a, pp. 110–114, footnote 63.

[560] For evidence of Kṣemarāja's reading the Krama, for him the highest of all religious systems, into his interpretation of the cults of Svacchandabhairava and Amṛteśabhairava see Sanderson 1995, pp. 64–70.

Other Works by Kṣemarāja

Kṣemarāja extended his non-dualistic exegesis beyond the *Svacchanda* and *Netra*, technical Tantras mainly devoted to the prescription of ritual, to a wide range of texts, all of which have in common that they have no concern whatsoever with ritual but rather with devotional contemplation of ultimate reality as the means of its realization. Just as Kṣemarāja brought non-dualistic exegesis to those Tantras that appear to have been most widely followed in Kashmir, so with these works he sought to propagate the doctrines of his tradition among an even larger constituency, that is to say, those who were Śaiva by conviction and devotion but were not only those who had received formal inititation and were therefore engaged in the study of the Tantras and the performance of the rituals they prescribe. Thus he wrote a commentary on the *Vijñānabhairava*, a work of the Trika but one concerned entirely with methods of meditation that transcend the particularities of Mantra, Mudrā, Maṇḍala, deity, and ritual procedure that are the true criteria for distinguishing between the systems that make up the Śaiva Mantramārga.[561] This text's simple single-verse instructions on a wide variety of meditations no doubt rendered it accessible to this broader audience, a surmise supported by the fact that it is often found in Kashmirian manuscripts for personal devotional use along with other short, less technical Śaiva works. It is regrettable that only his commentary on the introductory verses has come down to us. Śivasvāmin Upādhyāya I, searching for the text in the eighteenth century, could find no manuscript of the whole and wrote his own commentary on the remainder, appending it to the small portion of Kṣemarāja's text that was accessible to him.[562]

Kṣemarāja also composed commentaries on a number of Śaiva devotional hymns, namely the *Sāmbapañcāśikā*, the *Stavacintāmaṇi* of Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa, and the *Śivastotrāvalī* of Utpaladeva, a collection of hymns together with single devotional verses artificially arranged into hymns by later editors.[563] The con-

[561] The Trika background of the text is revealed in the introductory verses (1–23).

[562] *Vijñānabhairavavivṛti*, p. 143, ll. 9–14. The surviving portion of Kṣemarāja's commentary extends from its beginning to the end of the commentary on the last of the introductory verses (1–23, pp. 1–16.

[563] Kṣemarāja, *Śivastotrāvalīvivṛti*, pp. 1, l. 14–2, l. 4 (his introduction): *īśvarapratyabhijñākāro vandyābhidhānaḥ śrīmadutpalācāryo 'smatparameṣṭhī satatasākṣātkṛtasvātmamaheśvaraḥ svaṃ rūpaṃ tathātvena parāmraṣṭum arthijanānujighṛkṣayā ⟨ca⟩ saṃgrahastotrajayastotrabhaktistotrāṇy āhnikastutisūktāni ca kānicin muktakāny eva babandha. atha kadācit tāny eva tadvyāmiśrāṇi labdhvā śrīrāma ādityarājaś ca pṛthak pṛthak stotraśayyāyāṃ nyaveśayat. śrīviśvāvartas tu*

text of the use of these devotional works is not well known. But if we may judge from recent practice in Kashmir it is probable that they were in use not only among initiates but also, and perhaps more typically, among lay devotees, who chanted them while attending Śaiva rituals or when visiting Śiva shrines.

Then there are his commentaries on the *Śivasūtra* and the *Spandakārikā*. On the first we have his *Śivasūtravimarśinī*, and on the second his *Spandasaṃdoha*, which comments only on the opening verse, and his *Spandanirṇaya*, which comments on the whole work. Here too we find a strong commitment to Krama-based readings. Indeed he considers that the Krama is the very essence of the *Spandakārikā*.[564] In the case of the Aphorisms of Śiva (*Śivasūtra*) he does not make the same claim explicitly. However, it is implicit in his assertion that Vasugupta wrote the *Spandakārikā* in order to summarize the teachings contained in that text,[565] and Krama interpretation is to the fore in Kṣemarāja's

viṃśatyā stotraiḥ svātmotprekṣitanāmabhir vyavasthāpitavān iti kila śrūyate 'The author of the *Īśvarapratyabhijñā*, my Guru's Guru's Guru, the Ācārya Utpala of venerable name, immersed at all times in immediate experience of the Śiva that is one's true identity, in order to meditate on his own nature and out of a desire to benefit those who sought [his guidance], composed the *Saṃgrahastotra*, *Jayastotra*, and *Bhaktistotra*, and also a number of single-verse poetic hymns for his daily devotions. Some time thereafter Rāma and Ādityarāja received the latter mixed up with the former and then edited them in the form of a series of [multi-verse] hymns. It is reported that Viśvāvarta then [re-]arranged them as twenty hymns with titles of his own invention'. It is Viśvāvarta's edition that Kṣemarāja follows, while recognizing its artificiality. For commenting on 1.2 he notices that the arrangement of the verses here is incoherent, since there is no vocative addressed to Śiva in the previous verse to justify the expression *bhavadbhakti-* 'devotion to you' in this. He puts this observation into the mouth of a critic and replies: 'Ask this question of Viśvāvarta. I am concerned only with the explanation of each individual verse' (p. 4, ll. 8–9: *katham iyaṃ stotraśayyeti śrīviśvāvarta eva praṣṭavyaḥ. vayaṃ tu sūktavyākhyānodyatāḥ*).

[564] *Spandanirṇaya*, p. 74, ll. 15–18: *evaṃ copakramopasaṃhārayor mahārthasampuṭīkāraṃ darśayan tatsāratayā samastaśāṅkaropaniṣanmūrdhanyatām asyāviṣkaroti śāstrasya śrīmān vasuguptācāryaḥ* 'And by showing in this way that the Mahārtha encloses this Śāstra in its opening and closing verses the venerable Ācārya Vasugupta reveals that it stands at the summit of all Śiva's esoteric teachings, since it has that [system] as its essence'. His view of the Krama basis of the first verse is set out at length in his *Spandasaṃdoha*. Kṣemarāja wrote his *Spandasaṃdoha*, *Spandanirṇaya*, and *Śivasūtravimarśinī* in that order; see *Spandanirṇaya* p. 6, ll. 1–2: *nirṇītaṃ caivaṃprāyaṃ mayaiva prathamasūtramātravivaraṇe spandasaṃdohe*; and *Śivasūtravimarśinī*, p. 3, ll. 7–9: *tatpāramparyaprāptāni spandasūtrāṇy asmābhiḥ spandanirṇaye samyaṅ nirṇītāni. śivasūtrāṇi tu nirṇīyante*.

[565] *Śivasūtravimarśinī*, p. 3, ll. 3–5: *etāni ca samyag adhigamya bhaṭṭaśrīkallaṭādyeṣu sacchiṣyeṣu prakāśitavān spandakārikābhiś ca saṃgṛhītavān* 'And having correctly mastered these [Sūtras Vasugupta] revealed them to Bhaṭṭaśrī Kallaṭa and others who were his true disciples and summarized them in the *Spandakārikā*.

analysis of a number of its key aphorisms.[566]

Finally, we have his *Pratyabhijñāhṛdaya*, a text in the form of Sūtras and an auto-commentary that claims to set out the essence of the doctrine taught by Utpaladeva in his *Īśvarapratyabhijñākārikā* in order to enlighten persons who are experiencing the urge to achieve immersion in Śiva but lack the philosophical training necessary to master the original works.[567] Here too he privileges the Krama, propounding its distinctive contemplation of the cyclical dynamism of cognition as the very heart of that philosophical system.[568]

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[566]See his commentary on 1.6 (*śakticakrasaṃdhāne viśvasaṃhāraḥ*), 1.11 (*tritayabhoktā vīreśaḥ*), and 1.22 (*mahāhradānusaṃdhānān mantravīryānubhavaḥ*). In that on 1.6 he identifies the 'circle of powers' (*śakticakram*) as that of 'the venerable Śakti of Emission etc.' (p. 21, l. 4–5: *śrīmatsṛṣṭyādiśakticakra-*). That he means the twelve Kālīs beginning with Sṛṣṭikālī can be inferred from his commentary on 1.11, since he states there that through continuous contemplation of the circle of powers one enters the state of identity with Manthānabhairava (p. 26, l. 14–27, l. 7). For in the *Spandanirṇaya* (p. 6, ll. 5–9) Kṣemarāja identifies Manthānabhairava as the leader of the circle of these goddesses, glossing the description of Śiva in the first verse as *śakticakravibhavaprabhavaṃ* (acc. sg.): ***śaktīnāṃ*** *sṛṣṭiraktādimarīcidevīnāṃ* ***cakraṃ*** *dvādaśātmā samūhas tasya yo* ***vibhava*** *udyogāvabhāsanacarvaṇavilāpanātmā krīḍāḍambaras tasya prabhavaṃ hetum. tā hi devyaḥ śrīmanmanthānabhairavaṃ cakreśvaram āliṅgya sarvadaiva jagatsargādikrīḍāṃ saṃpādayantīty āmnāyaḥ* '[I praise Śaṅkara] who is **the source** (*prabhavaḥ*), the cause, **of the pervasive manifestation**, the energetic play that is [the cycle of] the urge to manifest, manifestation, the subjective relishing [of the manifest] and dissolution, **of the circle**, the twelvefold group, **of** [**his**] **powers**, of the [twelve] ray-goddesses Sṛṣṭi[kālī], Rakta[kālī], and the rest. For the teaching [of the Mahārtha] informs us that it is through their intimate connection with Manthānabhairava as the lord of their circle that they constantly accomplish the play of emitting, [sustaining,] and [withdrawing] the universe'.

[567]*Pratyabhijñāhṛdaya*, p. 37, ll. 8–10: *iha ye sukumāramatayo 'kṛtatīkṣṇatarkaśāstrapariśramāḥ śaktipātonmiṣatpārameśvara*samāveśābhilāṣāḥ* (conj. : *samāveśābhilāṣiṇaḥ* Ed.) *katicid bhaktibhājas teṣām īśvarapratyabhijñopadeśatattvaṃ manāg unmīlyate* 'Here I shall briefly reveal the essence of the teaching of the *Īśvarapratyabhijñā[kārikā]* for the benefit of those rare devotees who being of undeveloped intellect have not undertaken training in the severe discipline of philosophical argument, yet are experiencing an urge towards immersion in Śiva emerging in themselves through the descent of [his] power'.

[568]This perspective is alluded to in the first of the benedictory verses: *namaḥ śivāya satataṃ pañcakṛtyavidhāyine | cidānandaghanasvātmaparamārthāvabhāsine* 'Obeisance to Śiva who, constantly engaged in his five functions, makes manifest the ultimate reality of one's identity pervaded by the bliss of consciousness'. The five functions are emission, stasis, withdrawal, obscuration, and revelation, following pan-Śaiva doctrine. But in this work Kṣemarāja teaches that from the esoteric point of view these are to be seen as operating within the flow of cognition, explaining this operation first in neutral terms, though in the spirit of the Krama (Sūtra 10 and commentary), and then directly with Krama terminology (Sūtra 11 and commentary). It is this Krama reading, I propose, that is intended in the opening verse, the first qualifier

The Śivasūtra, Spandakārikā, and their Exegesis

In addition to the commentaries of Kṣemarāja on the *Śivasūtra* and *Spandakārikā*,[569] we have a commentary on the former (*Śivasūtravārtika*) by Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara, and on the latter we have a brief gloss by Bhaṭṭaśrī Kallaṭa (*-vṛtti*), and detailed analytic commentaries by Rājānaka Rāma (*Spandavivṛti*), [the Pāñcarātrika] Bhāgavatotpala (*Spandapradīpikā*), and Bhaṭṭārakasvāmin (*Spandapradīpikā*). Others existed but have not survived, such as that by Bhaṭṭa Lollaṭa reported by Kṣemarāja.[570]

The study of the *Śivasūtra* in its own right is problematic. Many of its seventy-seven terse aphorisms are obscure in meaning both individually and in sequence, which has allowed considerable divergences between the interpretations of Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara and Kṣemarāja. Moreover, they reveal no close attachment to the terminology and concepts of the Krama, the Trika, or any single scripture-based system so that we could clarify their meaning by drawing on its literature. One may say only that they present a creative epitome of doctrine and trans-ritual practice drawing, probably eclectically, from Kaula traditions that venerate Bhairava and the Mothers, teaching that the goal of practice is to realize that one is oneself the *[śakti]cakreśvaraḥ*, the deity that controls the diverse powers that constitute the universe of experience, establishing this realization first through withdrawal into the heart of consciousness and then through its expansion into the states that constitute the mundane awareness of the bound.[571] This model of transcendence followed by an expansion that

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pañcavidhakṛtyavidhāyine expressing the reason (*hetau viśeṣaṇam*) for the second: 'Obeisance to Śiva who [since he is] constantly engaging in his five functions [of the manifesting of the object (*ābhāsanam*), immersion in the object (*raktiḥ*), subjective awareness of the perception (*vimarśanam*), laying down the impression of the perception in memory (*bījāvasthāpanam*), and completely dissolving all trace of contracted consciousness (*vilāpanam*)] makes manifest the ultimate reality of one's identity pervaded by the bliss of consciousness'. See also pp. 50, l. 7–51, l. 1 (Sūtra 12 and commentary) on the five goddesses Vāmeśvarī etc.; and pp. 58–59 (Sūtra 19 and commentary) on bringing about permanent immersion.

[569] We also have two summaries of his *Śivasūtravimarśinī*: the anonymous *Śivasūtravṛtti*, and the *Śivasūtravārtika* of the South Indian Varadarāja alias Kṛṣṇadāsa, pupil of Madhurāja, an ascetic of Madurai.

[570] *Spandanirṇaya*, p. 34, l. 12–13.

[571] *Śivasūtra* 1.5: *udyamo bhairavaḥ* 'Bhairava is the primordial dynamism [of consciousness]; 1.6: *śakticakrasaṃdhāne viśvasaṃhāraḥ* 'When one assimilates the circle of [his] powers the universe is withdrawn'; 1.7: *jāgratsvapnasuṣuptabhede turyābhogasaṃbhavaḥ* '[Thereafter] there comes about the expansion of the Fourth [state back] into the divisions [of projected con-

causes the state of enlightenment to pervade the transcended is central to the Kālīkula, and the Aphorisms may well have drawn it directly or indirectly from that source. But there is much in them that cannot obviously be derived from it and several elements that cannot be traced to any other known scriptural source.

Since so much of the early Śākta literature has been lost or preserved only in quotations in the works of the Kashmirian exegetes it would be rash to try to assess the extent to which the aphorisms are a creative development. However, that they were thought to be so at a time when much more of that literature was current is implicit in the accounts of their origin given by the commentators. For these elevate them in a manner that allows for a degree of originality that would not be acceptable in a text claiming merely human authorship. Thus according to Rājānaka Rāma and Bhāgavatotpala the aphorisms were revealed to Vasugupta through oral transmission by a Siddha,[572] in the manner claimed for the Old Kashmiri Chummās. According to Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara directions given to Vasugupta by a Siddha led him to discover the aphorisms on Mt. Mahādeva.[573] Kṣemarāja too held that Vasugupta found the aphorisms on this mountain, but attributes the instruction that led to their discovery not to a Siddha but to Śiva himself appearing to Vasugupta in a dream, thus lifting the text on to the level

sciousness, namely] the waking state, dream, and dreamless sleep'; 1.8–10: *jñānaṃ jāgrat* | *svapno vikalpāḥ* | *aviveko māyā sauṣuptam* 'The waking state [here] is sense-cognition; the dream state is [one's] conceptual constructions; the state of dreamless sleep is the absence of awareness [of transcendence], the state of inner self-concealment'; 1.11: *tritayabhoktā vīreśaḥ* 'One who [continously] experiences [these] three [as the Fourth] is [Bhairava,] the Lord of Heroes'; 1.21: *śuddhavidyodayāc cakreśatvasiddhiḥ* 'The result of the arising of non-dual awareness is that one is established as the Lord of the circle of [his] Powers'; 2.7: *mātṛkācakrasaṃbodhaḥ* '[Through the Guru the disciple] achieves realization of the circle of the Mothers'; 3.19: *kavargādiṣu māheśvaryādyāḥ paśumātaraḥ* 'Māheśvarī and the [other goddesses] are the Mothers for bound souls, [being manifest] in the gutturals and the classes [of the sounds of the syllabary that combine as conceptual construction]'.

[572]Bhāgavatotpala, *Spandapradīpikā*, p. 83, ll. 15: *siddhamukhenāgataṃ rahasyaṃ yat* 'The esoteric teaching that had come [to Vasugupta] through the oral instruction of a Siddha …'; *Spandakārikāvivṛti*, p. 165, ll. 12–15: *guror vasuguptābhidhānasya sākṣāt siddhamukhasaṃkrāntasamastarahasyopaniṣadbhūtaspandatattvāmṛtaniḥṣyandasya …* '…the Guru called Vasugupta, to whom the outflow of the nectar that is the hidden essence of all the esoteric [Śaiva scriptures] was transmitted directly from the lips of a Siddha'.

[573]Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara, *Śivasūtravārtika* 1.3: *śrīmanmahādevagirau vasuguptaguroḥ purā* | *siddhādeśāt prādur āsan śivasūtrāṇi tasya hi* 'In the past the Aphorisms of Śiva were discovered on Mt. Mahādeva by the Guru Vasugupta following the instruction of a Siddha.'

of scriptural revelation,[574] though he too knew a tradition that Vasugupta was the conduit to men of Kaula oral teaching, for he describes him as "one whose heart had been purified by the spiritual transmissions that he had received from numerous Śaiva Yoginīs and Siddhas", a formulation that may well have been intended also to account for the eclectic character of the text.[575]

Remaining faithful to the text's character as a creative synthesis of Kaula tradition neither commentator has attempted to tie his interpretation to a single scripture-based system. Kṣemarāja, as I have stated above, shows a strong tendency to read the text in the terms of the Krama, but this is by no means his only exegetical resource in this commentary. Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara's commentary, too, is relatively system-neutral, though he too on occasion uses language that echoes the Kālīkula.[576]

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[574] *Śivasūtravimarśinī*, pp. 2, l. 7–3, l. 4: *kadācic cāsau dvaitadarśanādhivāsitaprāye jīvaloke rahasyasaṃpradāyo mā vicchedīty āśayato 'nujighṛkṣāpareṇa paramaśivena svapne 'nugṛhyonmiṣitapratibhaḥ kṛto yathātra mahībhṛti mahati śilātale rahasyam asti tad adhigamyānugrahayogyeṣu prakāśayeti. prabuddhaś cāsāv anvisyan tāṃ mahatīṃ śilāṃ karasparśanamātraparivartanataḥ saṃvādīkṛtasvapnāṃ pratyakṣīkṛtyemāni śivopaniṣatsaṃgraharūpāṇi śivasūtrāṇi tataḥ samāsasāda* 'Once Paramaśiva, desiring to benefit mankind by preventing the esoteric tradition from dying out in a society that was almost completely permeated by the dualistic doctrine [of the Saiddhāntikas], favoured that [Guru Vasugupta on Mt. Mahādeva by appearing to him] in a dream and causing him to understand that there was an esoteric teaching [inscribed] on a huge rock on that mountain and that he was to learn it and reveal it to those who deserved to be so favoured. When he awoke he looked for that rock and turning it over by a mere touch of his hand saw that it confirmed his dream. He then acquired from it these aphorisms, which are the epitome of the esoteric Śaiva scriptures'.

[575] *Śivasūtravimarśinī*, p. 2, ll. 3–5: *pārameśvaranānāyoginīsiddhasatsaṃpradāyapavitritahṛdayaḥ*.

[576] See e.g. (1) *Śivasūtravārtika* 1.52–53b on *tritayabhoktā vīreśaḥ*: *evaṃ* ***marīcinicayo*** *guṇatrayasamudbhavaḥ | vaikalpike jagaty asmin* ***vamanagrāsatatparaḥ*** *| tatrāpi* ***grāsakṛd*** *yasmāt tena vīreśvaraḥ smṛtaḥ* 'In this way the mass of rays that arises from the three Qualities [that are manifest in the three states of waking, dream, and dreamless sleep] is intent on projecting and devouring [the contents of consciousness] in this universe of conceptual constructions. He is called the Lord of Heroes (Vīreśvara) here because he in turn devours these [rays]'; cf. *Jayadrathayāmala*, *Ṣaṭka* 4, 4.9ab (*Kālikākramapaṭala*): *sphurad*-***vamanasaṃgrāsa****rāvikī sṛṣṭkārikā*; f. 216v (*Siddhayogeśvarīvidhipaṭala* 34cd): *aśeṣacakracakreśa*-***vamanagrāsa****aniṣṭhurām*; Arṇasiṃha, *Mahānayaprakāśa* 226: *āsāṃ dviṣaṭkadevīnāṃ* ***vamanagrāsa****tatparām | devīṃ trayodaśīṃ vande tādātmyapratipattaye*); (2) *Śivasūtravārtika* 2.12–15b (on *garbhe cittavikāso viśiṣṭo 'vidyāsvapnaḥ* 'The mind expands within the source [and because of that] ignorance sleeps'): ***prakāśānanda****sārāntarvyāvartanabalād bhṛśam | viṣayebhyo nivṛttasya manasaś cinmayī sthitiḥ | paro vikāsaś ciccandracandrikāmṛtanirbharaḥ | sravacchāktāmṛtāpūrāplutānandijaganmayaḥ | tatsadbhāvād avidyāyāḥ †prathayantyā† dharādibhiḥ | tattvajālair* ***alaṃgrāsa****yuktyā svapno vilopanam* 'The mind becomes consciousness when it turns back from

As for the *Spandakārikā*, all our authors agree that it presents the essentials of the Aphorisms, Kṣemarāja claiming that Vasugupta himself was its author,[577] and Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara and Bhāgavatotpala attributing it to Kallaṭa, his pupil.[578] But in fact while there is much that is common to both texts, notably the model

sense-objects by force of intense reversion into the essence that is [the fusion] of light and bliss. This is its full expansion. It is filled with the nectar that is the light of the moon of consciousness and it is fused with the world now blissful because it has been completely drenched by the outsurging flood of the nectar of [Bhairava's] Power. Because of this there arises the sleep, the elimination through the process of Complete Devouring (*alaṃgrāsaḥ*), of the ignorance that †…†[it] with the entangling Tattvas from earth [to Śiva]'. The reading *prathayantyā dharādibhiḥ | tattvajālair* yields no appropriate sense that I can see. Perhaps we should emend to *vyathayantyā dharādibhiḥ* 'that torments [it] with the entangling Tattvas from earth [to Śiva]'. The expression *prakāśānanda-* is frequently encountered in texts of the Kālīkula; see, e.g., *Jayadrathayāmala*, *Ṣaṭka* 3, f. 156r4: *yatra kṣayam idaṃ yāti prāṇādyaṃ sarvam eva hi | yatodeti punar bhūyo prakāśānandalakṣaṇam | ciddhāma yat paraṃ sūkṣmaṃ kāraṇeṣv api kāraṇam | taṃ śivaṃ paramaṃ devaṃ svaśaktiparimaṇḍitam*; *Ṣaṭka* 4, f. 34v4: *vikāsākuñcanenaiva prakāśānandayogataḥ*; f. 196r7: *triśīrṣā vīryamālinī | prakāśānandamadhyasthā prollasanmantravigrahā*; and f. 196v1: *prakāśānandamadhyasthā kādyā kaṅkālabhairavī*. The term *alaṃgrāsaḥ* too is a feature of the Krama texts; see Arṇasiṃha, *Mahānayaprakāśa*, f. 127r2–3 (v. 225cd): *devikākramasadbhāvo 'py alaṃgrāsaikaghasmaraḥ*; *Mahānayaprakāśa* (Triv.) 7.99ab: *alaṃgrāsapravṛttena kriyāveśena tattvataḥ*; *Vātūlanāthasūtravṛtti* on 2: *kālākālakalpanottīrṇālaṃgrāsavapuṣā mahānirīheṇa*; on 9: *cāturātmyena udyogābhāsacarvaṇālaṃgrāsavapuṣā svasvarūpāvasthitiḥ*; on 10: *udyogāvabhāsacarvaṇālaṃgrāsaviśrāntirūpāṇāṃ mahāsaṃvidraśmīnāṃ*; *Jñānakriyādvayaśataka* 5cd: *namaḥ samastabhāvaughahaṭhālaṃgrāsabhānave*; and the commentary on the Old Kashmiri *Mahānayaprakāśa* 4.6: *bhagavatyālaṃgrāsaparayā*.

[577] *Śivasūtravimarśinī*, p. 3, ll. 4–7: *etāni ca samyag adhigamya bhaṭṭaśrīkallaṭādyeṣu sacchiṣyeṣu prakāśitavān spandakārikābhiś ca saṃgṛhītavān* 'And [Vasugupta] having mastered these [Aphorisms] revealed them to Bhaṭṭaśrī Kallaṭa and other worthy disciples and then summarized them in the *Spandakārikā*'.

[578] Bhāgavatotpala, *Spandapradīpikā*, p. 83, ll. 15–17: *ayam atra kilāmnāyaḥ siddhamukhenāgataṃ rahasyaṃ yat | tad bhaṭṭakallaṭendur vasuguptaguror avāpya śiṣyāṇām | avabodhārtham anuṣṭuppañcāśikayā saṃgrahaṃ kṛtavān* 'On this matter the following tradition is reported. The moon-like Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa received from the Guru Vasugupta the esoteric teaching that had come to him through the oral instruction of a Siddha and summarized it in fifty verses in the Anuṣṭubh metre' (for the point of the moon-metaphor see footnote 581); and Bhāskara, *Śivasūtravārtika* 1.4–5: *sarahasyāṇy ataḥ so 'pi prādād bhaṭṭāya sūraye | śrīkallaṭāya so 'py evaṃ catuḥkhaṇḍāni tāny atha | vyākarot trikam etebhyaḥ spandasūtraiḥ svakais tataḥ | tattvārthacintāmaṇyākhyaṭīkayā khaṇḍam antimam* 'He transmitted [the aphorisms] in four sections, along with [an explanation of their] esoteric teaching, to the learned Bhaṭṭaśrī Kallaṭa, who explained the [first] three of these in his own *Spandakārikā* and the last section in a commentary entitled *Tattvārthacintāmaṇi*'. Citations from the *Tattvārthacintāmaṇi*, now lost, survive in *Tantrāloka* 10.208 (paraphrase), *-viveka* thereon (quotation); *Tantrāloka* 16.51 (paraphrase), *-viveka* thereon (quotation); and *Śivasūtravimarśinī*, p. 138, ll. 5–8 (quotation).

of liberation through transcendence and expansion, there is nothing in them that supports this supposed intimate relationship and much that goes against it, most notably the absence from the Aphorisms of the doctrine that Śiva's essence is the vibrancy of consciousness (*spandaḥ*, *spandatattvam*) that gives the *Spandakārikā* its title. Here too no single Kaula system can be identified as the text's basis. Nonetheless it is probable that the Kālīkula was a major element in the milieu within which this text emerged. The term *spandaḥ* is certainly much used in the scriptures of that tradition.[579]

The short gloss on the *Spandakārikā* by Bhaṭṭaśrī Kallaṭa supports the view of Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara and Bhāgavatotpala that the root-text was indeed composed by Kallaṭa and not by Vasugupta as Kṣemarāja maintained. For it lacks its own initial benedictory verse and nowhere gives any indication of separate authorship. The second of three post-colophonic verses in the edition of the text does assert that the *Spandakārikā* is by Vasugupta: "[Here] Kallaṭa has clarified the nectar of the *Spandakārikā* that the venerable Vasugupta extracted from the ocean of the *Śivasūtra* taught to him on Mt. Mahādeva by Śiva in a dream".[580]

[579] See *Jayadrathayāmala*, *Ṣaṭka* 1, f. 190v3–5 (45.120–122): *ekaḥ śivo mahāmūlaṃ nirupādhir anantakaḥ | vijñānajñānasaṃpūrṇaḥ sarvākāras tu mantharaḥ |* 121 *nistaraṅgārṇavākāraḥ paritṛptaḥ parāparaḥ | suśāntamūrtiḥ sarvātmā nirvāṇeśo 'tinirmalaḥ |* 122 *tasya śaktiḥ svakaṃ vīryaṃ ciddhāmānandagocaram | vyaktaṃ vyaktivibhedena* ***spandanā****nandasundaram*; *Ṣaṭka* 2, f. 5r4: ***spandā****nandodarāvartaviśrāntāyāmalāya te | namaś ciccakraviśrāmaprasaradviśvamūrtaye*; *Ṣaṭka* 3, f. 107v7–8 (15.9c–10): *yā parollāsinī śaktiḥ parāparavibhāgagā | jñānakriyānilayanī icchā ciccakramadhyagā |* ***spando****daragatā sūkṣmā susūkṣmāmṛta*syandinī* (conj. : *saṃdhinī* Cod.); *Ṣaṭka* 3, f. 95r4 (13.30): *tat****spanda****cakramadhyastho smaren mantraṃ mahādbhutam | iyaṃ sā devadeveśi mantraśuddhiḥ parāparā*; *Ṣaṭka* 4, f. 58r5–6 (4.17–18): *jñānaṃ jñeyaṃ tathā jñātā jñaptigarbhān *nibhālayan* (corr. : *nibhālayaṃ*) *| layaṃ yāti pare dhāmni nirahaṃkāradharmiṇi | cidānanda****parispanda****garbhasthaspandarūpayā | vyāptā paramayā bhāti *ṣaḍadhvāvaraṇāntagā* (*āntagā* corr. : *āṃtigā* Cod.); *Ciñciṇīmatasārasamuccaya*, f. 22v4 (7.206ab) (on the twelve Kālīs, in the *Uttaragharāmnāya* section): *sphuraty antargatā ghūrmir anākhyaṃ* ***spandam*** *uttamam*; *Devīdvyardhaśataka*, f. 11r2–3 (v. 127): *akathyaṃ vā⟨k⟩kramātītam akulaṃ ca kuloditam |* ***spandanā****ntaramadhyastham ātmāgamaṃ subhāvitam*.

[580] *Spandakārikāvṛtti*, p. 40, ll. 3–6: **dugdhaṃ* (em. : *dṛbdhaṃ* Ed.) *mahādevagirau maheśasvapnopadiṣṭāc chivasūtrasindhoḥ | spandāmṛtaṃ yad vasuguptapādaiḥ śrīkallaṭas tat prakaṭīcakāra*. The edition's reading *dṛbdhaṃ* is unacceptable. For while the *Spandakārikā* can be 'composed' (*dṛbdha-*) the 'nectar that is the *Spandakārikā*' (*spandāmṛtaṃ*) cannot be 'composed from the ocean of the *Śivasūtra*'. The metaphor requires the nectar to be 'extracted' from that ocean, in allusion to the Purāṇic myth of the extraction of nectar from the ocean of milk. This meaning is provided by the graphically similar *dugdhaṃ*; cf. Nārāyaṇa, *Stavacintāmaṇi* 1.10: *māyājalodarāt samyag uddhṛtya vimalīkṛtam | śivajñānaṃ svato* ***dugdhaṃ*** *dehy ehi harahaṃsa naḥ*, on which Kṣemarāja comments as follows: *svato dugdhaṃ tvayaiva kalāślāghyenānītam*.

But the verse is suspect, since it appears in only some manuscripts, and if it were original Bhāgavatotpala, who knew this commentary,[581] could hardly have maintained the view that the *Spandakārikā* is Kallaṭa's. The motive for interpolation is clear, namely to make Kallaṭa himself support the view of Kṣemarāja.

Kallaṭa's brief and lucid gloss stays firmly within the parameters of the text itself, eschewing, therefore, all reference to the specific doctrines of the Śākta traditions, unlike that of Kṣemarāja, which, as we have seen, grounds the text in the Krama, though it also recognizes its transcendent, syncretistic character by connecting some passages with the Trika.

The commentary of Rājānaka Rāma, the pupil of Utpaladeva, likewise adheres closely to the explicit content of the text, relying also on Kallaṭa's gloss. We find no attempts to clarify its meaning by making connections with the Trika or Krama. If he strays beyond the parameters of his text it is only to the extent that he applies the philosophical concepts of his teacher.[582]

Bhāgavatotpala's commentary (*Spandapradīpikā*) is of a very different character. As a Pāñcarātrika Vaiṣṇava its author attempts to show through abundant citations from Pāñcarātrika sources, both scriptural and exegetical—in the latter case he draws extensively on the philosophico-devotional treatises of the Kashmirian Pāñcarātrika Vāmanadatta (son of Devadatta) as well as a wide range of Śaiva texts—that the doctrine of the *Spandakārikā* is equally at the heart of this non-Śaiva tradition.

As for the unpublished *Spandapradīpikā* of Bhaṭṭārakasvāmin,[583] that is written from the perspective of a Kashmirian Śaiva versed in the works of Utpaladeva and Abhinavagupta but without strong leanings towards the Krama or the Trika, though in the Maṅgala verse at the beginning of his commentary

[581] He refers to the commentary as Kallaṭa's in the introductory verses of his *Spandapradīpikā*. After reporting the tradition that the *Spandakārikā* is Kallaṭa's summary of the teaching of the *Śivasūtra* (see footnote 578 on p. 405) he adds (p. 83, ll. 18–19): *yad api tadartho vyākhyājyotsnāprakaṭīkṛto 'sti teneṣat | mohaniśāmadhyagatā mandadṛśas tad api nārtham īkṣante* 'Although he made the meaning of those [fifty verses] slightly clearer with the moonlight of a commentary those in the midst of the night of delusion with weak sight are still unable to make it out'.

[582] See, e.g., *Spandakārikāvivṛti*, p. 25, where he applies Utpaladeva's distinctive classification of the four levels of contracted agency of consciousness (*parimitapramātṛtā*), namely those of identification with the body (*dehapramātṛtā*), intellect (*buddhipramātṛtā*), vital energy (*prāṇapramātṛtā*), and the void (*śūnyapramātṛtā*).

[583] The manuscript, which to my knowledge, is the only one to have survived, breaks off in the commentary on the last verse of the work proper, before its two closing verses of veneration and benediction.

on the second chapter he venerates the essence of the Trika that transcends the Śaktis Parā, Parāparā, and Aparā.[584] In the chapter colophons he is identified as a worshipper of Śrīvidyā, that is to say, of the Śākta goddess Tripurasundarī[585] and this fact is reflected in the introduction to the commentary. For in its verses 11–14 he prepares for his task by meditating on an unnamed Maṇḍala, beginning with obeisance to Gaṇeśa, Dharma, Varuṇa, and Kubera at its gates and then dissolving it stage by stage into the point (*binduḥ*) at its centre. The stages are (1) the four gates, then (2) three circles, followed by sets of (3) sixteen, (4) eight, (5) fourteen, (6) ten, (7) ten again, (8) eight and (9) three.[586] The Maṇḍala, then, is that of Śrīvidyā, which alone has this structure. There is an unusual feature, however, in the deities of the four outer gates. This arrangement is not found in any form of the Śrīvidyā known to me, but does occur, and is probably peculiar to, the Kaula system taught in the *Devīrahasya* (/*Parārahasya*), where these four are worshipped as the door-guardians (*dvārapālāḥ*) of its Yantras for initiation (Paṭala 1) and in its worship of the initiation Guru (Paṭala 60). The Kaulism of this text, which was well known in Kashmir,[587] contains no trace of the terminology of Kashmirian non-dualism and appears to be East Indian in character, though it was probably composed or revised in Kashmir since it has integrated the local Kashmirian goddesses into its pantheon,[588] and consequently a number of Kashmirian Pariśiṣṭas which provide Pañcāṅgas for their worship within the same ritual parameters have been published with

[584]Bhaṭṭārakasvāmin, *Spandapradīpikā*, f. 5v18–19: *yad anuttaram apūrvaṃ parāparāparāparākalātītam | śuddhāśuddhasvabhāvaṃ *tad* (em. : *tam* cod.) *upāsmahe ṣaḍardhasārākhyaṃ*.

[585]E.g., f. 5v16–17: *iti śrīmacchrīvidyopāsakaśrībhaṭṭārakasvāmikṛtaspandapradīpikāyāṃ prathamo 'yam ullāsaḥ*.

[586]Bhaṭṭāraka, *Spandapradīpikā*, f. 1r16–18 (*ārambhaślokāḥ* 11–12b): 11 *gaṇeśadharmavaruṇa*kuberān* (corr. : *kubīrān* cod.) *praṇipatya ca | caturdvāraṃ trivṛttānuṣoḍaśārṇāṣṭapallavam* | 12 **caturdaśadaśadaśavasuvahnisadāśrayān* (*vasu* em. *vasva* Cod.).

[587]There are, for example, six Kashmirian manuscripts of the *Devīrahasya*, one of them on birch-bark, listed in the catalogue of the Sanskrit manuscripts in collection of the Research and Publication Department in Srinagar (Raina 1989, p. 40) and three in the collection of the Banaras Hindu University (Tripāṭhī 1971, p. 750).

[588]Thus among its Mantras are those of Śārikā, Śāradā, Mahārājñī, Jvālāmukhī and Bhīḍā. Similarly, the affiliated *Uddhārakośa* classifies ten of the goddesses of the *Devīrahasya*'s Mantra-pantheon as Great Vidyās (*mahāvidyāḥ*), following the model of East Indian Śāktism. But whereas there the Ten Great Vidyās (*daśa mahāvidyāḥ*) are Tripurasundarī, Lakṣmī, Tārā, Bhuvaneśvarī, Mātaṅgī, Dakṣiṇakālī, Bhairavī, Chinnamastā, Dhūmāvatī and Bagalāmukhī, here they are Tripurasundarī, Lakṣmī, Tārā, Bhuvaneśvarī, Mātaṅgī and the local goddesses Śāradā, Śārikā, Rājñī, Bhīḍā, and Jvālāmukhī.

it.[589] We learn nothing more about Bhaṭṭāraka from his commentary; but perhaps he is identical with the Kashmirian Bhaṭṭāraka Ānanda whose commentary on the *Vijñānabhairava* (*Vijñānakaumudī*) was completed, according to its concluding verses, in [Kali] 4774 (= A.D. 1672).[590] For Bhaṭṭāraka Ānanda identifies himself, like our commentator, as a follower of the Śrīvidyā, and refers to his preparation for composition in similar terms.[591]

It is at least certain that the author was a Kashmirian. When explaining the term *śabdarāśisamutthasya śaktivargasya* 'the set of Śaktis that arises from the syllabary' in *Spandakārikā* 3.13b he gives as an alternative the interpretation that it refers to the eight goddesses Amā, Kāmā, Cārvaṅgī, Ṭaṅkadhariṇī, Tārā, Pārvatī, Yakṣiṇī and Śārikā. This places the matter beyond reasonable doubt, since this series of goddesses is peculiarly Kashmirian. Śārikā is one of the lineage-goddesses (*kuladevī*) of the Kashmirian brahmins and is venerated in the form of a rock at the Pradyumnapīṭha on the hill Hār^{a}parbuth (Śārikāparvata) in Srinagar with the other seven goddesses from Amā to Yakṣiṇī as her retinue.[592]

The Śākta Śaivism of the Maithila Kauls

The East Indian Śāktism seen in the *Devīrahasya*, mentioned above in connection with Bhaṭṭārakasvāmin's commentary on the *Spandakārikā*, is also found in ritual manuals written by the seventeenth-century Kashmirian scholar Sāhib Kaul for the worship of Tripurasundarī (*Śrīvidyānityapūjāpaddhati*), Bhuvaneśvarī (*Hṛllekhāpaddhati*), and Dakṣiṇakālī (*Śyāmāpaddhati*). The Kauls, though subsequently integrated as a distinguished division of Kashmirian brahmin society, were Maithila Mādhyandinīya Yajurvedins who had come to Kashmir

[589] The term Pañcāṅga denotes in this context a set of five texts: a verse Paṭala outlining the cult, a prose Paddhati that sets out the procedure and Mantras of worship in full, a verse Kavaca invoking the goddess's protection, a verse hymn of a thousand names of the goddess (*sahasranāmakam*), and a poetic hymn (*stotram*, *stavarājaḥ*) to the same.

[590] *Vijñānakaumudī*, p. 63, v. 3: *vedasaptarṣivedāntyayugābdamadhupakṣatau | vijñānakaumudīm etāṃ bhaṭṭānando vyakāsayat.*

[591] *Vijñānakaumudī*, p. 63, l. 1: *śrīvidyānugrahāvāptapreksālesas* ....

[592] Bhaṭṭārakasvāmin, *Spandapradīpikā*, f. 21r16–18: *tathā cānyathā: amā kāmā cārvaṅgī ṭaṅkadhariṇī tārā pārvatī yakṣiṇī śārikā ityādirūpasya ca śaktivargasya bhogyatāṃ gataḥ san* .... Bhaṭṭārakasvāmin's reason for mentioning these eight is evident from their names and Mantras: each name begins with a sound that is the first in one of the eight sound-classes (*vargāḥ*) that make up that syllabary; and the Mantra of each Śakti contains the same sound in the form of a seed-syllable.

from northern Bihar during the period of Muslim rule, probably after the incorporation of Kashmir into the Mughal empire in 1586; and it is very likely that it was they that brought in and sustained this new constellation of Kaula observance.[593] Sāhib Kaul, though faithful to his East Indian heritage in his Paddhatis, venerated the Kashmirian goddess Śārikā as his lineage deity[594] and wrote a number of devotional works in which the Śākta Śaiva tradition of his adopted homeland rooted in the non-dualistic doctrines of Utpaladeva and Abhinavagupta is fully integrated. We see this, for example, in his *Saccidānandakandalī*, *Śivaśaktivilāsa*, *Sahajārcanaṣaṣṭikā*, and *Nijātmabodha*. This tradition is also accommodated in his *Devīnāmavilāsa*,[595] a poetic work in full-blown Mahākāvya style that is based on the non-Kashmirian *Bhavānīsahasranāma* and interprets in Cantos 6 to 15 the meaning of each of the thousand names of the Goddess given in that text.[596]

Other works in this tradition are the *Gurubhaktistotra* and *Gurustuti* of his pupil Cidrūpa Kaul, the *Sadānandalāsya* of Sadānanda Kaul, another of his pupils, the *Bhairavīśaktistotra* (modelled on Abhinavagupta's *Bhairavastotra*), the *Śrīnāthastotra* and *Tripurasundarīstotra* of Gaṇeśa Bhaṭṭāraka, the *Gurustotra* of Jyotiṣprakāśa Kaul, and, by Jyotiṣprakāśa Kaul's pupil Govinda Kaul of the Dār lineage (*dāravaṃśodbhavaḥ*), a commentary (*-padapradīpikā*) on that hymn, a *Gurustutiratnamālā*, and a hymn to Svacchandabhairava, the *Svacchandamaheśvarāṣṭaka*, the last another indication of the Kauls' assimilation of the local Śaiva tradition.

[593] On the Maithila origin of the Kauls of Kashmir and their religious tradition see Sanderson 2004, pp. 361–366.

[594] See the 17th and final verse of his *Śārikāstava*, f. 53v1–2: *stotraṃ mantroddhāry adaḥ śārikāyāḥ sāhibkaulo vaṃśadevyāś cakāra* 'Sāhib Kaul has composed this hymn to his lineage goddess Śārikā from which [the letters that make up] her Mantra may be extracted'.

[595] See, e.g., *Devīnāmavilāsa* 2.52–54, which allude to the Trika (*parādidevīśvara*) and mention Netranātha/Amṛteśabhairava (*netreśa*). Canto 3 elaborates the *Pratyabhijñāhṛdaya* of Kṣemarāja; see, e.g., 3.2: *mahādvaye darśanarājarāje prasiddhasiddhāpratimaprabhāvaḥ | citiḥ svatantrākhilasiddhisiddhiḥ pūrṇo 'pi śūnyo jayasi svabhātaḥ* (echoing *Pratyabhijñāhṛdaya* 1.1: *citiḥ svatantrā viśvasiddhihetuḥ*).

[596] *Devīnāmavilāsa* 6.2: *śambhuś cakre yāni nāmāni devadevyāḥ spaṣṭaṃ pūrvam uddeśapūrvam | sāhibkaulas tāni bhaktyekavaśyo vṛttair arthaṃ lakṣayadbhir babandha.*

Chronology

To determine the chronology of the Kashmirian Śaiva literature in its most creative phase we have only three precise dates, found in concluding verses at the end of three of Abhinavagupta's works. These report that his *Kramastotra* was completed in [40]66 (= A.D. 991), his *Bhairavastotra* in [40]68 (= A.D. 993), and his *Īśvarapratyabhijñāvivṛtivimarśinī* in [40]90 (= A.D. 1015).[597]

These dates enable us determine approximately both the dates of his predecessors, where they are connected to him in a known preceptorial sequence, and those of his successors Kṣemarāja and Yogarāja. If for want of any more precise means of measurement we assume preceptorial generations of twenty-five years and active lives of fifty, and allow leeway on either side of the earliest and latest of the three dated works to approximate the active life of Abhinavagupta as *c.* 975–1025, then Somānanda will have been active *c.* 900–950, Utpaladeva *c.* 925–975, Lakṣmaṇagupta and Rājānaka Rāma *c.* 950–1000, Kṣemarāja *c.* 1000–1050, and Yogarāja *c.* 1025–1075.

As for the Gurus of the Krama, Bhūtirāja, as Abhinavagupta's teacher, will have been active *c.* 950–1000. Jñānanetra, then, will have been active *c.* 850–900, Keyūravatī, Madanikā, and Kalyāṇikā *c.* 875–925, Erakanātha, Govindarāja, Bhānuka, and Hrasvanātha *c.* 900–950, and Cakrabhānu (Bhūtirāja's Guru) *c.* 925–975, Cakrabhānu's disciples Īśānī and Prabodhanātha *c.* 950–1000, Nandaka and Jaiyaka *c.* 975–1025, Sajjana and Paṅkaka, *c.* 1000–1025, Someśvara and Nāga *c.* 1025–1075, and Arṇasiṃha *c.* 1050–1100. This crude calculation receives independent support from Kalhaṇa's report that Cakra-

[597] *Kramastotra*, v. 30: *ṣaṭṣaṣṭināmake varṣe navamyām asite 'hani | mayābhinavaguptena mārgaśīrṣe stutaḥ śivaḥ* 'I Abhinavagupta have composed this hymn to Śiva on the 9th Tithi, a dark day, in Mārgaśīrṣa, in year 66.'; *Bhairavastotra*, v. 10: *vasurasapauṣe kṛṣṇadaśamyām abhinavaguptaḥ stavam imam akarot* 'Abhinavagupta has composed this hymn on the 19th of the dark fortnight of Pauṣa of [the year] Vasus(8)-flavours(6) [68]'); and *Īśvarapratyabhijñāvivṛtivimarśinī*, concluding v. 15: *iti navatime 'smin vatsare 'ntye yugāṃśe tithiśaśijaladhisthe mārgaśīrṣāvasāne | jagati vihitabodhām īśvarapratyabhijñāṃ vyavṛṇuta paripūrṇāṃ preritaḥ śambhupādaiḥ* 'Thus, on the whole *Īśvarapratyabhijñā* that has enlightened mankind, [Abhinavagupta,] instigated by [his] venerable [teacher] Śambhu[nātha], has completed [this] commentary, at the end of Mārgaśīrṣa in this 90th year in the last of the [four] Yugas [Kali] in the [year] lunar days(15)-moon(1)-oceans (4) [= 4115].' When years are given in Kashmir with the century omitted, as here, they pertain to the Laukika era, also called Saptarṣi, which is counted from 3076 B.C. We can deduce that the omitted century is the 40th (4066, 4068, and 4090) because the last date is further specified as falling in year 4115 of the Kali era, which is counted from 3102 B.C.

bhānu was punished while his Guru Hrasvanātha was the minister of war and peace under Yaśaskara. It appears from that account that this event occurred at the very end of the king's reign, which began in 939 and ended in 948.

Other authors of the Krama can be less narrowly dated. The anonymous author of the Trivandrum *Mahānayaprakāśa* wrote after Abhinavagupta (*fl. c.* 975–1025) and before Jayaratha in the thirteenth century.[598] Śrīvatsa, author of the *Cidgaganacandrikā* wrote after Arṇasiṃha (*fl. c.* 1050–1100), since he draws on the latter's *Mahānayaprakāśa*,[599] and very probably before *c.* 1300. This posterior limit is set by the probable date of the South Indian Maheśvarānanda, since he cites the *Cidgaganacandrikā* in his *Mahārthamañjarīparimala*.[600]

The certain limits of Maheśvarānanda's activity are widely separated. He was active after *c.* 1175, because Śivānanda, the Guru of his Guru[601] cites the Saiddhāntika Paddhati of Somaśambhu,[602] which was completed towards the end of the eleventh century,[603] and he cannot have been active later than about 1500, since Lakṣmīdhara (1497–1539) quotes verses of the *Kāmakalāvilāsa* of Puṇyānandayogin,[604] who was one preceptorial generation later than Maheśvarānanda.[605] But the range can be narrowed to the decades around 1300 if the Śākta Śaiva Amṛtānandayogin who has given us three works on the worship of Tripurasundarī, the *Yoginīhṛdayadīpikā*, the *Saubhāgyasudhodaya*, and the *Cidvilāsastava*,[606] and was a disciple of Puṇyānanda[607] and therefore two

[598] For the succession down to Arṇasiṃha see p. 292; for the date of Cakrabhānu's punishment see p. 281; and for Jayaratha's knowledge of the Trivandrum *Mahānayaprakāśa* see pp. 308 and 311.

[599] See p. 297.

[600] *Mahārthamañjarīparimala*, pp. 27, 51, 68, 70, etc.

[601] See, e.g., *Mahārthamañjarīparimala*, pp. 111–112 (*yathoktam asmatparamagurubhiḥ śrīkramavāsanāyām: …* [= Śivānanda, *Subhagodayavāsanā*, v. 21]); p. 127, ll. 11–14 (*yathoktam asmatparamagurubhiḥ śrīsubhagodaye: …* [= Śivānanda, *Subhagodaya*, v. 69]).

[602] He does so in his *Nityāṣoḍaśikārṇava-ṛjuvimarśinī* p. 225, ll. 10–11. The passage cited = Brunner 1963–1998, pt. 2, p. 203, v. 5.

[603] See p. 420.

[604] Vrajavallabha Dviveda, *Nityāṣoḍaśikārṇava*, Skt. introd., p. xviii.

[605] Maheśvarānanda's teacher's teacher, Śivānanda, was a pupil of Svātmānanda (*Nityāṣoḍaśikārṇava-ṛjuvimarśinī*, p. 2, ll. 1–2); and between Svātmānanda and Puṇyānanda there were three preceptorial generations: Svātmānanda→Trilocaneśa→Deveśa→Keśaveśa→Puṇyānanda (Amṛtānandayogin, *Saubhāgyasudhodaya* 6.19d–21c).

[606] The author calls himself Amṛtānandayogin in his *Saubhāgyasudhodaya* 6.21 and is named thus or as Amṛtānandanāthayogin in the colophons of that work and his *Yoginīhṛdayadīpikā*.

[607] *Saubhāgyasudhodaya* 6.21cd, in the account of his spiritual lineage: *tasmāt puṇyānando*

generations later than Maheśvarānanda, is identical with the Amṛtānandayogin who wrote the *Alaṃkārasaṃgraha*, a treatise on poetics. Nothing in the latter proves conclusively that this is so. But there is more than the mere agreement of names to judge by. For the *Alaṃkārasaṃgraha* shows that its author was indeed a Śākta Śaiva devotee of Tripurasundarī and expresses this in terms so similar to those found in the Tantric works of Amṛtānandayogin and others in his region, time, and tradition, that this together with the identity of the names makes single authorship very probable. Thus in its first verse the *Alaṃkārasaṃgraha* venerates the primal couple (*ādyaṃ mithunam*), describing them as immersed in the blissful relish of their union, a single deity whose two 'feet', symbolizing their dual power, are intent on the creation of the universe.[608] Similarly, the *Cidvilāsastava* venerates in its opening verse the blissful fusion (*sāmarasya-*) of Śiva and Śakti, embodying the self-manifest light of reality (*prakāśaḥ*) and its innate power of creative ideation (*vimarśaḥ*) as the 'supreme sandal' (*parā pādukā*) of the Guru Paramaśiva (*paraśivātmano guroḥ*), that is to say, in keeping with South Indian Śākta Śaiva symbolism, as the hidden, unitary source of that dyad.[609] The equation of the object of veneration with the Guru, that is to say, with the deity as the source of the author's Guru lineage, might be thought to be a striking point of difference between these two verses. But in fact the difference is merely that the equation is explicit in the second and implicit in the first. For the 'primal couple' (*ādyaṃ mithunam*) of the *Alaṃkārasaṃgraha* is a term of art in this South Indian Śākta Śaiva literature for Paramaśiva and his Śakti in their role as the first teacher and his consort under the names Caryānātha and Tripurasundarī or Kāmeśvarī, worshipped at the centre of the central triangle of the Śrīcakra upon the central point that represents Paramaśiva in his ultimate nature, the supreme bliss in which this polarity is fused in undifferentiated unity.[610] As for the *Alaṃkārasaṃgraha*'s notion that the two feet of this

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mamāmṛtānandayogino nāthaḥ; *Yoginīhṛdayadīpikā*, p. 19, ll. 7–8: *etat kāmakalāvilāse 'py asmadgurubhiḥ prapañcitam*.

[608] *Alaṃkārasaṃgraha* 1.1–2: *jagadvaicitryajananajāgarūkapadadvayam | aviyogarasābhijñam ādyaṃ mithunam āśraye*.

[609] *Cidvilāsastava* 1: *svaprakāśaśivamūrtir ekikā tadvimarśatanur ekikā tayoḥ | sāmarasyavapur iṣyate parā pādukā paraśivātmano guroḥ*. Cf. the hidden third and fourth feet of the Guru in *Mahārthamañjarīparimala*, p. 4, ll. 16–22, and the equating of the 'sandal' (*śrīpādukā*) with the innermost state of consciousness as the highest object of reverence *ibid.*, p. 96, ll. 12–22.

[610] See Vidyānandanātha, *Nityāṣoḍaśikārṇava-artharatnāvalī*, p. 3, Maṅgala verse 2: ***ādyaṃ mithunam*** *ārabhya svagurvantaṃ krameṇa tu | vande gurvaugham* 'I venerate in due order the Guru lineage that begins from the primal couple and ends with my own teacher'. For the

couple are the source of all creation, that too is derived from this same textual milieu. For in a discussion of the symbolism of the worship of the feet of the deity as the primal Guru Maheśvarānanda quotes a verse without attribution which says that one foot is white and the other red, representing semen and menstrual blood, the two ingredients of conception in Indian theory, and that this whole universe is born from its two parents through these.[611] Similarly, Śivānanda quotes a verse which venerates the footstool on which the [two] feet of Śiva-and-Śakti rest, identifying it with consciousness itself and describing it as haloed by the radiance of the infinite worlds that it spontaneously creates.[612]

In its second introductory verse the *Alaṃkārasaṃgraha* maintains this Śākta Śaiva context by venerating the goddess Sarasvatī (Śāradā) as the presiding deity of [all] names and forms, that is to say, all words and the entities they denote *(nāmarūpādhidevatām*), describing her as the blissful relish of all that emerges from that union (*tadullāsarasākārām*) and as causing the unfolding of the levels of reality (*tattva-*), just as moonlight opens the petals of a night-blooming lotus.[613] Similarly, in its opening verses the *Saubhāgyasudhodaya* venerates the power in the form of creative verbalization or ideation (*parāmarśarūpiṇī*), absolute by virtue of its fusion with Śiva (*tadaikarasyāt*), describing it as that which though one assumes plurality and extension through the radiance (*-ullāsa-*) of its autonomy.[614] And in the opening verses of the *Yoginīhṛdayadīpikā* we find

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identity of the this primal couple see *ibid*. p. 218, l. 13–219, l. 11: *ādau prakāśavimarśasāra-nirviśeṣabindulakṣaṇaḥ paramānandānubhava eva paramo guruḥ. sa punar nirviśeṣabindvātmā svecchāvaśāt prakāśavimarśaśaktiśivātmanātmānaṃ vibhajyoḍyānapīṭhe kṛte yuge kāmeśvarakāmeśvarīsaṃjñayā sthitaś catyānātharūpī …paramaśivaḥ svābhedena sthitāyai svaśaktyai kāmeśvaryai prathamam upadideśa*. The same information is conveyed in Śivānanda, *Nityāṣoḍaśikārṇava-ṛjuvimarśinī*, pp. 218, l. 9–219, l. 2; and Amṛtānandayogin, *Saubhāgyasudhodaya* 6.1–5. Three other such couples are worshipped in the three corners of the central triangle. The distinctive term *mithunam* for these couples is used by Amṛtānandayogin himself in *Saubhāgyasudhodaya* 5.7b: *tayor mithunam*. As for Vidyānandanātha, he may have been a near contemporary of Śivānanda, since his account of his lineage ends with Vāsudeva, disciple of Ratnadeva (*Nityāṣoḍaśikārṇava-artharatnāvalī*, p. 223, ll. 20–21) and Śivānanda adds himself as Vāsudeva's disciple (*Nityāṣoḍaśikārṇava-rjuvimarśinī*, p. 224, ll. 1–3.).

[611] *Mahārthamañjarīparimala*, p. 4, ll. 23–24: *yad āhuḥ: "śuklo 'ṅghriḥ śuklam āviṣṭo raktaṃ rakto 'ṅghrir āśritaḥ | pitror aṅghridvayenedam amunā jāyate 'khilam" iti*.

[612] Śivānanda, *Nityāṣoḍaśikārṇava-rjuvimarśinī*, pp. 10, l. 5–11, l. 2: *abhiyuktovaco 'pi: "svecchāvibhāvitānantajagadraśmivitānavat | naumi saṃvinmahāpīṭhaṃ śivaśaktipadāśrayam" iti*.

[613] *Alaṃkārasaṃgraha* 1.2: **tadullāsarasākārāṃ* (*tadullāsa* em. Ed. : *samullāsa* Cod.) *tattvakairavakaumudīm | namāmi śāradāṃ devīṃ nāmarūpādhidevatām*.

[614] *Saubhāgyasudhodaya* 1.4: *seyaṃ tadaikarasyāt parā parāmarśarūpiṇī śaktiḥ | svasvātantryollāsaspandād ekāpy anekadhā vitatā*.

the creative ideation that is the supreme power of the Guru of the universe being venerated as that which though one shines forth in the form of the multiplicity of names and the named (*nānānāmārtharūpiṇī*).[615] The expresssion *nāmārtha-* ('names and the named') in *nānānāmārtharūpiṇī* is evidently synomous with the *nāmarūpa* ('names and forms') of the *Alaṃkārasaṃgraha*'s formulation, as can be seen from the use of the expression *nānānāmarūpa-* in a parallel context in the *Yoginīhṛdayadīpikā*.[616] What is more, when the *Alaṃkārasaṃgraha*'s verse describes Sarasvatī as *tadullāsarasākārāṃ*, literally 'having the form of the blissful relish of the radiance of that [union]' it echoes the *Saubhāgyahṛdayastotra* of Śivānanda, which describes 'the transcendental speech-essence' (*parā vāk*), Sarasvatī under another name, as an embodiment of ultimate experience 'having the form of the blissful relish of diversity' as it descends through its lower levels to articulate utterance.[617]

Now the *Alaṃkārasaṃgraha* can be dated with a high degree of probability. For its author tells us that he wrote at the request of Manva/Manma/Manna—all three forms are found in the manuscripts—, son of Bhaktirāja, during the latter's rule, and we know of only one Bhaktirāja, a king of the Eṭṭuva branch of the Telugu Choḍa family from whom we have a copperplate inscription dated in A.D. 1355/6. Another, issued by his son, Annadeva, is dated in A.D. 1388. The *Alaṃkārasaṃgraha*, therefore, will have been composed *c.* 1350.[618] So if, as is probable, the same author was the Śākta disciple

[615] Amṛtānandayogin, *Yoginīhṛdayadīpikā*, opening verse 3: *vimarśarūpiṇī śaktir asya viśvaguroḥ parā | parisphurati saikāpi nānānāmārtharūpiṇī.*

[616] *Yoginīhṛdayadīpikā*, p. 90, ll. 1–2: *paraṃ tejaḥ śivaśaktisāmarasyarūpaparāmayaṃ jyotir icchārūpaṃ svecchāgṛhīta**nānānāmarūpa**prapañcamayam* 'The radiance that embodies the highest [power] that is the fusion of Śiva and Śakti (*paraṃ tejaḥ*), one with the multiplicity of the many names and forms that it has adopted by virtue of its autonomous will (*icchārūpaṃ*) …'; *ibid.*, ll. 6–7: *svecchākalpitanānānāmarūpaprapañcamayaṃ śrīcakrarūpeṇa pariṇataṃ parāmayaṃ tejaḥ* 'The radiance that is the highest [power], which is one with the multiplicity of the many names and forms that it has created by virtue of its autonomous will, [that it to say,] which has evolved into the form of the Śrīcakra …'.

[617] Śivānanda, *Saubhāgyahṛdayastotra*, v. 3: *smarāmi tāṃ parāṃ vācaṃ paśyantyādikramāśrayām | *nānāvidharasākāramahānubhavarūpiṇīm* (*ākāra* var. : *ākārāṃ* Ed.). I have rejected the reading preferred by the editor for that which he reports from two manuscripts.The reading *-rasākāra-* is also seen in a Kashmirian manuscript of the hymn (*Tripurasundarīstotra*), which has *nānāvidharasākāraparānubhavarūpiṇīm* here.

[618] For this epigraphical evidence see Krishnamacharya and Sarma 1949, pp. xl–xlii. They note the difficulty raised by the discrepancy between the names Manna/Manma/Manva (all these forms are found in the manuscripts) and Anna[deva], but accepting that they may refer

of Puṇyānanda, Maheśvarānanda will have been active around 1300. The same approximate date results if we apply the crude calculation of twenty-five years for a generation to Śivānanda's account of his preceptorial lineage and accept that the Bhojadeva whom he reports as a contemporary of his spiritual forebear Dīpakācārya[619] was, as is very likely, the famous Bhojadeva of Dhārā who ruled *c.* 1018–1060. By this calculation Śivānanda will have been active around 1225–1275,[620] and Maheśvarānanda, as the pupil of Śivānanda's pupil Mahāprakāśa, will have been active *c.* 1275–1325.[621] If so, the *Cidgaganacandrikā*, since it draws on Arṇasiṃha's *Mahānayaprakāśa* and is quoted by Maheśvarānanda, must have been composed between about 1100 and 1300.

to one and the same person.

[619] *Nityāṣoḍaśikārṇava-ṛjuvimarśiṇī*, p. 223, l. 3: *asmadgotramahattaraḥ prasiddha*bahvapadāno* (em. : *bahvāpādāno* Ed.) *bhojadevadṛṣṭacamatkāro mahādeśikapravaraḥ śrīmān dīpakācāryo daṇḍakakartā* 'The venerable Dīpakācārya, author of the *[Tripurasundarī]daṇḍaka[stotra]*, the foremost of my lineage, the best of great Gurus, whose many noble deeds are famous, whose miracles were witnessed by Bhojadeva'. The emendation is supported by Amṛtānandayogin's *Saubhāgyasudhodaya*, 6.16cd: *nānāpadānamahito dīpakanāthaḥ svasaṃtater dīpaḥ* 'Dīpakanātha, the lamp of his lineage, lauded for his many noble deeds'.

[620] The lineage, as given by Śivānanda in *Nityāṣoḍaśikārṇava-ṛjuvimarśiṇī* (pp. 223–234), with approximate dates based on this synchronicity with Paramāra Bhojadeva, is as follows: Dīpakācārya (1025–1075), his son Jiṣṇudeva (1050–1100), Mātṛgupta (1075–1125), Tejodeva (1100–1150), Manojadeva (1125–1175), Kalyāṇadeva (1150–1200), Ratnadeva (1175–1225), Vāsudevamahāmuni (1200–1250), and Śivānanda (1225–1275). The same lineage, up to Kalyāṇadeva, is given by Amṛtānandayogin (*Saubhāgyasudhodaya* 6.16c–22). Here it divides, Amṛtānandayogin's line reaching him not through Ratnadeva but through Paramānanda, another of Kalyāṇadeva's disciples.

[621] Madhusudan Kaul Shastri claims in the introduction to his edition of the *Vāmakeśvarīmatavivaraṇa* that its author, Jayaratha, acknowledges Amṛtānandayogin at its beginning. If that were true, the date of the latter would have to be taken further back. But it is not. Jayaratha, in that edition, acknowledging in the second of his opening verses the Ācāryas of the past from whom he has learned (*pūrve …guravo mama*), identifies them as *śrīdīpikācāryapramukhāḥ*, which Kaul has evidently understood to mean 'those of whom the first is the Ācārya of the *Dīpikā*' and that *Dīpikā* as the *Yoginīhṛdayadīpikā* of Amṛtānandayogin. But to refer to a Guru as the Ācārya of a text is unparallelled to my knowledge. The published reading is clearly an error for *dīpakācāryapramukhāḥ* 'those of whom the first was Dīpakācārya', as can be seen by comparing this with the verse quoted in p. 115, ll. 20–25, which speaks of numberless commentators on the *Vāmakeśvarīmata*, beginning with Dīpakanātha (*ā śrīdīpakanāthato hy agaṇitair adyāpi vṛttiḥ kṛtā*). The first commentator is evidently the Dīpakācārya, author of the *Tripurasundarīdaṇḍaka*, mentioned in Śivānanda's commentary (*-ṛjuvimarśinī*, p. 223), as the last of the line of Siddhas of this tradition, followed by Jiṣṇudeva, the author of the *Saṃketapaddhati* and the first of its 'lineage of men'. The source of the error is the Kashmirian pronunciation of Sanskrit, which tends to render *a* as *ĕ/i*, as in *khĕmā/khimā* for Skt. *kṣamā*.

Śitikaṇṭha, the author of the Old Kashmiri *Mahānayaprakāśa* wrote after the disciples of Cakrabhānu, who was active *c.* 950–1000. How soon after this date he wrote cannot be determined from the evidence presently available, but, as has been argued above, the archaic character of the Kashmiri of the text suggests a date well before the fourteenth century, since the Kashmiri of Lāl Dĕd's poems, composed in that period, shows a much later stage of the language, one barely distinguishable from the modern vernacular.[622] The same argument applies to the Old Kashmiri Chummās and Kathās.

Concerning the date of the *Chummāsaṃketaprakāśa* of Niṣkriyānandanātha we can say at present only that it is earlier than its citation by Śivasvāmin Upādhyāya I in the eighteenth century.[623] Equally open are the dates of the *Vātūlanāthasūtra* and its commentator Anantaśakti, the Śitikaṇṭha who compiled the *Kaulasūtras* and *Kulasūtras*, and the author of the *Jñānakriyādvaya-śataka*, probably Sillana. Concerning Ramyadeva we can say only that he was later than Kṣemarāja (*fl. c.* 1000–1050)[624] and concerning Cakrapāṇinātha that he lived before him. As we have seen, the Śrīvatsa who wrote a commentary on the *Bhuvanamālinīkalpa* of the *Jayadrathayāmala*, cannot be earlier than Utpaladeva (*fl. c.* 925–975) and is likely to have lived several generations later.[625] Concerning Viśvāvarta, the author of the *Tantrarājatantrāvatārastotra* I can say only that he was active at some time after Kallaṭa in the second half of the ninth century[626] and before A.D. 1583, the date of the earliest manuscript of his work known to me.[627]

Īśvaraśivācārya, Śaṅkararāśi, and Viśvāvarta, who, according to Jayaratha, introduced the Śākta cult of Tripurasundarī in Kashmir appear, as we have seen, to have been active at some time after *c.* 1050 and before *c.* 1125.[628]

The dated works of Abhinavagupta also enable us to settle the dates of the Kashmirian Saiddhāntikas within relatively narrow limits. For in his *Tantrāloka* (8.428–434b), composed at some time after the *Kramastotra* and before the *Īśvarapratyabhijñāvivṛtivimarśinī* Abhinavagupta (*fl. c.* 975–1025) has quoted without attribution the summary-verses at the end of Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha II's

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[622] See pp. 302 to 305.
[623] See p. 350.
[624] See p. 327.
[625] See footnote 74 on p. 255.
[626] See pp. 258 and 418.
[627] *Jayadrathayāmalaprastāramantrasaṃgraha* B, f. 64r7: *saṃ 704 mārga śukla 6 ravau*.
[628] See p. 384.

commentary on the 23rd chapter of the *Vidyāpāda* of the *Mataṅgapārameśvara*, while the latter's father Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha has quoted verse 55 of the *Īśvarasiddhi* of Utpaladeva (*fl. c.* 925–975), the teacher of Abhinavagupta's teacher Lakṣmaṇagupta, in his commentary on *Mṛgendra*, *Vidyāpāda* 1.11. Both father and son, then, will have been active during the second half of the tenth century. Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha II's disciple Bhaṭṭa Vidyākaṇṭha II will have been approximately contemporary with Abhinavagupta.

As for the date of Bhaṭṭaśrī Kallaṭa, the author of the *Spandakārikā* and *Spandavṛtti*, and hence that of the *Śivasūtra* said to have been revealed to his Guru Vasugupta, the only hard evidence in the Kashmirian Śaiva literature is that Utpaladeva cites Pradyumnabhaṭṭa,[629] whom Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara reports to have been the immediate successor of Kallaṭa in the lineage that led to himself.[630] So there was at least one preceptorial generation between Utpaladeva (*fl. c.* 925–975) and Kallaṭa, which places the latter's active life no later than *c.* 875–925, or no later than *c.* 850–900 if Utpaladeva is correct in saying that Pradyumnabhaṭṭa was known to his teacher Somānanda (*c.* 900–950).[631] That Kallaṭa was not active earlier than the middle of the ninth century follows if we accept that this is the Bhaṭṭaśrī Kallaṭa mentioned by Kalhaṇa in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* as one of a number of Siddhas who descended to earth for the benefit of mankind during the reign of Avantivarman (r. 855/6–883).[632] He will, then, have been an approximate contemporary of Jñānanetranātha.

Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara, the author of the *Śivasūtravārtika*, gives the following lineage of the transmission of the *Śivasūtra*: Vasugupta → Kallaṭa → Pradyumnabhaṭṭa → Prajñārjuna → Mahādevabhaṭṭa → Śrīkaṇṭhabhaṭṭa → himself. If we take Kallaṭa's active life as *c.* 850–900 then by the same crude calculation Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara will have been a contemporary of Abhinavagupta, flourishing *c.* 975–1025.

Evidence of the date of Rājānaka Jayaratha, the author of the commentaries on the *Tantrāloka* and *Vāmakeśvarīmata*, is found in the autobiographical verses

[629]In the *Śivadṛṣṭivṛtti*, p. 94, ll. 5–7, Utpaladeva cites a verse from a hymn to the Goddess which Rājānaka Rāma identifies (*Spandavivṛti*, p. 129, l. 1–7) as from the *Tattvagarbhastotra*. Utpaladeva tells us in the same work, p. 16, ll. 10–11, that the *Tattvagarbha* is the work of Pradyumnabhaṭṭa.

[630]*Śivasūtravārtika* 1.4–9b.

[631]*Śivadṛṣṭivṛtti*, p. 16, ll. 10–11, on 1.16ab (*kiṃciducchūnatā saiva mahadbhiḥ kaiścid ucyate*): *saiva kiṃciducchūnatā kathyate bhaṭṭapradyumnena tattvagarbhe*.

[632]*Rājataraṅgiṇī* 5.66: *anugrahāya lokānāṃ bhaṭṭaśrīkallaṭādayaḥ | avantivarmaṇaḥ kāle siddhā bhuvam avātaran*.

at the end of the former. There he tells us that his father Śṛṅgāraratha was made a minister by King Rājarāja.[633] No Kashmirian king appears with precisely this name in the historical literature of Kashmir. But it is evident that Jayaratha means Rājadeva, who according to that literature ruled Kashmir for 23 years from [Laukika] 4289, that is to say, from A.D. 1213 to 1236,[634] the name Rājarāja being readily understood as synonymous.[635]

The author of the work on the Krama lineages to which I have given the name **Kramavaṃśāvalī* was a contemporary of Jayaratha, since the latter refers to him as such.[636]

[633] *Tantrālokaviveka*, vol. 12, p. 432, concluding v. 28: *tayā sa śṛṅgārarathābhidhāno bālo vivṛddhiṃ gamito jananyā | sattvākhyayā khyātaguṇaḥ krameṇa śrīrājarājaḥ sacivaṃ vyadhād yam* 'This [son], Śṛṅgāraratha by name, of famous virtue, whom Rājarāja in due course appointed as a minister, was brought up as a child by that mother Sattvā'. At the end of his commentary (*-vimarśinī*) on Ruyyaka's *Alaṃkārasarvasva* (p. 753, ll. 10–15) he reports that his father Śṛṅgāraratha was the principal minister (*mantriṇām agraṇīḥ*) of Rājarāja.

[634] Jonarāja, *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, vv. 75 and 87.

[635] However, according to RASTOGI (1979: 210), following the suggestion of K. C. PANDEY (1963, p. 262), this king is not Rājadeva but Jayasiṃha, who ruled Kashmir from 1128 to 1155 (Kalhaṇa, *Rājataraṅgiṇī* 8.3404 and Jonarāja, *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, v. 38). He rejects identification with Rājadeva with the argument (*op. cit.*, p. 211, footnote 5) that it is difficult to believe that this king would have patronized Jayaratha since "on the testimony of Jonarāja (Rāj. Verse 74–87) he was just a usurper and had neither talents nor energy for asserting his authority". This argument would be without force even if it were the case that Jayaratha claimed Rājadeva's patronage since there is no reason why a weak ruler should not have shown favour to the son of one of his ministers. But in fact there is no evidence of any such claim. For RASTOGI's assertion (*op. cit.*, p. 212) that Jayaratha reports in the *Tantrālokaviveka* (vol. 12, p. 430, v. 30) that the king inspired him to write this commentary is false. The passage actually states that it was his father that inspired him. It is only of incidental interest, then, to observe that Rājadeva was not an usurper. In fact RASTOGI's characterization of Rājadeva is not Jonarāja's but conflates into a single statement two passages in the English introduction of Srikanth KAUL to his excellent critical edition of that author's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (KAUL 1967, p. 56). In the first, from which RASTOGI has derived the claim that Rājadeva was an usurper, the editor is in fact referring not to him but to the Ḍāmara Padma, the murderer of his father. The dating proposed by RASTOGI is unbelievable on other grounds. If RASTOGI were right, then Jayaratha's father would have been serving as a minister not more than forty-nine years and perhaps as few as twenty-seven after a brother of his paternal great-grandfather had done the same. For Jayaratha tells us (*Tantrālokaviveka*, vol. 12, p. 431, ll. 9–16) that Śivaratha, a brother of his great-great-grandfather, had served as a minister under King Uccala, who ruled Kashmir from A.D. 1101 to 1111.

[636] *Tantrālokaviveka*, vol. 3, p. 193, l. 8, introducing a citation from this work: *ataś cāsya gurukramam ajānānair adyatanaiḥ* [citation] *ityādi yad uktaṃ tat svotprekṣitam evety upekṣyam* 'And so what a contemporary has said without knowing Abhinavagupta's preceptorial lineage, namely "[citation]" should be rejected as his own imagining'. I have assumed that the various

Manodadatta's *Kalādīkṣāpaddhati*, his detailed guide to the conduct of Śaiva initiation following the *Svacchanda*, was completed in A.D. 1335/6.[637] But it is not clear how much of the text that has come down to us belongs to the original composition, since that text reports that it has been expanded by a certain Śivasvāmin. Nor do we know how long after Manodadatta later he was active. His expanded text contains a hymn that was composed by Rājānaka Ratnakaṇṭha in the seventeenth century, but, as we have seen, the section in which that hymn is found may well be a later addition.[638] There is nothing that enables us to identify him with one of the two or more Śivasvāmins of the Upādhyāya lineage mentioned here.

For Rājānaka Takṣakavarta, the compiler of the digest *Nityādisaṃgrahapaddhati*, we have a prior limit in the date of the latest of his dateable sources. This is the Saiddhāntika Paddhati of Somaśambhu, the *Kriyākāṇḍakramāvalī*.[639] The date of the composition of that work appears in its final verses. Though the manuscripts diverge at this point, all readings known to me place it in the last quarter of the eleventh century.[640] Since I have encountered no reference

verses on the Krama's lineages cited by Jayaratha in his commentary on *Tantrāloka* 4.173ab are all from a single work, since all are in the Āryā metre and have been cited as evidence of the unreliability of their information. These verses have been cited in vol. 3, p. 193, ll. 13–16; p. 194, ll. 3–4; p. 195, ll. 5–8, ll. 12–15, and ll. 18–19; and p. 196, ll. 11–12. A verse on the scriptural affiliation of certain Krama lineages cited outside this context, in vol. 3, p. 191, ll. 3–4, is probably from the same.

[637] See footnote 514 on p. 387.

[638] See p. 397.

[639] *Nityādisaṃgrahapaddhati* f. 28v3: *nirmālyalakṣaṇaṃ ṣoḍhā proktaṃ śrīsomaśambhunā*; see BRUNNER 1963–1998, pt. 2, p. 271, v. 61.

[640] In the colophonic verses in the edition of the text published in the KSTS from Kashmirian manuscripts it is said to have been completed in year 1130 of the Vikrama era (*vikramārkanṛpakālasamudbhaveṣu* ***śūnyāgnibhiḥ samadhikeṣu ca tacchateṣu*** | ***ekādaśasv*** *amalaśāstram idaṃ samastaṃ* [v. 1813]), that is to say, in A.D. 1073/4, if we assume that the years are counted as expired rather than current, as is usual with dates given in this era. But in the Devakoṭṭai edition, prepared from Grantha manuscripts, and reproduced in the edition of Brunner (1963–1998, pt. 4, p. 419) the same verse gives the year as Vikrama 1153 (*vikramārkanṛpakālasamudbhaveṣu* ***pañcāśatā trisahiteṣu śaracchateṣu*** | ***ekādaśasv*** *amalaśāstram idaṃ samāptaṃ*), which is A.D. 1096/7. An East Indian palm-leaf manuscript of the text prepared in the seventh year of the reign of the Pāla king Madanapāla [MS A, f. 120v2–4: **parameśvaraparama*(em. : *pareśvarapara* Cod.)*bhaṭṭārakamahārājādhirājaśrīmanmadanapāladevasya pravardhamāne vijayarājye saptame saṃvatsare [...] bhagavatpādapaṇḍitaśaivācāryakumāragaṇena likhāpito 'yaṃ śaivāgamaḥ śomaśambhukṛtaḥ*], that is to say, in A.D. 1149 in the chronology of D.C. Sircar (1976), doubtless conceals the same reading beneath its errors: *vikramārkanṛpakālasamudbhaveṣu* ***pañcā-***

to Takṣakavarta in any other work, I can propose as his posterior limit only the year 1875–76, in which the undated manuscript of his digest was purchased by Georg Bühler in Kashmir. However, the great abundance of the scriptural sources and Paddhatis on which Takṣakavarta has drawn[641] suggests that he was active not far from the beginning of this period from the twelfth to nineteenth centuries. Concerning the authors of the lost Kashmirian Paddhatis that are known from citations, we can say of Viśvāvarta's that it predates Takṣakavarta,[642] and of Dharmaśiva's and Īśānaśivācārya's that they predate Abhinavagupta (*fl. c.* 975–1025).[643] The dates of the *Svacchanda*-based Paddhatis cited in the *Kalādīkṣāpaddhati* can be dated only within very wide limits. But, as we have seen, the *Gurupustaka* and *Dīkṣākalpalatā* are probably works of the fourteenth century.[644]

Among the later Kashmirian authors mentioned here Sāhib Kaul was born in 1629[645] and completed his *Devīnāmavilāsa* in 1666.[646] Bhaṭṭāraka Ānanda, author of a commentary on the *Vijñānabhairava* (*Vijñānakaumudī*) and, perhaps, on the *Spandakārikā* (*Spandapradīpikā*), can be placed in the second half

hata triṣuśateṣu śaracchateṣu | ***ekādaśaśca*** *mama śāstram idaṃ samāptaṃ* (f. 121r3). An early undated Nepalese palm-leaf manuscript of the text (ms B) lacks this verse, ending after the preceding verse with the prose *śrīmatkarṇaprakāśavyavaharaṇāya sasamasaṃvatsare kriyākāṇḍakramāvalīpustakaṃ paṇḍitācāryaśrīsomaśivena vira⟨ci⟩taṃ samāptam iti* (f. 74r4–5). The reading *sasama* is meaningless. If this is an error for *daśama*, the meaning will be 'Here ends the text of the *Kriyākāṇḍakramāvalī* composed by Somaśiva for the use of the excellent Karṇaprakāśa in the tenth year'. The work was composed while Somaśambhu was abbot of the Golakīsthāna in the domain of the Kalacuri kings of Tripurī in Central India, whom we know to have appointed Saiddhāntikas of this richly endowed monastic institution as their Rājagurus. The year is surely regnal and I propose that the name Karṇaprakāśa is a periphrasis for Yaśaḥkarṇa, the Kalacuri king who ruled from Tripurī from a.d. 1073 to 1123, radiance/whiteness (*prakāśaḥ*) being the defining characteristic of fame/success (*yaśaḥ*) in Indian poetic convention (see, e.g. *Haravijaya* 13.3: *yaśaḥprakāśam*; 16.54: *śaśiśubhrayaśaḥprakāśa-*; Cambodian inscription K. 286, v. 16bc (Cœdès 1952, p. 90): *kṣitīndrāḥ jātā jagattrayavikīrṇayaśaḥprakāśāḥ*). If this is correct we have a third date of composition, 1082. But *daśama* is not the only possibility. If *sasama* is a corruption of *prathama* the year will be a.d. 1073 and so agree with the version of the Kashmirian manuscripts. The fact that two different dates are given in an otherwise identical verse indicates not corruption but conscious revision. Perhaps the text circulated in two editions, an earlier and a later.

[641] See footnote 517 on p. 387.

[642] See p. 387.

[643] See pp. 390 and 391.

[644] See p. 396.

[645] Madhusudan Kaul's introduction to the ksts edition of the *Devīnāmavilāsa*, p. 2.

[646] *Devīnāmavilāsa*, p. 320, v. 18.

of the seventeenth century, since the former reports that it was completed in [Kali] 4774 (= A.D. 1672).[647]

Rājānaka Bhāskarakaṇṭha has been held to have been active during the eighteenth century. But the only evidence for this date is the reported claim of his descendants *c.* 1960 that he lived six generations before them.[648] He himself tells us at the end of his *Cittānubodhaśāstra* that he had been educated by Ratnakaṇṭha, evidently a member of the same patrilineage (the Rājānakas of the Kaṇṭha-Dhaumyāyana Gotra) who had been a pupil of his grandfather Vaiḍūryakaṇṭha.[649] He gives no further information on this scholar, but it is not improbable that he is the author of that name and patrilineage[650] who composed the *Śambhukṛpāmanoharastava* preserved in the *Kalādīkṣāpaddhati*, the *Ratnaśataka* (a hymn to Sūrya), and commentaries on the *Yudhiṣṭhiravijayamahākāvya* of Vāsudeva, on the *Stutikusumāñjali* of Jagaddhara, on the *Haravijayamahākāvya* of Ratnākara, and, in the field of poetics, on the *Kāvyaprakāśa* of Mammaṭa and the *Devīstotra* of Yaśaskara, since Bhāskarakaṇṭha praises his teacher as "a master of all the branches of scholarship" (*samastavidyānipuṇaḥ*) and the author of those works certainly merits that description. For in addition to these compositions we have a good number of manuscripts copied by him for his own use, often with his annotations, in the fields of poetics, lexicography, grammar, drama, Kāvya, Vedānta, and Sāṃkhya. If it was he that taught Bhāskarakaṇṭha, then the latter was active towards the end of the seventeenth century. For Ratnakaṇṭha's works and manuscripts bear dates that extend from 1648/9 to 1685/6.[651]

Śivasvāmin Upādhyāya I composed his *Vijñānabhairavavivṛti* during the

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[647] See p. 409.

[648] Reported by K. C. PANDEY (1963, pp. 264–265), who proposes the second half of the eighteenth century on its basis. See also HANNEDER and SLAJE 2002, pp. 18–19.

[649] 15.298: *pitāmahasya sacchiṣyāt prāptavidyāt tathaiva ca | samastavidyānipuṇād ratnakaṇṭhād dayānidheḥ.*

[650] Both were Rājānakas of the [Kaṇṭha-]Dhaumyāyana Gotra. Bhāskarakaṇṭha, *Bhāskarī*, vol. 1, p. 2, opening verse 6: *yaḥ kaṇṭhadhaumyāyanatāprasiddhaviśuddharājānakavaṃśajātaḥ | sa bhāskarākhyo dvija eṣa ṭīkāṃ karoti śāstre 'bhinavodite 'smin* '[I], this brahmin Bhāskara, born in the pure Rājānaka lineage famed for its being of the Kaṇṭha-Dhaumyāyana [Gotra]'. Rājānaka Ratnakaṇṭha reports his Gotra as Dhaumyāyana in the fourth opening verse of his *Stutikusumāñjalilaghupañcikā* (*dhaumyāyanakulodbhavaḥ*).

[651] For a list of these compositions and manuscripts in his hand and their dates see STEIN 1979, vol. 1, pp. 46–47. The Stein collection of manuscripts from Kashmir in the Bodleian library (Oxford) contains several of the latter not mentioned in that listing.

governorship of Sukhajīvana (1753–62),[652] and Śiva[rāma]svāmin Upādhyāya II his *Śivarātrirahasya* during the reign of Raṇjit Singh (1819–1839).[653] This Śivasvāmin also wrote the *Yajñopavītaśikhāmālānirṇaya*,[654] and, though this

[652] *Vijñānabhairavavivṛti*, p. 144, ll. 1–12: *sukhajīvanābhidhāne rakṣati kāśmīramaṇḍalaṃ nṛpatau | agaman niḥśeṣatvaṃ vijñānoddyotasaṃgrahaḥ sugamaḥ* '[This] simple *Vijñānoddyotasaṃgraha* has been completed while King Sukhajīvana is ruling the kingdom of Kashmir'. The term Upādhyāya here is not a mere description but denotes his membership of the Upādhyāya (Padey/Padi) kinship group (*jātiḥ*, Kashmiri *zāth*). He tells us this and his Gotra in the preceding verse (p. 143, ll. 7–18): *nāmnā śiveti guṇikauśikagotrajātyopādhyāyaśabdayutayāpy upalakṣitena* 'with the name Śiva, qualified by the *jātiḥ* of the Guṇikauśika Gotra called Upādhyāya' (*pace* Rastogi, who read this impossibly [1979, p. 226] as giving his name as Śivaguṇī and his Gotra as Kauśika). The *zāth* is indeed of the Guṇikauśika Gotra; see Koul 1924, p. 106, listing it as Padi of the 'Svamina Gan Kaushika' Gotra and the Census of 1891 (Bhag Ram 1893, p. 137), less accurately, as Padey of the 'Sáman Gan Bhúshak' Gotra.

[653] See the final colophon of the Jammu manuscript of this text (Stein 1894, No. 2668 *ka*): *kṛtir iyaṃ paṇḍitaśivarāmasya kāśmīrikopādhyāyavaṃśaprasūtasya yaḥ śrīmahārājaraṇajitsiṃhasya kāśmīrarājyārambhe jīvitavān* 'This is the work of Paṇḍita Śivarāma, born in the Kashmirian Upādhyāya lineage, who was alive at the beginning of the reign of Mahārāja Raṇjit Singh'. It is likely that he is the Śivasvāmin Upādhyāya/Śivarāma/Śivopādhyāya, grandfather of the Keśavarāma Upādhyāya in whose possession Bühler found the *codex archetypus* of the *Rājataraṅginī* (Stein, *Rājataraṅginī* ed., p. xiii). According to the versified colophon at the end of the Calcutta edition of the *Rājataraṅginīsaṃgraha* Moorcroft, who arrived in Kashmir in 1822 and remained until May 1823, during the reign of Raṇjit Singh, obtained the manuscript on loan from the house of this scholar as a result of the intercession of the Trikeśvara, the patriarch of the *trikajātīyāḥ*, the members of the Trika lineage (the Tikoo *zāth*; see Grierson 1932, s.v. *tyuk^u*): *śrīmurkarāphako mantrī prāptakaśmīra*maṇḍalo* (corr. : *maṇḍale* Ed.) *rājye śrīraṇajitsiṃhabhūpateḥ priyadarśanaḥ | *śrīmattrikeśvarapremṇā* (*śrīmattrikeśvara* corr. Stein : *śrīmantrikeśvara* Ed.) *prāptā rājataraṅgiṇī | murkarāphakadhīreṇa gṛhāc chrīśivasvāminaḥ | śrīmacchrīśivarāmasya gṛhe rājāvalī śubhā | kaśmīramaṇḍale nityaṃ vartate nānyasadmani | śrīmadvibudhendra*śivopādhyāyāya* (corr. : *śivopādhyāya* Ed.) *namo namaḥ | tenopādhyāyena pañcasahasravarṣāṇāṃ mahāprabhāvasahitā rājāvalī svagṛhe pālitā prayatnena śrīvibhor dayayā bhadram | vartate ca gṛhe yasya śubhā rājataraṅgiṇī | sa jīvanmukta eva *syād* (corr. : *syān* Ed.) *amṛtaḥ svargam āpnuyāt. saṃvat 1880.* 1880, the date of composition given in this colophon, equals A.D. 1822/3. Stein notes (*ibid.*) that Śivarāma and his descendants to the present day have been attached as hereditary gurus to the Trika family, which he describes as having held for several generations past an influential position in Kashmir. He also notes that Paṇḍit Śivarāma was commonly called Śivopādhyāya.

[654] This follows from the fact that in both works the author uses the pen-name Nityasvatantra; see *Śivarātrirahasya*, f. 4r, colophon: *kṛtir* ***nityasvatantre****tyaparanāmnaḥ śivasyeti śivam*; and *Yajñopavītaśikhāmālānirṇaya*, ff. 1v–2r (v. 2): *cin nityā yadi sarvakālaviṣayā kūṭastharūpā tadā | yāthātathyatayā sthitāpi yadi sā svānandasārdrā param | svasvātantryavaśāc cito vivaraṇaṃ yatrāpi kutrāpi cet | sarvavyāpitayāstu niścitam idaṃ* ***nityasvatantreṇa*** *tat*. In f. 2v5–6 of the latter he calls himself Śivopādhyāya: *yajñasūtraśikhāmālānirṇayadvārato 'py aham | cito vimarśanaṃ*

is only probable, the *Ṣaṭcakranirṇaya*, a work on meditation on the energy-centres in the body,[655] not to be confused with the work of that name mentioned above as including and explaining some verses on this subject from the *Jayadrathayāmala*.[656] He may also be the Śivasvāmin Upādhyāya who wrote the *Gāyatrīmantravivaraṇa* and *Śrīvidyāmantravivaraṇa* alias *Anubhava-bodhavidyā*.[657] Those works show their author to have been a worshipper of Tripurasundarī (*śrīvidyopāsakaḥ*) who, while following the Trika-based Śivādvaita, sought to reconcile the Śākta Śaiva and Vaidika elements of his community's religious practice by showing that the Śivādvaita is supported by the Upaniṣads and that both the Śākta Saubhāgyavidyā and the Vedic Gāyatrī share the same Śaiva meaning and reality.[658] This reconciliation of the Vaidika and Śaiva is also the purpose of the *Yajñopavītaśikhāmālānirṇayaḥ*, which heightens the probability that one author wrote all four works, since we know that the

kurve śivopādhyāyasaṃjñitaḥ. The same name is given in the final colophon (f. 19r1–2: *iti śrīmacchivopādhyāyaviracito yajñopavītaśikhāmālānirṇayaḥ*).

[655] In the colophon of his *Ṣaṭcakranirṇaya* the author says that he wrote at the instigation of the son of Puruṣottama Osu (f. 386): *ity osupuruṣottamaputrasya nodanād akaro⟨d⟩ dvijaḥ upādhyāyaśivasvāmī śubhaṃ ṣaṭcakranirṇayam*; and in the last verse of the *Śivarātrirahasya* the author records that he wrote for the pleasure of Puruṣottama: *nityasvatantrakavinā nirṇītā śivayāminī | āloḍya sarvatantrāṇi puruṣottamatuṣṭaye*. Since the author is a Śaiva it is unlikely that he would have chosen this usually Vaiṣṇava name for the Deity unless it enabled him to convey an additional meaning obliquely: ⟨for the pleasure of the Supreme Soul⟩/⟨for the pleasure of Puruṣottama⟩.

[656] See p. 258.

[657] *Gāyatrīmantravivaraṇa*, colophon: *paratattvāptyai racitā gāyatrīmantra uttame vyākhyā viduṣā śivena ramyā śaṃkaracodanavaśīkṛteneyam. samāpteyaṃ gāyatrīmantravivṛtiḥ. kṛtiḥ śrīśivasvāminaḥ. upādhyāyakulotpannaśivarāmaprakāśitā | śrīvidyātuṣṭaye bhūyād gāyatrīvivṛtiḥ parā | yady apīyaṃ mayā dṛbdhā svātmānandavivṛddhaye | anyo 'pi kaścit tad api kṛtakṛtyo 'nayā bhavet | śāstrāntaraikarasikaiḥ kṣantavyaṃ vibudhaiḥ paraiḥ | svavinodaṃ viracayann anindyo yaj jano bhuvi*; *Śrīvidyāmantravivaraṇa*, f. 46v11–15: *†aśmādreś cārudūrā†drivipinamilitaśvetagaṅgāvagāhāt pūtasvāntena kāśmīrikavibudhaśivasvāmyupādhyāyanāmnā | vyākhyāto mantrarājaḥ prakaṭavimalasatsaṃpradāyaḥ parāyāḥ śrī*[*vidyāyā gabhīro hariharadivase śiṣyabodhārtham eṣaḥ*]. The manuscript breaks off after *śrī* in the last sentence. The rest of the last Pāda has been supplied from the transcript of these verses made by Rastogi (1979, p. 227, footnote 1) from a manuscript belonging to Paṇḍit Dīnanāth Yach. That manuscript's colophon adds that the author was the son of one Prakāśopādhyāya (*ibid.*, footnote 2): *iti śrīvidyāvivaraṇam anubhavabodhākhyaṃ kṛtiḥ prakāśopādhyāyasvāmiputraśivopādhyāyasvāminaḥ*. That both works are by the same author is certain. For in the *Śrīvidyāmantravivaraṇa* its author refers to the *Gāyatrīmantravivaraṇa* as his own (f. 11v7–9): *etac ca yathā tathā matkṛte gāyatrīmantravivaraṇe dṛṣṭir vidheyety alam aprakṛtena.*

[658] *Śrīvidyāmantravivaraṇa*, f. 26v9–10: *iti śrīvidyāgāyatryor abhedārthaḥ.*

author of the *Ṣaṭcakranirṇaya* wrote the last.

The commentary of Rājānaka Lakṣmīrāma (Lasa Kāk Rāzdān) on the *Parātrīśikā* does not give the date of its composition, but his commentary on the *Gītā* tells us that it was completed in 1811.[659]

A Brief History

I conclude by presenting an outline of my view of the historical trajectory of the various religious traditions covered in this study, their interaction, and their relative strength.

The earliest dateable evidence of Mantramārgic Śaivism in Kashmir is found in two hymns in high poetic style, one to Śiva and the other to the goddess Caṇḍī, that form two chapters of the Mahākāvya *Haravijaya* of Rājānaka Ratnākara. Ratnākara was a courtier of Cippaṭa-Jayāpīḍa, who ruled Kashmir from *c.* 826–838, and his work was written *c.* 830. The first hymn, the *Śivastotra*, shows knowledge of the literature of the Siddhānta and though it does not name its sources it is possible to recognize within its high-flown poetic periphrases the wording of the *Mataṅga*, the *Rauravasūtrasaṃgraha*, the *Svāyambhuvasūtrasaṃgraha*, and the early Saiddhāntika exegetes Sadyojyotis and Bṛhaspati.[660] The second hymn reveals knowledge of the technicalities of the Trika and, perhaps, of the Trika's scripture *Triśirobhairava*.[661] We may fairly conclude that the presence of these materials in a work of Kashmirian literary art indicates that these two traditions were well known by this time in the refined circle of the court, or at least that they were well enough established to be considered worthy of mention.

There is nothing in these hymns that reveals awareness of the cults of Svacchandabhairava, Amṛteśvarabhairava, or the Kālīkula.[662] In the case of the

[659]The closing verse: *lakṣmīrāma iti dvijo 'tra nivasan kaśmīrabhūmaṇḍale meror mātur upāttadehajanano rājānagopālakāt | śrīśāke dviguṇādriparimite māse tathaivāśvine śuklāyāṃ pratipady ajāṅghrinirato gītāsu ṭīkāṃ vyadhāt.*

[660]On the dates of Cippaṭa-Jayāpīḍa's reign, Ratnākara's relations with him, and his Saiddhāntika scriptural sources see Sanderson 2001, pp. 5–6, footnote 3. I have not yet published my evidence of his knowledge of Sadyojyotis and Bṛhaspati (for which see Sanderson forthcoming *b*); but that concerning the former may be found in outline, with due acknowledgement, in Watson 2006, pp. 111–14. There is no compelling reason to think that Sadyojyotis and Bṛhaspati were Kashmirians.

[661]See Sanderson 1986, p. 169, footnote 1, and 2001, pp. 18–19, footnote 21.

[662]My view that there is no reference to the Kālīkula is contradicted by Rastogi (1979, p. 93),

two Bhairavas, this absence has no weight as evidence, since they may have been passed over in silence simply because they could not be accommodated comfortably in either hymn, falling as they do within a domain that lies between the Śaiva and the Śākta. But this will not explain the absence of the goddess of the Kālīkula from the hymn to Caṇḍī. We may surmise, therefore, especially when we consider the comprehensive knowledge of the varieties of contemporary religion exhibited in these hymns, that the Kālīkula and its Krama refinement had not yet come to the fore of the Kashmirian Śākta domain in the knowledge of the court, whereas the Trika was already well established there. And this hypothesis receives support from what we have been able to deduce of the chronology of the Krama, namely that Jñānanetra, whom the Kashmirian lineage of that system claims as its source, flourished somewhat later, from around the middle of the ninth century.

The second half of that century saw the composition of the *Śivasūtra* and *Spandakārikā* and, especially in the latter, the first attempt from the Śākta Śaiva domain to present a non-dualistic metaphysics and gnostic soteriology in opposition to the dualistic and ritualistic exegesis of the Saiddhāntika Śaiva scriptures. This movement was presented in its early phase as coming not from Śiva as the teaching of certain scriptures but rather as the contemporary irruption into the world of the gnosis of enlightened Siddhas and Yoginīs; and we have seen the same perspective in the propagation of the Krama, which unlike the

who claims that Kālasaṃkarṣaṇī, the goddess of the Kālīkula and Krama, appears in the hymn to Caṇḍī, in 47.55, in the abbreviated form Saṃkarṣaṇī: *prāptābhisaṃdhiparatām anuvṛttilagnagauṇasthitiḥ sthitasitātiśayād abhīkṣṇam | vidyeti sarvabahulākhiladṛṣṭisaṃjñā* ***saṃkarṣaṇī*** *nigaditā kila śasane tvam*. The abbreviation is not uncommon. However, the reading *saṃkarṣaṇī* of the edition (wrongly reported by Rastogi as *saṃkarṣiṇi*) is a corruption. The editor records the variant *sāṃkarṣaṇī* and the Bodleian library's manuscript of the text reads *sāṃkarṣaṇe* (f. 145r24). The last is evidently to be preferred because it provides the adjective needed by the context to qualify the noun *śāsane* 'in the doctrine', which would otherwise remain unspecified. Moreover, the adjective is entirely appropriate. The preceding seven verses (47.48–54) have praised the Goddess manifest as various Mahāyāna-Buddhist principles, and the verse that follows (47.56) praises her as the principle that for the Ekāyana Vaiṣṇavas [of the Pañcarātra] is the sole cause of their liberation. Now Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha tells us that there were two kinds of followers of the Pañcarātra: the Sāṃkarṣaṇapāñcarātras (*Nareśvaraparīkṣāprakāśa*, pp. 87–88) and the Saṃhitāpāñcarātras (*ibid.*, p. 91). The *sāṃkarṣaṇaṃ śāsanam* of 47.55 is evidently the doctrine of the former and the Ekāyanas of 47.56 those who follow the latter (= *Ekāyanasaṃhitāpāñcarātras). The reading *sāṃkarṣaṇī* is derived from *sāṃkarṣaṇe* as a result of the common confusion by Kashmirian copyists of *e* and *ī*, which are virtually indistinguishable in Kashmiri pronunciation.

Trika maintained this perspective after the initial revelation, as can be seen from the tradition concerning the *Kramastotra* of Eraka, the surviving works of Hrasvanātha, and the tradition of the revelation of the Chummās, the Old Kashmiri Kathās, and the *Vātūlanāthasūtra*. It is not without good reason, then, that the historian Kalhaṇa speaks of the reign of Avantivarman (*c.* 855/6–883) as one that was marked by the descent of Siddhas among men for the benefit of the world.[663] That this development had a major impact on Kashmirian society is evident in the fact that Kalhaṇa records it. For he is generally silent about the recent history of religion in the valley beyond noting the religious affiliations of certain kings and the temples and other religious foundations that they established. Such figures as Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha, Abhinavagupta, and Kṣemarāja, who loom so large in the learned literature of the Śaivas of Kashmir and beyond, receive not even a passing mention.

This pivotal period was followed in the tenth century by a remarkable efflorescence of learned exegesis and philosophical argument in all areas of the religion. On the Śākta Śaiva side we have the development within the Trika of the philosophical tradition of the Pratyabhijñā; and the last quarter of the century and the first of the eleventh saw with Abhinavagupta the production of Krama-influenced, Pratyabhijñā-based exegesis of scripture in the Trika itself and with his successor Kṣemarāja the extension of this exegesis to the Tantras of the cults of the two Bhairavas and beyond that domain to the interpretation of texts both esoteric and devotional that unlike those Tantras were open to a much wider audience than that of initiated specialists. The inclusivist aspirations of this tradition are also expressed in the formulation of the view that the Vidyāpīṭha-based system of the Trika does not merely transcend the Siddhānta and the Bhairava systems but also includes them within a higher synthesis that validates practice on all these levels.

This was also the golden age of Kashmirian Saiddhāntika exegesis, which now developed a rigorously dualistic and ritualistic interpretation of the Siddhānta's scriptures, with an exclusivist perspective that seems designed to bar the gates, as it were, against the intuitionist and charismatic influences that had come to the fore since the middle of the ninth century. Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha presents his exegesis in a fundamentalist spirit as a return to the original position set out in an earlier time by the founding fathers of his tradition with the purpose of rescuing it from the contamination it had suffered from attempts to

[663] See footnote 632 on p. 418.

assimilate its scriptures to alien perspectives, at one extreme to that of orthodox Brahmanism and at the other to that of the Śākta Śaivas.

Concern to counter contamination is also seen in the Śākta Śaiva camp at this time. For Kṣemarāja makes it clear that the principal purpose of his commentaries on the *Svacchanda* and *Netra* was to reverse inroads from the Saiddhāntika perspective into the interpretation of these Tantras and the enactment of their prescriptions. Nor does it seem that his concern was primarily with theological theory. He consistently imposed the non-dualistic ontology of the Pratyabhijñā on these texts, as Abhinavagupta had done on the Trika's *Mālinīvijayottara*, but we sense greater urgency when he addresses what he saw as unwarranted diluting of the non-dualistic practice (*advaitācāraḥ*) of the *Svacchanda*, practice, that is, which transcends brahmanical values of purity, presenting these departures from prescribed observance as the baleful effect of the dominance of the Siddhānta in the Śaivism of his community. Indeed he sees the rise of non-dualism in Kashmir from its beginnings in the ninth century as a mission directed against this dominance, saying in the introduction to his commentary on the *Śivasūtra* that Śiva appeared to Vasugupta in a dream to direct him to the discovery of this text out of his concern that the esoteric tradition, evidently that of the Śākta Śaivas, was on the verge of extinction in a society that was then almost completely under the sway of dualism.[664] He does not state explicitly that the dualism to which he refers is that of the Siddhānta, but that it was is the most natural interpretation of his words, especially in the light of the fact that he interprets the first Sūtra as a refutation of the Saiddhāntika doctrine that God, other souls, and the material universe are irreducibly distinct.

From Kṣemarāja's statement of his purpose in writing his commentaries on the Tantras of the two Bhairavas we can infer that the forms of Śaivism that they authorize had been established in the valley for a considerable period of time, though how long they had been present and whether or not they predate the advent of the Siddhānta itself in the region cannot be determined from the available evidence. We can at least say that the *Netra* was composed in Kashmir at some time between about 700 and 850, probably towards the end of this period, that the *Svacchanda* was used by the redactor of that text, and that its practice, therefore, was probably already current in Kashmir at that time.[665]

[664] *Śivasūtravimarśinī*, p. 2, ll. 7–12. For this passage and my translation see footnote 574 on p. 404.

[665] For the date and provenance of the *Netra* see Sanderson 2005b, pp. 273–294. I see no

The two facts that Kṣemarāja extended Śākta Śaiva exegesis into this domain and that when he did so it had long been under the influence of the more conventional, Veda-congruent Siddhānta suggest that the cults of Svacchandabhairava and Amṛteśvarabhairava were far from being fringe phenomena in the Kashmir of his time. Moreover, the detailed ritual manuals that have come down to us in Kashmir for the ceremonies of Śaiva initiation, the fire-sacrifice, and the various post-mortuary rituals are all centred on these two deities. It is tempting to conclude, therefore, that it was this form of Śaivism, that of the middle ground between the Siddhānta and the Śākta Śaiva systems, that was the mainstream tradition in Kashmir throughout the period accessible to us, and that the Siddhānta, like the Śākta Śaivism of the Trika and Krama, had little impact on the core practice of the majority but merely influenced it for some time on a theoretical level and provided a view of the proper relationship between Śaiva practice and brahmanical norms that encouraged or justified a drift away from the more challenging aspects of non-Saiddhāntika observance that would probably have occurred even without its influence, simply as the consequence of the routinization that we would expect in any tradition that achieved widespread acceptance within brahmanical society. It is possible, then, that when Kṣemarāja tells us that the Siddhānta was dominant in the Śaiva community of his time he is referring to its influence rather than reporting that those following the Saiddhāntika system of worship were in the majority.

However, the very manuals whose existence shows the dominance of the worship of the two Bhairavas in Kashmir in later times also contain evidence that must make us hesitate to conclude that this state of affairs goes back all the way to the golden age of Śaiva exegesis. For while the Tantras and their learned commentators present the varieties of Śaiva practice entirely within the boundaries of this or that system these manuals exhibit eclecticism within their *Svacchanda-* and *Netra*-based matrix, and since they record the actual practice of the local Śaiva officiants we may read this incorporation of elements from other ritual systems as evidence that these were influential in the valley. Now, the Siddhānta figures very strongly in this respect. Thus, for example, in the Śiva-vase (*śivakalaśaḥ*) set up and worshipped in the preliminaries of Śaiva cremation according to the *Śivanirvāṇapaddhati* the officiant worships (1) as the principal deities Bahurūpabhairava and his consort Māyādevī—the former, in spite of the non-Saiddhāntika ring of his name, is an iconographic variant of

reason to think that the *Svacchanda* too was Kashmirian.

the Kashmirian version of the Siddhānta's distinctive Śiva-form, the ten-armed, five-faced Sadāśiva—,[666] (2) the ancillary door-deities, (3) Amṛteśabhairava and Amṛtalakṣmī, (4) the eight Bhairavas that are the first outer circuit of the retinue of Svacchandabhairava, (5) the seven deity-circuits, to which I shall return, (6) another Mantra-form of Amṛteśabhairava (Mṛtyuñjaya), (7) the six-syllable Śiva-Mantra (OṂ NAMAḤ ŚIVĀYA) of lay Śaiva worship, (8) the Mantras of Śiva's eight Mūrtis, (9) Durgā and the Diṅmātṛs, (10) the five Causes from Brahmā to Sadāśiva as the Lords of the five Segments (*kalādhipatayaḥ*), (11) the six cosmic hierarchies (*ṣaḍ adhvānaḥ*), (12) the Vyomavyāpimantra, said here to have the effect of eliminating all sins, and (13) the five Brahmamantras, followed by the Pañcarātra's Lakṣmīvāsudeva and a series of local goddesses (Śārikā, Śāradā, Rājñī, Vitastā, Gaṅgā, Jvālāmukhī, and Bhuvaneśvarī).[667] Of these the Vyomavyāpimantra and the five Brahmamantras are Saiddhāntika. As for the seven deity-circuits, a standard feature in all the Kashmirian Paddhatis, these are (1) the eight Vidyeśvaras (Ananta to Śikhaṇḍin), (2) the eight Gaṇeśvaras (from Nandin to Caṇḍeśvara), (3) the eight (or ten) Lokapālas, the eight Mothers (Jayā, Subhagā, Vijayā, Durbhagā, Jayantī, Ūhinī, Aparājitā, and Karālī), the eight celestial Grahas (from Sūrya to Ketu), the eight Nāgas (from Ananta to Kulika), and the eight (or ten) weapons of the Lokapālas. This is a standard Saiddhāntika arrangement expanded by the addition of the Mothers of the Vāmatantras, the Grahas, and the Nāgas.[668] Indeed, according to Rājānaka Takṣakavarta the scriptural authority for this arrangement is an otherwise unknown 9000-verse redaction of the Saiddhāntika *Niḥśvāsa* known as the *Nandīśvarāvatāra*.[669]

In later times the Siddhānta died out in Kashmir as an independent tradition. Some works of Saiddhāntika learning continued to be copied down to recent times but I have encountered no manuscript of any Kashmirian Paddhati that sets out the procedure and Mantras of Śaiva ritual on Saiddhāntika lines for practical use, nor do we see any trace of Saiddhāntika literary activity

[666] See SANDERSON 2005b, pp. 273–276.

[667] *Śivanirvāṇapaddhati*, pp. 218 [188c], l. 13–226 [190b], l. 3.

[668] Thus in Saiddhāntika scriptural sources we see, for example, the Vidyeśvaras, Gaṇeśvaras, Lokapālas, and their Weapons prescribed for worship as the outer deity-circuits in the *Kiraṇa* (20.7–12b)), and the Vidyeśvaras, Gaṇeśvaras, and Lokapālas in the *Mṛgendra* (*Kriyāpāda* 3.20–26b).

[669] *Nityādisaṃgrahapaddhati*, f. 35r3–4: *nandīśvarāvatāre niḥśvāse navasahasrasaṃkhyake saptāvaraṇārcā⟨yā⟩ yaḥ kramo* …. These deities form the outer retinue (*bahirāvaraṇam*) outside the inner retinue (*garbhāvaraṇam*) consisting of the principal Mantra's auxiliaries.

in the valley after Bhaṭṭa Vidyākaṇṭha (*fl. c.* 975–1025). This has further encouraged the tendency to minimalize the importance of the Siddhānta in the overall picture of the Śaivism of the valley, even to negate it altogether as in the widespread use of the term Kashmir Śaivism in modern scholarship to refer the Śākta Śaiva elements of Kashmirian Śaivism that had the good fortune to survive in some form down to Kashmir's encounter with the modern world. However, the demise of the Kashmirian Siddhānta cannot be explained simply by appealing to the picture of a Śaivism dominated by the cults of the Bhairavas, the Trika, and the Krama, since that dominance may be more an effect of the Siddhānta's demise than its cause; and the weight of the Saiddhāntika elements within the Paddhatis that outlived the Siddhānta should be sufficient to inhibit the facile conclusion that it had always been a marginal phenomenon in Kashmir. I consider it more probable that the primary cause of its disappearance here was the advent of Muslim rule in the fourteenth century and the consequent withdrawal of royal patronage from the public sphere that was the Saiddhāntikas' special territory, together with the widespread destruction of Śaiva temples and Maṭhas that occurred during the darker periods of Islamic rule. How quickly the tradition declined and disappeared is not clear, since we have so little evidence of the state of religion in the valley between the fourteenth century and the incorporation of Kashmir into the Mughal empire. But in the seventeenth century Rājānaka Ratnakaṇṭha commenting on a reference to meditation on Śiva, to his Maṇḍala, and to initiation by the fourteenth-century Kashmirian poet Jagaddhara in a hymn to Śiva takes these without hesitation to be the visualization of Svacchandabhairava, the Maṇḍala of the same, and the initiation taught in the *Svacchanda*, even though nothing in the hymn indicates this specific tradition.[670]

As for the Śākta Śaiva systems, the Trika gives the impression of having been less deeply established in Kashmir than the Kālīkula. Abhinavagupta tells us that his was the first attempt to write a Paddhati on this system. There are no works of substance on the Trika by any other author and no later manuals for practical use in ritual survive to show that it had succeded in integrating itself into the ordinary religious life of the community. We might cite the existence of Jayaratha's thirteenth-century commentary on the *Tantrāloka* as evidence that the tradition did flourish long after Abhinavagupta's passing; but the inference would be inconclusive. The intellectual brilliance of the *Tantrāloka*, its

[670] Ratnakaṇṭha on Jagaddhara, *Stutikusumāñjali* 37.11.

relevance as a key to the Śaiva religion as a whole, and its undeniable influence on the thinking of the Kashmirian Śaivas concerning broader soteriological and philosophical fundamentals might well have been sufficient reasons to attract this secondary exegesis even if the Trika in the narrow sense of a system of rituals had few followers in Jayaratha's day. Even Jayaratha, I have suggested, may not have been among them. That it had some followers, albeit of a form of the Trika assimilated to the Kālīkula, we know from the testimony of Jayaratha himself. For he reports that there were Gurus in Kashmir who followed a system of worship that combined the Trika of the *Devyāyāmala* with the Kālīkula of the *Mādhavakula*.[671] So here we have evidence that the Trika had survived in Kashmir in some form down to the thirteenth century, five centuries after our first evidence of it in the *Haravijaya* of Ratnākara.

In comparison with the Trika the Krama appears to have been much more widely developed in Kashmir. While we have only the works of a single if famous author for the Trika, here we have a plethora of writers from the middle of the ninth century onwards, producing works in both Sanskrit and Old Kashmiri, and exercising throughout the most creative period of Kashmirian Śaivism a profound influence not only on the Trika but also, through the works of Kṣemarāja, on the understanding of the *Svacchanda*, the *Netra*, and a broad range of Śaiva texts aimed at a wider audience. Influence in the reverse direction from the Trika to the Krama is far less evident. Indeed of all the major works of the Krama discussed here only the anonymous *Mahānayaprakāśa* has absorbed the doctrines of Utpaladeva and Abhinavagupta to an appreciable extent. Other works, such as the *Mahānayaprakāśa* of Arṇasiṃha, the Old Kashmiri *Mahānayaprakāśa* of Śitikaṇṭha, its commentary, and the literature on the higher Krama of the oral instructions, to which I have drawn attention in this study, show an autonomous tradition largely untouched by the thought and distinctive terminology of those better known authors.[672]

The distinctness of the Krama is evident not only in the independence of its discourse but also in the character of its position in relation to the 'lower' Śaiva traditions. For there is nothing here of the ambition that drives the works of Abhinavagupta and Kṣemarāja to embrace and subordinate the many-layered diversity of the systems of the Śaiva Mantramārga within a higher unity. The

[671] See above, footnote 81 on p. 258.

[672] The persistent term 'Kashmir Śaivism' or 'Kashmiri Śaivism' is therefore doubly misleading. Its current use is mistaken because it excludes the Siddhānta, but it also confuses by fostering the illusion that non-Saiddhāntika Śaivism was a single doctrinally unified whole.

Krama tradition remained aloof from this inclusivist tendency, and this independent stance is reflected in its observances. For while Abhinavagupta's Trika rejected the tradition of radical Śaiva asceticism with its cremation-ground practices, making the rejection of such socially distinctive externals a fundamental principle of its universalism, the Krama, and indeed the Kālīkula as a whole, continued to maintain its distance from mundane society. For, as we have seen, some of its Gurus were ascetics who had adopted the Kāpālika observance, decking themselves with ornaments of human bone, carrying a human skull as a begging bowl, and living in the cremation ground.

In the course of the eleventh century the Śākta Śaiva cult of Tripurasundarī was introduced into the valley and integrated into the exegetical tradition of the Trika. How quickly and widely it was adopted is unclear, since we have so little evidence from the three centuries after Jayaratha. But thereafter, as we have seen, Bhaṭṭāraka, the author of the *Spandapradīpikā*, Bhaṭṭāraka Ānanda, the author of the *Vijñānakaumudī*, if he is not identical with the preceding, and the Śivasvāmin Upādhyāya who wrote the *Gāyatrīmantravivaraṇa* and *Śrīvidyāmantravivaraṇa* were all initiates engaged in this form of ritual. Moreover, Tripurasundarī is prominent among the goddesses whose worship is included in the *Svacchanda*-based Paddhatis; her cult provides the framework for the conceptualization of the cults of the local goddesses seen in the Kashmirian Māhātmya texts;[673] and the literature of her cult, comprising Paddhatis and Stotras, much of it non-Kashmiran, is very well represented in the body of surviving Kashmirian manuscripts, though this must be in part if not largely the effect of the arrival in Kashmir of East Indian Śāktism with the Maithila Kauls. It is at least probable that just as the cult of Svacchandabhairava came to monopolize the domain of non-Śākta Śaiva ritual in Kashmir, so this tradition of the worship of Tripurasundarī (Śrīvidyā), which has enjoyed great popularity throughout the subcontinent down to modern times, came to dominate the Śākta, and that the Trika and Krama survived as textual resources of exegetical and spiritual inspiration, in the manner of the Pratyabhijñā, rather than as living traditions of ritual practice. The demise of the Trika in this sense is strongly indicated by the commentary on the *Parātrīśikā* composed by Rājānaka Lakṣmīrāma (Lasakāka) around the beginning of the nineteenth century. It is unlikely that if this ritual tradition had still been active he could have written a work that assimilates the text to the cult of Svacchandabhairava. Cer-

[673] See, for example, the *Śārikāparicceheda*, which assimilates the goddess Śārikā of Hār^{a}parbuth to Tripurasundarī, and the *Rājñīprādurbhāva*, which does the same for the Rājñī of Tul^{a}mul.

tainly, when I studied the Kashmirian Śaiva literature in Kashmir from 1972 to 1977 as a pupil of the Śaiva Guru Swami Lakshman Joo Raina (1907–1991) I encountered no sign that any practical knowledge of the ritual aspects of the Trika or the Krama had reached the present. Even the worship of Svacchandabhairava and Amṛteśvarabhairava had died out. I was informed that the tradition of receiving Śaiva initiation following the *Kalādīkṣāpaddhati*, which was still alive when Georg Bühler visited Kashmir a hundred years earlier,[674] had been neglected for about fifty years, and I heard the same concerning the Śaiva post-mortuary rituals.

What did survive was a purely gnostic Trika which lacked ritual practice (other than that of the common brahmanical tradition), which had subsumed into a homogenized whole without remainder the literatures of the other non-Saiddhāntika systems. This, however, was not a twentieth-century development, for, as I have argued elsewhere, we find it already in the model of the religious life advocated by the *Mṛtitattvānusmaraṇa*, an unpublished Kashmirian treatise composed at some time after the fifteenth century and before the nineteenth, which is likely to reflect general belief in the Kashmirian brahmin community of its time.[675] It is to be hoped that further research into unpublished Kashmirian materials of the post-classical period will clarify further the history of this separation of gnosis from ritual, a development that can be seen as a sign of Śaivism's assimilation to the dominant brahmanical model of the religious life with its duality of doing without knowing and knowing without doing.

ABBREVIATIONS

ASB	Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta
BHU	Banaras Hindu University
BLO	Bodleian Library, Oxford
Cod.	The reading of the manuscript
conj.	My conjectural emendation
corr.	My correction
Ed.	The reading of the edition
em.	My emendation

[674] Bühler 1877, pp. 23–24.

[675] The significance of this text for the early development of the purely gnostic Trika has been considered in Sanderson forthcoming *a*, which provides an edition of the relevant passage on the three forms of the religious life: the way of ritual (Smārta brahmanical), the way of meditation (*kuṇḍalinīyogaḥ*), and, for those who have transcended rites, the way of knowledge (the Trika).

qu.	Quotation
SBB-PK	Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preussischer Kulturbesitz
SOASL	School of Oriental and African Studies, London
SUBG	Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Göttingen

MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

Aṃśumadāgama: IFP transcript 3.

Agnikāryapaddhati: **A** = Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Sanscrit 505 C; paper; Śāradā; **B** = SUBG Mu. 1, 134; paper; Śāradā.

Annapūrapūjāpaddhati. BORI 252 of 1883–84, Pt. 3; paper; Śāradā. See also CHANDRA 1984.

**Amṛteśvaradhyānavivaraṇa* of Lasa Kāka [Rājānaka Lakṣmīrāma]. SBB-PK Hs or 11664, f. [91]v1–17; paper; Śāradā script.

Aṣṭikā of Prabodhanātha. *Kālikākulapañcaśataka* (q.v.), ff. 96v1–97v4.

Ātmārthapūjāpaddhati. IFP transcript 55; paper; Devanāgarī transcript.

Īśvarapratyabhijñākaumudī of Bhaṭṭāraka Sundara. Research and Publication Department, Jammu and Kashmir Government, Srinagar, Sanskrit 1089; paper; Śāradā script. [Not yet accessed and read].

Īśvarapratyabhijñāvimarśinīvyākhyā, anonymous. Trivandrum MS 270 (*Īśvarapratyabhijñāvyākhyāvyākhyā*); paper; Devanāgarī transcript.

Uttaragharāmnāya. = *Ciñciṇīmatasārasamuccaya* (q.v.), ff. 20r8–24v3 (7.155–245). This contains the *Kālikākramaślokadvādaśikā* and the *Kālikākramapañcāśikā* (referred to together as the *Kālikākramapaddhati* [7.242]).

Uttarāmnāyayajñakrama. NGMPP E447/13; paper *thyāsaphū*; Newari script; place of deposit: "Acyuta (owner), Kathmandu".

Ūrmikaulārṇava. NAK 5-5207; incomplete; paper; Newari script.

Kalādīkṣāpaddhati of Manodadatta, extended by Śivasvāmin. **A** = BORI 157 of 1886–92; paper; Śāradā script. **B** = BORI 1147 of 1886–92; paper; Śāradā script.

Kālikākulapañcaśataka. NAK 5-358, NGMPP B30/26; palm-leaf; Newari script; no date of copying. This is a composite codex in a single hand, comprising the *Kālīkulapañcaśataka*, the *Khacakrapañcakastotra* (q.v.), the *Kālikāstotra* of Jñānanetra (q.v.), the *Śrīpīṭhadvādaśikā* of Cakrabhānu (q.v.), the *Aṣṭikā* of Prabodhanātha (q.v.), the anonymous *Kramavilāsastotra* (q.v.), and the *Mahānayaprakāśa* of Arṇasiṃha (q.v.).

Kālikākrama. = *Manthānabhairava*, *Siddhakhaṇḍa* (q.v.), ff. 179r5–186v3.

Kālikākramapañcāśikā. = *Ciñciṇīmatasārasamuccaya* (q.v.), ff. 21v1–24r3 (7.180c–241).

Kālikākramaślokadvādaśikā. = *Ciñciṇīmatasārasamuccaya* (q.v.), ff. 20r8–21v1 (7.155–180b).

Kālikāstotra of Jñānanetra. *Kālikākulapañcaśataka*, ff. 90v1–92v4. No title in the colophon (*kṛtir iyaṃ śrījñānanetrapādānām iti*).

Kālīkulakramasadbhāva. NAK 1-76, NGMPP A203/23; paper; Newari script; incomplete (up to 7.2); probably penned in the seventeenth-century.

Kālīkulakramārcana of Vimalaprabodha. NAK 5-5188, NGMPP A148/10; paper; Newari script; probably penned in the seventeenth-century.

Kālīkulapañcaśataka. **A** = Kathmandu, Kaiser Library, 524 ('*Kālikākushe*'), NGMPP C49/3; palm-leaf; early East Indian script; penned in [Lakṣmaṇasena] Saṃvat 122 [= a year between A.D. 1230 and 1242]. **B** = NAK 1-252 ('*Kālīkulakramārcana*'); paper; Newari script; penned in A.D. 1644/5.

Kālottara. NAK 5–4632, NGMPP B118/7; paper; Devanāgarī. A modern Nepalese transcript containing an unattributed account of the Śaiva canon followed by various recensions of the *Kālottara*.

Kiraṇa. NAK 5-893, NGMPP A40/23 (= *Kiraṇatantra, Kiraṇāgama*); palm-leaf; Licchavi script; incomplete; penned in A.D. 924.

Kulapañcāśikā. NAK 1-1076. NGMPP A40/13. Palm-leaf; Nepalese Kuṭila script; penned *c.* A.D. 1100–1200.

Kaulasūtra of Guru Bhaṭṭaśrī-Śitikaṇṭha. BORI 445 of 1875–76; paper; Kashmirian Devanāgarī.

Kramavilāsastotra, anonymous. *Kālikākulapañcaśataka* (q.v.), ff. 98v1–102v1.

Kriyākāṇḍakramāvalī of Somaśambhu. **A** = NAK 1-772, NGMPP B26/1; palm-leaf; early East Indian script; A.D. 1149. **B** = Cambridge, University Library, Add. 1406; palm-leaf; Newari script.

Kriyākālaguṇottara. NAK 3-392, NGMPP B25/3; palm-leaf; Nepalese Nandināgarī/Pāla script; penned in A.D. 1184/5.

Kriyāsaṃgrahapaddhati of Vāladhārin. Kathmandu, Kaiser Library 63, NGMPP C5/3; palm-leaf; Nepalese Bhujimol script; penned in A.D. 1090/1.

Khacakrapañcakastotra. **A** = *Kālikākulapañcaśataka* (q.v.), ff. 72v1–89v4. The NGMPP microfilm lacks f. 73. For that I have used NAK 5-5183, NGMPP A150/6 (*Kālikākulapañcaśataka*) (**B**), ff. 1v1–6v1; paper; Devanāgarī.

Gāyatrīmantravivaraṇa. of Śivarāmasvāmin/Śivasvāmin Upādhyāya. SUBG Mu I 30, ff. 16r[= 23a]8–24v[31b]12; paper; Śāradā script.

Gurupustikā. BHU C 4115; paper; Śāradā script. [Not yet accessed and read].

Gurubhaktistotra of Cidrūpa Kaul. BLO Chandra Shum Shere e. 264 ('Tantric Collectanea'), ff. 290v[511b]1–292r[513a]4; paper; Śāradā script; in the same hand and format as the *Śrīvidyānityapūjāpaddhati* of A.D. [18]35/6.

Gurustuti of Cidrūpa Kaul. BLO Chandra Shum Shere e. 264 ('Tantric Collectanea'), ff. 292r[513b]4–297v[518b]3; paper; Śāradā script; in the same hand and format as the *Śrīvidyānityapūjāpaddhati* of A.D. [18]35/6.

Gurustutiratnamālā of Govinda Kaul. SBB-PK Hs or 11126; paper; Śāradā script.

Gurustotra of Jyotiṣprakāśa Kaul. SBB-PK Hs or 12509, ff. [125]r–[129]r; paper; Śāradā script.

Gurustotraprakāśikā of Govinda Kaul. SBB-PK Hs or 11126; paper; Śāradā script.

Guhyasamayasādhanamālā. BLO Sansk. c. 15 (R); palm-leaf; Nepalese Kuṭila script; probably penned in the 12th or 13th century.

Guhyasiddhi. NAK 1-163 NGMPP A150/39, ff. 1v1–26r8; paper; Newari script.

Ciñciṇīmatasārasamuccaya. NAK 1-767, NGMPP B157/19; paper; Newari script; penned in A.D. 1754.

Cittasaṃtoṣatriṃśikā. SOASL 44390 ('Śaiva Hymns'), ff. 41v1–49r7; paper; Śāradā script; penned in A.D. [18]60/61.

Chummāsaṃketaprakāśa of Niṣkriyānandanātha. SBB-PK Hs or 11387 ('*Triṃśaccarcārahasya*'); paper; Śāradā script; incomplete.

Jayadrathayāmala, *Ṣaṭka* 1. NAK 5-4650, NGMPP B122/7; paper; Devanāgarī script. penned in Vikrama 1982 from an old palm-leaf manuscript (*prācīnatāḍapatrapustakāt*) for the library of Rājaguru Hemarāja Śākya (f. 214v5).

Jayadrathayāmala, *Ṣaṭka* 2. NAK 5-4650, NGMPP A153/2; paper; Devanāgarī script; penned in Vikrama 1982 from an old palm-leaf manuscript (*prācīnatāḍapatrapustakāt*) for the library of Rājaguru Hemarāja Śākya (f. 132v4–5).

Jayadrathayāmala, *Ṣaṭka* 3. NAK 5-1975, NGMPP A152/9; paper; Newari script; penned in A.D. 1686/7.

Jayadrathayāmala, *Ṣaṭka* 4. NAK 1.1468, NGMPP B122/4; paper; Newari script; penned in A.D. 1626/7.

Jayadrathayāmalaprastāramantrasaṃgraha. **A** = ff. 3v3–64r5 of NAK 1-258, NGMPP A152/8 ('*Jayadrathayāmala*'); paper; Newari script; A.D. 1642/3. **B** = ff. 4r1–64r1 of NAK 1-1514, NGMPP reel number not recorded; paper; Newari script; penned in A.D. 1584/4.

Jñānakriyādvayaśataka, probably of Sillaṇa. A = SOASL 44390 ('Śaiva Hymns'), ff. 1v1–

18r7; paper; Śāradā script. The *Cittasaṃtoṣatriṃśikā* of Nāga, the last of the series of philosophical hymns in this composite codex and written in the same hand reports that it was penned in A.D. [18]60/61. This is the second manuscript in the codex. **B** = SBB-PK Hs or 12833, ff. 1[75]r–11[86]v; paper; Śāradā script.

Jñānaratnāvalī. IFP transcript 231; paper; a Devanāgarī transcript of a Grantha palm-leaf manuscript, R. 14898.

Tattvatrayanirṇayavivṛti of Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha. Lucknow, Akhila Bharatiya Sanskrit Parishad, 2390; paper; Śāradā script.

Tantrarājatantrāvatārastotra of Ācārya Viśvāvarta. **A** = ff. 1v1–3v1 of NAK 1-258, NGMPP A152/8 ('*Jayadrathayāmala*'); paper; Newari script; penned in A.D. 1642/3. **B** = ff. 1v1–3v7 of NAK 1-154, NGMPP reel number not recorded; paper; Newari script; penned in A.D. 1584.

Timirodghāṭana. NAK 5-690, NGMPP A35/3; palm-leaf; late Licchavi script; incomplete.

Tridaśaḍāmara. **A** = ASB G 9999 (*tridaśaḍāmare pratyaṅgirāvidhānam*); palm-leaf; Newari script; penned in A.D. 1189. **B** = *Tridaśaḍāmarā⟨di⟩pratyaṅgirāviṣayakanānātantra* (q.v.), ff. 1v1–12r2. According to the colophons this consists of *Paṭala* 81 and 82 of the *Tridaśaḍāmaramahātantra*, constituting the *Pratyaṅgirākalpa* (B, f. 6v3–4: *iti śrītridaśaḍāmaramahātantre catustriṃśatisāhasre śrīpratyaṅgirotpattimantroddhāravidhi⟨r⟩ ekāśītitamaḥ paṭalaḥ*; and B, f. 12r1–2): *iti śrītridaśaḍāmaramahātantre catustriṃśatisāhasre śrīpratyaṅgirāvidhi⟨r⟩ dvyaśītitamaḥ paṭala⟨ḥ.⟩ pratyaṅgirākalpaṃ samāptam*.

Tridaśaḍāmarā⟨di⟩pratyaṅgirāviṣayakanānātantra. NAK 3-30, NGMPP B173/22; paper; Newari script; penned in A.D. 1618/9

Tripurasundarīstotra of Śivānanda (= *Saubhāgyahṛdayastotra*, q.v. in the general bibliography). BLO Chandra Shum Shere e. 264 ('Tantric Collectanea'), ff. [504]r4–[505]v7.

Tripurasundarīstotra of Gaṇeśa Bhaṭṭāraka. BLO Chandra Shum Shere e. 264 ('Tantric Collectanea'), ff. 326v[547b]1–328v[549b]5; paper; Śāradā script; in the same hand and format as the *Śrīvidyānityapūjāpaddhati* (A.D. [18]35/6).

Devīdvyardhaśatikā. NAK 1-242. NGMPP A161.12; paper; Newari script; probably penned in the 17th century; descendant of a manuscript in the library of Vimalaprabodha, Rājaguru of the Nepalese king Arimalla (r. 1200–1216) (post-colophon, f. 19r5: *paramahaṃsaparivrājaka-uttarānvayācāryaśrīmadvimalaprabodhapādānām iti*).

Devyāmata. NAK 1-279, NGMPP A41/15 ('*Niśvāsākhyamahātantra*'); palm-leaf; Nepalese Licchavi script.

Dvayasaṃpattivārtika of Vāmanadatta, son of Harṣadatta. **A** = *Mālinīślokavārtika* (q.v.), folio sides 552 [8r11] to 553 [8v]; paper; Kashmirian Devanāgarī script. **B** = BHU C4256, ff. 6r–7v; paper; Śāradā.

Nandikṣetrāvatāra attributed to the *Ādipurāṇa*. BLO Stein Or. c. 4; paper; Śāradā script.

Nijātmabodha of Sāhib Kaul. SOASL 44389; paper; Śāradā script.

Nityākaula. NAK 2-226, NGMPP B26/21; palm-leaf; Newari script; right side damaged; incomplete (–6.28).

Nityādisaṃgrahapaddhati of Rājānaka Takṣakavarta. BORI 76 of 1875–76 (‘*Bhṛṅgeśasaṃhitā*’); paper; Śāradā script.

Niśisaṃcāra. NAK 1-1606; palm-leaf; Nepalese Kuṭila script; probably before 1100 A.D.

**Niṣkalasvacchandadhyānavivaraṇa* of Lasa Kāka [Rājānaka Lakṣmīrāma]. SBB-PK Hs or 11664, ff. [91]r1-[91]v3; paper; Śāradā script.

Paramārcanatriṃśikā. SOASL 44390 (‘Śaiva Hymns’), ff. 34v3–41r5; paper; Śāradā script; penned in Saṃvat 36 (A.D. [18]60/61 according to the colophon at the end of the *Cittasaṃtoṣatriṃśikā* (q.v.), which follows in the same hand in this codex.

Picumata. (*Brahmayāmala*). NAK 3-370, NGMPP A42/6; palm-leaf; Newari script; penned in A.D. 1052.

Piṅgalāmata. NAK 3–376, NGMPP A42/2; palm-leaf; Newari script; penned in A.D. 1173/4.

Prāyaścittasamuccaya of Hṛdayaśiva. Cambridge University Library MS Add. 2833; palm-leaf; Newari script; penned in A.D. 1157/8.

Bahurūpagarbhastotraviṣamapadasaṃketa of Anantaśaktipāda. BHU C488; paper; Śāradā script.

Bodhavilāsa. = *Dvayasaṃpattivārtika* (q.v.)

Bhagavadgītātattvaprakāśikā. of Lasa Kāka [Rājānaka Lakṣmīrāma]. SUBG Mu 1 22; paper; Śāradā script.

Bhāvacūḍāmaṇi of Bhaṭṭa Vidyākaṇṭha. Jammu, Shri Raghunath Temple MSS Library, 5291, now in the collection of the Ranbir Research Institute, Jammu; paper; Kashmirian Devanāgarī.

Bhuvanamālinīkalpaviṣamapadavivṛti of Śrīvatsa. SBB-PK Hs or 12231; paper; Śāradā script.

Bhairavīśaktistotra of Gaṇeśa Bhaṭṭāraka. BLO Chandra Shum Shere e. 264 (‘Tantric Collectanea’), ff. 325r[546]r1–326r7[547a]; paper; Śāradā script; in the same hand and format as the *Śrīvidyānityapūjāpaddhati* (A.D. [18]35/6).

Manthānabhairava, *Kumārīkhaṇḍa*. NAK 5-4630, NGMPP A171/11; paper; Newari script.

Manthānabhairava, *Siddhakhaṇḍa*. Scans courtesy of Sam Fogg Rare Books & Manuscripts, London; palm-leaf; Nandināgarī/Pāla script; probably penned in the 12th cen-

tury.

Mayasaṃgraha. NAK 1-1537, NGMPP A31/18; palm-leaf; Newari script; incomplete.

Mahākaravīrayāga. NAK 1-816, NGMPP B27/17; palm-leaf; Nandināgarī/Pāla script; penned in A.D. 1266.

Mahānayaprakāśa of Arṇasiṃha Kulācārya. *Kālikākulapañcaśataka* (q.v.), ff. 103v1–130r5.

Mahānayaprakāśa of Śitikaṇṭha in Old Kashmiri with Sanskrit commentary. NAK 1-252, NGMPP B135/41; paper; Devanāgarī.

Mālinīślokavārtika. Jammu, Shri Ranbir Sanskrit Research Institute, 623 (20 ka 2). This is a composite codex containing many small works in addition to the *Mālinīślokavārtika*, each with its own folio numeration. See here *Dvayasaṃpattivārtika*, *Śivāṣṭaka*, *Ṣaṭcakranirṇaya* A, *Ṣaṭcakranirṇaya* B, and *Svabodhodayamañjarī*.

Mṛgendrapaddhatiṭīkā of Vaktraśambhu. IFP transcript 1021; paper; a Devanāgarī transcript of a Grantha palm-leaf manuscript, RE 4006.

Mohacūḍottara. NAK 5-1977, NGMPP A182/2; paper; Devanāgarī.

Yajñopavītaśikhāmālānirṇaya of Śivasvāmin Upādhyāya [II]. SBB-PK Hs or 11710; paper; Śāradā script.

Yonigahvara. ASB G 1000; palm-leaf; Newari script.

Rājānakavaṃśapraśaṃsā*. **A = BLO Stein Or. e. 17; 19th century paper; text written on the rectos only; Devanāgarī script; marginal annotations in pencil by M.A. Stein; 'Notes on Ânanda's Praśasti' handwritten by the same on ff. 13a–14b; on f. 1 in his hand: "Extracts from Ânanda Râjânaka's commentary on Naishadîyacharita and Śitikaṇṭha Râjânaka's Kâśikâvṛttinyâsaṭîkâ. Copied from a paper (6" x 3") of Pandit Sun^a^kâka Râzdân, Habba Kadal, Śrînagar" (signed M.A. Stein, Nishat Bagh, September 19–20, 1894)"; copied by Rājānaka Lakṣmaṇa in 1845. The second extract is in fact from Śitikaṇṭha's *Bālabodhinīnyāsa* (*Kātantravṛttinyāsaṭīkā*). **B** = BLO Stein Or. d. 62; copy of the same exemplar prepared by Paṇḍit Govind Kaul; paper; Śāradā script.

Rājñīprādurbhāva. BLO Stein Or. d. 81; paper; Śāradā script.

Varuṇapaddhativṛtti of Bhaṭṭa Śivottama. IFP transcript 143; paper; a Devanāgarī transcript of a Grantha palm-leaf manuscript, Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, R 14871.

**Viṣṇustuti* of Vāmanadatta, son of Devadatta, comprising six complete Prakaraṇas (*Saṃvitprakāśa*, *Ātmasaptati*, *Vikalpaviplava*, *Vidyāviveka*, *Varṇavicāra*, and *Paramārthaprakāśa*), and the beginning of a seventh. BHU C4003; paper; Kashmirian Devanāgarī script.

Śārikāpariccheda. BLO Stein Or. e. 2 (viii); paper; Śāradā script.

Śārikāstava of Sāhib Kaul. BLO Chandra Shum Shere, e. 264, ff. 308r[529a]5–310v[531]v5; paper; Śāradā script; in the same hand as the *Śrīvidyānityapūjāpaddhati* (A.D. [18]35/6).

Śivagopradānavidhi. BLO Stein Or. f. 12, ff. 1v1–26v11. On outer cover: *gopradānavidhiḥ śaivānām*. Colophons: *iti nandiśivadharmasaṃhitāyāṃ gopradānavidhiḥ* (f. 25r4–5); *iti śivagopradānam* (f. 26v9–10). penned in A.D. [18]86, probably 1886).

Śivarātripūjāpaddhati. SBB-PK, Hs or 11279. Birch-bark; Śāradā; disordered folios, each incomplete through damage; no folio numbers. Abbreviared title in margin of folio sides 6, 51, 59: *śivarāpū*.

Śivarātrirahasya. BLO Stein Or. e. 24, ff. 1r1–4r25; paper; Śāradā script.

Śivaśaktivilāsa of Sāhib Kaul. SUBG Codex Vish 5 (parts numbered 5–20), part 5; paper; Śāradā script.

Śivāṣṭaka of Yogarāja. *Mālinīślokavārtika* (q.v.), folio sides 241 [9r16] to 242 [9v12]; paper; Kashmirian Devanāgarī.

Śiṣyasaṃskārapaddhati. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Sanscrit 505 C; paper; Śāradā script; acquired in 1898.

Śyāmāpaddhati of Sāhib Kaul. (1) Photocopy courtesy of Sam Fogg Rare Books & Manuscripts, London; paper; Devanāgarī script; probably from Jaipur. (2) SBB-PK Hs or 12439; paper; Devanāgarī script.

Śrīnāthastotra of Gaṇeśa Bhaṭṭāraka. BLO Chandra Shum Shere e. 264 ('Tantric Collectanea'), ff. 288v[509b]1–290r[511a]7; paper; Śāradā script; same hand and format as *Śrīvidyānityapūjāpaddhati* (A.D. [18]35/6).

Śrīpīṭhadvādaśikā of Cakrabhānu. NAK 5-358, NGMPP B30/26 (*Kālikākulapañcaśataka*), ff. 93v1–95r4; palm-leaf; Newari script.

Śrīvidyānityapūjāpaddhati of Sāhib Kaul. BLO Chandra Shum Shere e. 264 ('Tantric Collectanea'), ff. 1v[226b]1–156v[378b]5; paper; Śāradā script; A.D. [18]35/6.

Śrīvidyāmantravivaraṇa of Śivasvāmin Upādhyāya [II]. SBB-PK Hs or 11663; paper; Śāradā script.

Ṣaṭcakranirṇaya (A), anonymous. *Mālinīślokavārtika* (q.v.), folio sides 538 [2r], l. 1 to 543 [4v], l. 18; paper; Kashmirian Devanāgarī. Follows the *Mālinīślokavārtika* and is followed by the *Taṇḍulastavarāja*.

Ṣaṭcakranirṇaya (B) of Śivasvāmin Upādhyāya [II]. *Mālinīślokavārtika* (q.v.), folio sides 378[1r]1 to 386[5r12]; paper; Kashmirian Devanāgarī.

Saṃvitprakāśa of Vāmanadatta. See **Viṣṇustuti*.

Saccidānandakandalī of Sāhib Kaul. BLO Stein Or. e. 26 (iiī), ff. 32r[18a]5–44v4; paper; Śāradā.

Sadānandalāsya of Sadānanda Kaul. SBB-PK Hs or 12509, ff. [121]v–[125]r.

Sahajārcanaṣaṣṭikā of Sāhib Kaul. BLO Stein Or. e. 26 (ii), ff. 22r[8a]1–32r[18a]5; paper; Śāradā; followed by *Saccidānandakandalī* (q.v.).

Somaśambhupaddhativyākhyā of Trilocanaśivācārya. IFP transcript 170; paper; a Devanāgarī transcript of a Grantha palm-leaf manuscript belonging to Kailāsabaṭṭar of Tirunelvely.

Spandapradīpikā of Bhaṭṭārakasvāmin. BORI 513 of 1875–76 ('*Spandapradīpa*'); paper; Śāradā script.

Svacchandamaheśvarāṣṭaka. SBB-PK Hs or 12509. [5v]-[15]r; paper; Śāradā script.

Svabodhasiddhi of Bhaṭṭaśrī Bhūti. SBB-PK Hs or 11415, ff. 57v–60r; paper; Śāradā script.

Svabodhodayamañjarī of Vāmanadatta, son of Harṣadatta. **A** = *Mālinīślokavārtika* (q.v.), folio sides 549 [6v7] to 552, [8r11]; paper; Kashmirian Devanāgarī script. **B** = BHU C4255, ff. 1v–5v; paper; Śarādā script .

Svātmopalabdhiśataka of Sillana. SBB-PK Hs or 12833, ff. 87[1]r–98[12]r; paper; Śāradā script.

Haravijaya of Ratnākara. BLO Stein Or. d. 52; paper; Śāradā script.

Hṛllekhāpaddhati of Sāhib Kaul. BLO Chandra Shum Shere g. 27; paper; Śāradā script; penned in A.D. [18]55.

Materials for the Study of the Levels of Sound in the Sanskrit Sources of the Śaivasiddhānta.

Ratnatrayaparīkṣā 22, 70c–86b, 171c–173b and its *Ullekhinī*. With Excerpts from an Unpublished Commentary*

Francesco Sferra

Introduction

1. References to different levels of sound (*nāda*) or of word (*vāc*) appear in several early Śaivasiddhānta scriptures, commentaries and independent works. The argument is usually treated when dealing with principles (*tattva*) or categories (*padārtha*), in particular *bindu*, or *mahāmāyā*, and while explaining the nature and formation of *mantra*s. Scriptural sources differ to various degrees in their accounts. Apart from the context and from the coverage that each work devotes to this topic, the main difference between texts lies in the names and the numbers of the levels of sound and, in general, the way in which the sonic emanation is described.

Here we limit ourselves to providing some examples. Among the earliest sources, the *Kiraṇāgama* states in chapter 11 that the fifty phonemes evolve from the nine classes (lit. 'sections', *khaṇḍa*) through which the *paraṃ brahma* manifests. It is called 'deposit of syllables' (*akṣarālaya*) and is at first unmanifest (*avyakta*) in the form of word (*vāgrūpa*). It is the supreme knowledge con-

*I would like to thank Professor André Padoux and Dr. Dominic Goodall for inviting me to contribute to this volume in memory of Madame Hélène Brunner, a great scholar and a most gentle lady. My thanks also to Dr. Goodall, Dr. Fabio Boccio, Prof. Dr. Harunaga Isaacson and Prof. Raniero Gnoli for reading this paper prior to publication and for their invaluable suggestions. Special thanks are also due to the authorities of the Adyar Library and the Oriental Research Institute of Mysore for giving me access to the manuscript sources used for this paper; and – last but not least – Susan Ann White for her help in revising the English text.

sisting in *nāda*, the syllable *oṃ*, the top of the face of *bindu* (stt. 2–5).[1] The *Mṛgendratantra* describes the sonic emanation as starting with *kuṇḍalinī* and continuing with *nāda*, *bindu*, *oṃ* and *mātṛkā* (i.e. the phonemes from *a* to *kṣa*) (*Kriyāpāda* 1.2).[2] The *Sārdhatriśatikālottarāgama* states that *nāda* has three levels: gross (*sthūla*), subtle (*sūkṣma*) and supreme (*para*) (1.5–8).[3] In the description that we find in the *tantrāvatārapaṭala* of the *Ajitāgama* (1.13cd–14), the 'totality of sounds' (*śabdarāśi*) derives from *akṣara* (i.e. the syllable *oṃ*), which comes from sound (*śabda*), in its turn evolving from Supreme Śiva.[4] According to the *Svāyambhuvasūtrasaṅgraha* (*Vidyāpāda* 5.1–5), the phonemes evolve directly from the *brahman*,[5] whereas the *Parākhyatantra* (6.2–4) holds that they

[1] *ekaṃ nādātmakaṃ jñānam oṃ ity eva sthitaṃ param | sā śikhā binduvaktrasya galāṅgasya mahātmanaḥ || proktaṃ śrutau paraṃ brahma codito 'trākṣarālayaḥ | sthito 'vyaktaḥ sa vāgrūpaḥ punar bhinnas tu khaṇḍaśaḥ || navakhaṇḍayutaś cādyaḥ punaḥ ṣoḍaśabhiḥ svaraiḥ | daśārdhākṣaraniṣṇātāḥ pañcakhaṇḍā vyavasthitāḥ || khaṇḍaṃ dvayaṃ caturvarṇaṃ śeṣaṃ kūṭākhyayā sthitam | evaṃ jñeyaṃ śatārdhātma varṇaśaktivibhedataḥ ||* (ed. p. 46; cf. transl. p. 80).

[2] *śakter nādo 'bhavad bindur akṣaraṃ mātṛkā tataḥ | mūrtir ādyā maheśasya sarvavācyānuyāyinī ||* (ed. p. 2, transl. Brunner 1985:5; *pāda*s ab are frequently quoted by Aghoraśiva, always with the reading *bhave* for *'bhavad* [cf. also SSĀV p. 5]; cf., *exempli gratia*, MṛgT *Vidyā° Dīpikā* [see below, n. 23], *Tattvaprakāśavṛtti* p. 45, *Tattvasaṅgrahaṭīkā* p. 131). Cf. Padoux 1978:69.

[3] *nādākhyaṃ yat paraṃ bījaṃ sarvabhūteṣv avasthitam | muktidaṃ paramaṃ kiṃ ca divyasiddhipradāyakam || tadviditvā mahāsena deśikaḥ pāśahā bhavet | āgopālāṅganā bālā mlecchāḥ prākṛtabhāṣiṇaḥ || antarjalagatāḥ sattvās te 'pi nityaṃ bruvanti tam | sthūlaṃ sūkṣmaṃ paraṃ jñātvā karma kuryād yathepsitam || sthūlaṃ śabda iti proktaṃ sūkṣmaṃ cintāmayaṃ bhavet | cintayā rahitaṃ yat tu tat paraṃ parikīrtitam ||* (ed. p. cxliii). References to *nāda* also occur in other parts of the SārK (for instance, in 13.11 and 15.1; cf. also Rāmakaṇṭha's *Vṛtti* on chapters 12 and 20), but the most relevant passage regarding the topic under discussion is 1.5–8. Stanzas from this part are frequently cited in commentaries and independent works, especially stanza 1.8. Cf., e.g., RTP*Ullekhinī ad* stt. 22, 53cd–54ab; NK*Vyākhyā ad* st. 15; SvT*Uddyota ad* 11.8cd, vol. 6, p. 10; ŚD*Vṛtti*, p. 102; *Īśvarapratyabhijñāvivṛtivimarśinī*, vol. 2, p. 192; *Bhāvopahāravivaraṇa*, p. 30. For further references see Torella 2001:860. A parallel of st. 1.8 can be found in *Jñānasiddhānta* 8.3 (see Acri, forthcoming, §7) and in a quotation with attribution to *āgama* in the commentary on the *Caryāgīti* by the Buddhist Munidatta (p. 148).

[4] *āsīt pūrvaṃ hi sargādau vyomarūpāt parāc chivāt | śabdas tato 'kṣaras tasmāc chabdarāśir anuttamaḥ || navavargasamāyuktaḥ pañcāśadbhedabheditaḥ ||* (ed. vol. 1, p. 2).

[5] *athādāv abhavac chabdaḥ kāraṇād akṣaraṃ tataḥ | kāraṇaṃ mokṣadaṃ brahman brahma brahmavido viduḥ || tasmāt sarvaprado devaḥ śabdarāśir iti śrutaḥ | navaparvaśatārdhātmā yonibījātmakaḥ paraḥ || akārādivisargāntaṃ bījaṃ tat ṣoḍaśākṣaram | śeṣā yoniś catustriṃśad avyayā hy akṣarātmikāḥ || sā śaktir devadevasya tayā vyāptam idaṃ jagat | jñānaṃ śaivaṃ paraṃ sūkṣmaṃ yat tat tārakam uttamam || vedādijñānabhedena śivajñānavibhedataḥ | cintāmaṇir ivātrāsau sthitaḥ sarvasya kāraṇam ||* (ed. in Goodall 2001:342, and Goodall 2004:323–324).

evolve from the *bindu*.[6] The *Pauṣkarāgama*, which at least in the *Jñānapāda* that has come down to us and has been published seems to be influenced by the speculations of the first Kashmirian exegetes and "is probably a late South Indian text with an old title",[7] is one of the most syncretic scriptures; as such it records at least four positions:[8] *1)* sound, which has the nature of *bindu*, evolves in four stages, that is, *sūkṣmā*, *paśyantī*, *madhyamā* and *vaikharī* (2.20–21ab);[9] *2)* the evolution of phonemes procedes from *nāda*, which in its turn derives from *bindu* (7.72cd);[10] *3)* phonemes come from a group of powers deriving from *bindu*, in its turn deriving from the *śāstra*, which manifests itself according to the form of *nāda*, that comes from the *paraṃ brahma* (8.2cd–13ab);[11] *4)* phonemes come directly from *bindu* (8.18 ff.).[12]

[6]*sṛṣṭikāle sa sarvajñaḥ puruṣārthaprayojanām | vyaktiṃ nayati bījārṇaṃ bindoḥ sa parameśvaraḥ || binduḥ kṣubdhas tadicchātaḥ śabdarāśir abhūt tadā | khaṇḍadvayena sañjātaḥ svarādyaḥ khaṇḍabhedataḥ || svaraiḥ ṣoḍaśabhiḥ śeṣais traystriṃśadbhir akṣaraiḥ | mātṛkeyaṃ matā loke varṇoccārasya mātṛkā ||* (ed. pp. 15–16; cf. transl. pp. 321–322). Cf. also Goodall 2001:341–342, n. 78.

[7]Goodall 2001:329. See also Goodall 1998: xliii–xiv. It is worth noting that several stanzas quoted by Rāmakaṇṭha and Aghoraśiva from the PĀ do not appear in the published portion of the text (cf., e.g., SārK*Vṛtti*, pp. 3, 34, 40, 46, 47, 50, 53, 54, 59, 145; KĀ*Vṛtti*, pp. 33, 82, 133; *Tattvaprakāśavṛtti*, pp. 25, 55; *Tattvasaṅgrahaṭīkā*, p. 133; RTP*Ullekhinī*, pp. 153, 193; *Paramokṣanirāsakārikāvṛtti*, p. 281). At times, the wording of stanzas attributed to the PĀ is quite different from the printed editions. See stanza: *patir vidyā tathāvidyā paśuḥ pāśaś ca kāraṇam | tannivṛttāv iti proktāḥ padārthāḥ ṣaṭ samāsataḥ ||* (SārK*Vṛtti*, p. 7), which, as pointed out by N. Ramachandra Bhatt, corresponds, with some discrepancies, to PĀ 1.8cd–9ab: *patiḥ kuṇḍalinī māyā paśuḥ pāśaś ca kārakaḥ || iti proktāḥ padārthāḥ ṣaṭ śaivatantre samāsataḥ |* (p. 7), but which can be found in a fragment of the Ur-*Pauṣkara* that has been quoted, with a little discussion, by Dominic Goodall on pp. lii–liii of his introduction to the *Parākhyatantra*. Very rarely are we able to trace stanzas in the printed editions; for instance, 6.35 and 6.36, quoted in MPĀ*Vṛtti* (pp. 614–615).

[8]Cf. also Goodall 2001:342–343.

[9]*tasmād baindava eveṣṭaḥ śabdaḥ sāṅkhyātmanām api | śabdāś caturvidhās te 'pi vaikharyādivibhedataḥ || vaikharī madhyamākhyā ca paśyantī sūkṣmasañjñitā |* (p. 12). The text continues with the description of the four levels (stt. 21cd–26).

[10]*nādasya bindoḥ prasṛtiḥ śabdānāṃ niḥsṛtis tataḥ ||* (p. 91).

[11]*ādau brahma paraṃ śuddham ādivarṇatvam āgatam ||* (2cd) [...] *tatkṣobhataḥ samutpannaṃ śāstraṃ nādasvarūpataḥ | pravṛttaṃ tadadhaḥ kiñcid vikubjākārataḥ śivam || sa ca bindur iti khyātaḥ śaraccandrasamaprabhaḥ ||* (6–7ab) [...] *śivecchākṣobhito bindus tadadhaḥ śaktir ambikā |* (8ab) [...(list of other 19 powers: stt. 8cd–12)] *tābhyaḥ sarve samutpannās triṃśad varṇāḥ saviṃśatiḥ |* (13ab) (pp. 93–94). Cf. also Goodall 2001:342–343, n. 78.

[12]This part of the text is actually taken from the *Parākhyatantra* (6.5cd–9ab). Cf. also PĀ 2.15–16ab, 20ab.

Commentarial tradition from Śrīkaṇṭha (9th–10th cent.?) to Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha (first half of 10th cent.), his son Rāmakaṇṭha (c. 950–1000) and, later, Aghoraśiva (12th cent.),[13] attempts to systematise the doctrine on the emanation of sound in accordance with the Śaivasiddhānta explanation of principles, and by fixing four levels of it. The standard series is *bindu/kuṇḍalinī*[14] = > *nāda* = > *bindu* = > *śabdarāśi/arṇa*; however, as far as we can say at the moment, this does not correspond perfectly to any of the lists given in the scriptures.[15] As Dominic GOODALL proposes: "[T]he sequence may have evolved because of the redactors having treated as a *saṃhārakrama* the sequence of the *uccāra* of a mantra (in which *nāda* and *bindu* may appear as a pair), and therefore inverting it to arrive at a *sṛṣṭikrama*" (2001:331, see also *ibidem* p. 342).

As we shall see, some authors —especially Śrīkaṇṭha and later masters of the 14th century— adopt another series, the one starting with *sūkṣmā* and ending with *vaikharī*, referred to above. This series was probably already widespread in *advaita* circles of the time, since all the Śaivasiddhānta authors that make use of it, whether they adopt it or simply mention it, refer to its 'wrong' interpretation in an *advaita* perspective, equating the higher level with Consciousness. In point of fact this series is the most frequently used in Pratyabhijñā writings, starting with the *Īśvarapratyabhijñākārikā* (1.5.13) by Utpaladeva (c. 925–975),[16] where we usually find *parā* instead of *sūkṣmā*. The first Śaivasiddhānta exegetes, concerned with establishing the independence of the *puruṣa* and its power (*śakti*) from every factor that would involve these in a transformation process, primarily endeavour to define the ontological status of word as a reality separate from Consciousness. Even though they hold that word is a necessary principle for allowing Ananta to have a body and differentiated thought (and thus to act in the *aśuddhādhvan*), it is subject to transformation (*vikāra*, *pariṇāma*) and therefore —in keeping with a well-known tenet of the Sāṃkhya— cannot be a conscious principle.[17]

[13] For the dates of Rāmakaṇṭha (Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha II) I refer the reader to GOODALL 1998: xiii–xviii and WATSON 2006:111–112. On the life and dates of Aghoraśiva, see GENGNAGEL 1996:14–18; see also DAVIS 1992a and GOODALL 2000.

[14] For other synonyms of *bindu*, see NK 16cd–17; cf. also GOODALL 1998:290–296.

[15] See also GOODALL 2001:328.

[16] For the dates of Utpaladeva, see SANDERSON 1985.

[17] Cf., e.g., KĀ 2.26ab: *pariṇāmo 'cetanasya cetanasya na yujyate* | (p. 54; cit. also in *Spandanirṇaya*, p. 14; for further references see GOODALL 1998:254, n. 288); PĀ 2.5: *pariṇāmo 'citaḥ proktaś cidrūpasya na yujyate* | *cito vivarta eveṣṭas tathātve kāryaśūnyatā* || (p. 10). This concept

As is to be expected, we find dissimilarities between scriptural sources and exegetical works, such as the commentaries by Rāmakaṇṭha on *Kiraṇāgama* 3.23cd[18] and *Sārdhatriśatikālottarāgama* 1.5–8. It has even been shown that some attempts have been made to reconcile divergences between texts and scriptures where these are completely irreconcilable. For instance, in his *Nādakārikāvyākhyā* (*ad*. st. 12) Aghoraśiva interprets, in the light of the *nāda* theory, a verse from the sixth chapter of the *Parākhyatantra*, which, taken in its original context, supports a *varṇavāda* position.[19]

The differences we find in the Āgamas and in early Śaivasiddhānta literature regarding the status of word/sound and its differentiation in levels, undoubtedly reflect those extant in other Indian traditions and, to some extent, reveal a desire and an effort to test and develop the *śaivasiddhānta* in the arena of the dialectical debate with other traditions. With regard to speculation on *vāc*, Śrīkaṇṭha addresses his critique implicitly to Bhartṛhari (c. 450–510) and/or his followers and explicitly to *advaita* thinkers,[20] while Rāmakaṇṭha and Aghoraśiva, especially in the *Nādakārikā* and its commentary, also confront their ideas with those of the *mīmāṃsaka*s and the *naiyāyika*s.[21]

Among the masters of the mature Kashmirian Śaivasiddhānta, Śrīkaṇṭha

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is frequently stated in Śaivasiddhānta texts; cf. RTP 49, 51cd–52ab, 199; NK 19. See also Dunuwila 1985:10, and for further references Sferra 1991:322, n. 49.

[18] Cf. Goodall 1998:84–86, 289–296.

[19] Cf. Goodall 2001:327–328.

[20] Cf. RTP 202cd ff.

[21] The *nāda* theory, as elaborated by Rāmakaṇṭha, can be seen as the result of an attempt to assimilate the *sphoṭa* theory according to Śaivasiddhānta tenets. As has already been noted, there are no radical differences between *nāda* and *sphoṭa* theories (cf. Sferra 1991:325, 328, 332–333; Goodall 2001:344, n. 84). Indeed Kanti Chandra Pandey, in discussing the *nāda* theory, describes the "*nāda* as a substitute for *sphoṭa*" (1954:xci) (cf. also Torella 2004:184–186). It is as if the *sphoṭa* had been divested of its advaita ontological presuppositions, placed in a completely different context and reformulated with a more traditional (i.e. āgamic) terminology. Surprisingly, the word *sphoṭa* never appears in the *Nādakārikā* despite the unmistakable reference to stanza 6 of the *Sphoṭasiddhi* by Maṇḍanamiśra (c. 660–720) (st. 7), and the first part of the text is in fact a summary of his main arguments against the rival *varṇavādin*s. As D. Goodall has pointed out (2001:329), the *nāda* theory has no foundation in the scriptures, notwithstanding the opinion of Krishna Sivaraman (1977:64, n. 33) and Pierre-Sylvain Filliozat (1984:224). Referents in this short text and its commentary are mainly non-āgamic: two examples of this are the implicit references to the *anvitābhidhānavāda* (st. 3ab) and to the definition of word according to Patañjali's *Paspaśā* (st. 5), and the compound *upalabdhilakṣaṇaprāpta* used by Aghoraśiva (p. 240), revealing the influence of technical terms typical of the Buddhist *pramāṇa* tradition.

is the first to treat the sonic emanation, dwelling on it in three parts of his *Ratnatrayaparīkṣā*: *1)* st. 22; *2)* stt. 70cd–86ab; *3)* stt. 171cd–173ab, which have been translated and edited anew, together with their *Ullekhinī* by Aghoraśiva, in the second part of this paper. A brief introduction (§§2–4) provides material for further study.

Some months ago, Dominic Goodall kindly provided me with a photographic copy (originally made by Kei Kataoka) of an important codex kept in the Oriental Library of Mysore and listed there as MS P 269. In this codex, which contains several works and glosses included in the famous *Aṣṭaprakaraṇa* collection, I have found an unpublished and interesting commentary on the *Ratnatrayaparīkṣā*. The manuscript is fairly correct but mutilated (it ends while quoting *pāda* a of st. 322); thus the name of the author of the work is at present unknown. We can note that its beginning (commentary on stt. 1–2) coincides with the *Ullekhinī*, and that in the passages describing the levels of word we can find several parallels with the *Siddhāntasārāvalivyākhyā* by Anantaśambhu (14th cent.?). These passages have been published here in the appendix.[22]

2. In *Ratnatrayaparīkṣā* 22 and 172cd–173ab, Śrīkaṇṭha adheres to a scriptural terminology: *bindu*, which he calls *paranāda* in *pāda* 22c and *anāhatabindu* in *pāda* 173a, is, in both passages, defined by him as the cause (*kāraṇa*) of the three subsequent levels: *1)* sound (*nāda*), *2)* drop (*bindu*) and *3)* 'totality of sounds' (*śabdarāśi*, st. 172b) or phoneme (*arṇa*, st. 22d), which, in the commentary on stanza 22, Aghoraśiva places in relation respectively to *para*, *sūkṣma* and *sthūla* [*bīja*] of *Sārdhatriśatikālottarāgama* 1.8 that he quotes as scriptural support. A similar sequence to the one given here by Śrīkaṇṭha can be found in the commentary by Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha and in the sub-commentary by Aghoraśiva *ad Mṛgendratantra*, *Vidyāpāda* 13.161cd–162ab,[23] and in par-

[22] I am working on the complete *editio princeps* and English translation of this commentary and, making use of some MSS kept in the Institut Français de Pondichéry (RE–30369, RE–40042, RE–47615, RE–47667) and in the Asiatic Society of Bengal (G 566), on a new edition and English translation of the *Ratnatrayaparīkṣollekhinī* and the *Nādakārikāvyākhyā*. I am grateful to Dominic Goodall for informing me about these materials and for helping me get access to them.

[23] *nāde dhvanipatiḥ śaktau sarvaśaktimatāṃ varaḥ* ‖ *yonir viśvasya vāgīśāḥ patayaḥ parataḥ śivaḥ* | (MṛgT *Vidyā°* 161cd–162ab; ed. p. 334); *nādabhuvane dhvanipatir nādeśvaraḥ sthitaḥ* | […] *śaktāv iti śāktasaṃśraye sakalaśaktimatāṃ variṣṭhaḥ parameśvaraḥ sthitaḥ* | *atraiva ca yonir viśvasyetyādi* | *nādabindvādikrameṇa sakalajagadutpattihetuḥ kuṇḍalinyākhyā śaktiḥ sthitā* | *yathoktaṃ śrīmatsvatantre – tatra kuṇḍalinī śaktir māyākarmānusāriṇī* | *nādabindvādikaṃ kāryaṃ tasyā iti jagatsthitiḥ* ‖ *iti* | [as Goodall has already pointed out (1998:291), the

ticular in the commentary by Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha *ad Mṛgendratantra*, *Kriyāpāda* 1.2 (see above n. 2), where the syllable *oṃ* is conceived as an intermediate level between the lower *bindu* and the phonemes.[24]

The most original part consists in stanzas 70cd–86ab, in which the dependence on some passages of the *Brahmakāṇḍa* of the *Vākyapadīya* by Bhartṛhari and its relative *Vṛtti* is evident. Not only does Śrīkaṇṭha incorporate in his text the celebrated stanza 1.115 [123] (= stt. 84cd–85ab), with only two variant readings,[25] but, as noted by Kanti Chandra Pandey (1954: xx), even inserts, as stanzas 73cd–74, 75cd, 77–78ab, some verses of unknown source that appear in the *Vṛtti* on stanza 1.134 [142] of the *Vākyapadīya*. More specifically, these are the four stanzas indicated with the letters *ca*, *cha*, *ja* and *ña* in the edition by K.A. Subramania Iyer (pp. 219–220; in Rau's edition these are part of the *mūla* text).

The passage is of considerable interest for various reasons that should be analysed.

The first thing to note is that after listing some synonyms of *bindu*, including such significant terms as *śabdatattva*, *vākśakti* and *aghoṣā vāc*, Śrīkaṇṭha affirms that four states of *bindu* exist (*catasro vṛttayas tasya* [...] | *vaikharī madhyamābhikhyā paśyantī sūkṣmasañjñitā* || st. 72). This was in some way to be

second half of this stanza is similar to SvT 10.1264ab (cf. ed. vol. 5, p. 548)] […] (Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha's *Vṛtti*, p. $421_{2–12}$); *nādaś cātra mahāmāyāśakter bhuvanātmakaḥ prathamaḥ prasaraḥ* | *upasaṃhṛtakāryāyās tu mahāmāyāyā niṣkalaḥ śivaḥ sarvadādhiṣṭhānatvena sthita ity āha— śaktāv itītyādi* | *asyā eva ca śabdotpattihetur avasthāviśeṣaḥ śāstrāntare kuṇḍalinyākhyayokto* <’>*tra śivatattva evāntarbhūta ity āha— atraiva cetyādi* | *(atra ca viśvaśabdena nānyatarātmaka iti) vāgīśāḥ pataya ity api nādabindvādikrameṇa śabdotpādakasya śivasyaivopacāreṇa kāryabhedād ucyate* | *ete ca nādabindvādibhuvaneśvarasamānadharmatvāc chāstrāntareṣu bhuvaneśvaraśabdenocyanta ity āha— asminn evetyādi* | *tataś cācetanatvena mahāmāyāyāḥ śivādhiṣṭhānaṃ vinā śabdādikāryotpādakatvābhāvāc chabdabrahmavādinaḥ pratikṣiptāḥ* | *śabdānāṃ ca kāryatvaṃ siddham iti vakṣyāmaḥ kriyāpādārambhe "śakter nādo bhaved bindur akṣaraṃ mātṛkā tataḥ" iti* | […] (Aghoraśiva's *Dīpikā*, pp. 422_{19}–423_{3}). Cf. Hulin 1980:328–331.

[24] *śaktimataḥ praśāntasya bhagavataḥ paravāksvarūpā yā kuṇḍalinī śaktiḥ, tasyāḥ sakāśān nāda ity anāhataparadhvanilakṣaṇaḥ prasaraḥ prathamaṃ yad abhūt tasmād api krameṇeṣatsthūlatām upagacchann antaḥsañjalpātmakaḥ sampiṇḍitavāgrūpatvād bindur iva binduḥ* | *tataś cākṣaraṃ kṣayādidoṣarahitam oṃkārākhyam* | *athaitasmād oṃkārāt* [*ādyā*] *prathamā mūrtir* [*maheśasya*] *bhagavataḥ sambandhinī nikhilavāṅmayajananītvān māteva mātṛkā* [*sarvavācyānuyāyinī*] *sakalābhidheyānugāyatrī* (em. Brunner [1985:6, n. 9] of the reading *sakalābhidheyānugāgāyatrī* of MS T 539; as Brunner points out [ibidem], the reading *sakalābhidheyān anugāyantī* of MS T 266 is possible as well] *sakalābhidheyā tadanu gāyatrī* ed.) *samudabhavat, yatsakāśān mantratantrādikam ādisarge prasarati* | (ed. p. 2; transl. pp. 5–6).

[25] I.e. *'nūṇāṃ* for *loke* in *pāda* 84c and *iha* for *iva* in *pāda* 85a.

expected, as he had already touched on this subject earlier in stanza 46ab, where he limits himself to stating that word (*śabda*) is quadripartite on the basis of *vaikharī vāc* and so on. The terms *sūkṣmā*, *paśyantī*, *madhyamā* and *vaikharī* are used here as labels for the levels of word and later explained, but nowhere are these terms explicitly identified with those in stanzas 22 and 172cd–173ab, which have a more 'scriptural' intonation. The equation of the two terminologies is merely hinted at by Rāmakaṇṭha (though the passages in question merit further comment) and Umāpatiśivācārya (of unknown date),[26] and rendered explicit only by Anantaśambhu[27] and, in a different way, by Vedajñāna (16th cent.)[28] and the still anonymous author of the commentary on the

[26]Umāpatiśivācārya follows Śrīkaṇṭha's subdivision and terminology. In the ŚRS he describes the *mahāmāyā* from stanza 24 on, which according to the editor is taken, along with stanza 25, from the *Viśvasārottara*. Vāgīśvarī, i.e. *mahāmāyā* (on Vāgīśvarī, see Brunner 1977:256–260), is the basic material cause of the principles in the *śuddhādhvan* (*vāgīśvarī ca śuddhādhvamūlopādānakāraṇam | nopādānaṃ vinā kāryaṃ kadācid upalabhyate* || st. 23). Its effects are *nāda*, *bindu*, etc. (*yātha kuṇḍalinī śaktir māyākarmānusāriṇī | nādabindvādikaṃ kāryaṃ tasyā iti jagatsthitiḥ* || st. 25; cf. above n. 24). Stanza 26 claims that *mahāmāyā* has four states, i.e. the levels of *vāc* from *vaikharī* to *sūkṣmā* (*tasyāś catasro vāgrūpā vṛttayo vaikharyādayaḥ | vaikharī madhyamā cānyā paśyantī sūkṣmasañjñitā* ||). Unfortunately I do not at present have access either to Umāpatiśivācārya's or to Jñānaprakāśa's commentary on the PĀ, and therefore have not able to read their explanation of the second chapter in particular, and of all relevant passages (see above, notes 7–12).

[27]In his SSĀV Anantaśambhu includes a long excursus on the level of sound and cites, among others, many passages from the RTP. He aknowledges the existence of a quadripartition of the levels of word: 4. *śakti* = > 3. *nāda* = > 2. *bindu* = > 1. *lipi*. His argumentation is insipred by the words *sūkṣmasthūlaninādabindulipigaiḥ* of verse 12a of the *Siddhāntasārāvali* by Trilocanaśivācārya (13th–14th cent.?). He specifies that the levels from 3 to 1 all have a dual aspect: they are both subtle (*sūkṣma*) and gross (*sthūla*), depending on whether they are part of the pure or impure path. The term *nināda* is explained with *dhvani* (resonance); *bindu* is the place in which vowels and consonants (*svaravarṇa*) are born and die; *lipi* corresponds to *akṣara*; *śakti* is the *mahāmāyā*, the *kuṇḍalinīśakti* (p. 4). The sequence of levels is expressed in at least two forms, with the series *śakti* = > *nāda* = > *bindu* = > *mātṛkā* (*nāda*, *bindu* and *mātṛkā* are conceived as results of a perturbation [*kṣobha*] of the *śakti*), or, in keeping with stanza 172cd–173ab of the *Ratnatrayaparīkṣā*, with *anāhatabindu* = > *nāda* = > *bindu* = > *śabdarāśi*. Then he juxtaposes stanzas 22cd and 72 of the *Ratnatrayaparīkṣā*, thus suggesting that the two series correspond [4. *bindu* (= *paranāda*) = > 3. *nāda* = > 2. *bindu* = > 1. *varṇa* (22cd) = 4. *sūkṣmā* = > 3. *paśyantī* = > 2. *madhyamā* = > 1. *vaikharī* (72)], and states that there are two forms of *kāryabindu*: *sthūla* (*atisthaulya* = *vaikharī*; *madhyasthaulya* = *madhyamā*) and *sūkṣma* (*paśyantī* and *sūkṣmā*) (pp. 5–6). The text continues with the description of each of the four levels (p. 6) and of the *kalā*s, *nivṛtti*, etc. (p. 7 and ff. [see below Appendix, notes β–η]).

[28]In his anthology we read: *nādaḥ sūkṣmā bhaved binduḥ paśyantī madhyamākṣaram* | […] *mātṛkā vaikharī jñeyā* […] || (chapter 4, stt. 9ab, 10a; ed. and transl. pp. 172–173).

Ratnatrayaparīkṣā partly published below.[29]

The second thing to note concerns the principal changes made by Śrīkaṇṭha to the stanzas he quotes *ex silentio*. His modifications to stanzas *ca* and *cha* are irrelevant to what we are examining here, therefore we shall concentrate on stanzas *ja* and *ña*. First of all, we notice that he splits in two stanza *ja* and inserts two other *pāda*s:

avibhāgā tu paśyantī sarvataḥ saṃhṛtakramā |
svarūpajyotir evāntaḥ sūkṣmā vāg anapāyinī || *ja* ||
(Additions in bold type:)
avibhāgena **varṇānāṃ** sarvataḥ saṃhṛtakramā |
svayamprakāśā paśyantī **māyūrāṇḍarasopamā** || 76 ||
svarūpajyotir evāntaḥ sūkṣmā vāg anapāyinī |

Hence, while in stanza *ja* the term *sūkṣmā* should most likely be understood as an attribute of *paśyantī*, in Śrīkaṇṭha's text it is the name of a fourth level of the word, 'the subtle one', which is different from *paśyantī* that here acquires two new attributes.

Śrīkaṇṭha does not explain in detail his need to postulate a fourth level of the word. Apropos of this, there is nothing in his work that can be compared with the complex elaboration undertaken by Utpaladeva and Abhinavagupta (c. 975–1025) in their writings.[30] Nevertheless, if we consider stanzas 82cd–84ab, which contain a succinct definition of the four levels of word, we already have an idea of where his need stems from. In these stanzas he states that *paśyantī* is understood as the cause of *madhyamā*, while *sūkṣmā* corresponds to the state in which the association with conceptualisation is completely dissolved. Thus it is evident, though not expressely stated by Śrīkaṇṭha, that *paśyantī* —like the yolk of the peacock's egg (*mayūrāṇḍa*) containing in a self-luminous (*svayamprakāśa*) whole the essence of myriad future developments— nevertheless embodies an extremely subtle form of discursiveness. If this were not the case, how could *madhyamā*, whose discursiveness is evident, exist? If *madhyamā* corresponds to the *savikalpa* state and *paśyantī* to the *nirvikalpa* state, which, as set down in stanzas 59cd–70ab, is the presupposition for the former, *sūkṣmā* is the necessary cause also of the *nirvikalpa* state, and the level that connects

[29] In this work we find the most original treatment of the topic: the upper *bindu* is called *paranāda*; from this evolves *nāda*, which is equated with *sūkṣmā*; from *nāda* evolve both the lower *bindu* and *vaikharī*. The lower *bindu* includes the two states of *paśyantī* and *madhyamā*.

[30] See Padoux 1990:166–222; Torella 2001.

all the previous ones.[31] To quote Krishna Śivarāman: "The *parā* or the *sūkṣmā vāc* is the ultimate source of the denoting capacity of speech. This is *nāda*. It is the prius of all discursiveness. If *paśyantī* is the cause of determinate knowledge (*nirvikalpaka-jñāna*), *parā* is the source of knowledge as such (*bodha*), without regard to determinancy or its absence. The difference between the two corresponds to the difference between the possible and the actual" (1973:226). In other words, *paśyantī* is not the unity of all meanings, which is *sūkṣmā*, but the undifferentiated, luminous unity of particular words and their relative meanings.[32]

Śrīkaṇṭha does not incorporate stanza *jha* (*seyam ākīryamāṇāpi nityam āgantukair malaiḥ* | *antyā kaleva somasya nātyantam abhibhūyate* ||) and continues by inserting in his text stanza *ña*, making only two small changes:

tasyāṃ dṛṣṭasvarūpāyām adhikāro nivartate |
puruṣe ṣoḍaśakale tām āhur amṛtāṃ kalām || *ña* ||
(Modifications in bold type:)
yasyāṃ dṛṣṭasvarūpāyām adhikāro nivartate || 77 ||
puruṣe ṣoḍaśakale tām āhur **amṛtāhvayām** |

Thus, Śrīkaṇṭha's position is clear: he maintains that the word has four levels and that the highest of these, *sūkṣmā*, must be known to attain liberation from the *adhikāra*.[33] As we shall see in more detail later, Aghoraśiva is ambiguous in his commentary, but Anantaśambhu faithfully interprets Śrīkaṇṭha's thought. In his *Siddhāntasārāvalivyākhyā* he writes: *yā vāṇī cirasthāyinī sā sūkṣmākhyā* | *yad uktam — svarūpajyotir evāntaḥ sūkṣmā vāg anapāyinī* | *iti* | *iyam eva śuddhādhvavāsināṃ paramo bandhaḥ* | *ya imāṃ vivekena pratyakṣīkurvanti te prayojyalakṣaṇaṃ sṛṣṭyādikartṛtvaṃ vihāya śivatulyā bhavanti* | *tad uktaṃ ratnatraye — yasyāṃ dṛṣṭasvarūpāyām adhikāro nivartate* | *iti* | (p. $6_{14–18}$).[34]

Śrīkaṇṭha goes on to say that masters who, by misinterpreting some passages of the *śruti*, do not see (*na paśyanti*) the Self (*ātman*) as distinct from word are mistaken, even if they recognize three or four levels of word (Śrīkaṇṭha does not treat the problem explicitly). In fact such masters, whom Aghoraśiva

[31] In stanza 40 *ai* Umāpatiśivācārya once again talks about the levels of word and specifies that the last (*antimā*), the fourth, is the cause of the first three: *vaikharī śrotraviṣayā savikalpā tu madhyamā* | *nirvikalpā tṛtīyā ca tāsāṃ kāraṇam antimā* || (p. 117); cf. also *Śaivāgamaparibhāṣāmañjarī*, 4.6 (ed. and transl. pp. 170–171).

[32] Cf. Pandey 1954: xcvii–xcviii; Sferra 1991:330.

[33] On the term *adhikāra*, see Tāntrikābhidhānakośa I, s.v., and Boccio 2005:108, n. 35.

[34] Anantaśambhu concludes that *sūkṣmā vāc* is the 16th *kalā* of the *puruṣa*, in the sense that it is one of its faculties together with *karmendriya*, etc., and not its immortal part (p. 6).

defines as *śabdabrahmavādin*s, conceive the highest level as the immortal part of the *puruṣa*, while it belongs to the sphere of the *mahāmāyā* and therefore to insentient matter, however subtle it may be.[35]

It is quite possible that by using a language with which grammarians were already conversant and which was perhaps beginning to find favour in the Tantric circles of the period (though there is no concrete evidence of this) Śrīkaṇṭha intended to combine the cosmology of the *bindu* and its products with epistemological theories then in vogue, while specifying how these theories had to be interpreted. By conceiving the products of *bindu* according to the doctrine of the levels of *vāc*, he put the latter in a *dvaita* rather than *advaita* ontological perspective.

We would expect his text to be quoted by his immediate successors, but this is not the case. Although Rāmakaṇṭha is familiar with the work by Śrīkaṇṭha (in his *Mataṅgavṛtti* [p. 610] he quotes stanzas 175cd–176ab), he never cites it in his writings when treating sonic emanation. His silence cannot be casual, and it may indicate a slight and deliberately concealed divergence between the two masters.

We should ask ourselves whether the innovative quality of Śrikaṇṭha's thought may have been partly responsible for this. If we compare it with scriptural sources, we are bound to note that: *1)* in using the terms *sūkṣmā*, *paśyantī*, etc. he does not paraphrase any ancient scripture; *2)* rather than a quadripartition, the scriptures propose a tripartition of *nāda* or other inconsistent hypotheses — one of the scriptures postulating tripartite sound is the celebrated *Sārdhatriśatikālottara*, which, as we have seen, is quoted by Aghoraśiva precisely in the *Ratnatrayaparīkṣollekhinī*, and moreover insists on the need to know the highest level of sound, *paraṃ bījaṃ*, i.e. the third.[36]

Then, if we consider Śrīkaṇṭha's interpretation of stanzas *ja* and *ña*, we cannot say for sure that he departed from the tradition of the *Vākyapadīya* and its commentary,[37] but he undoubtedly distances himself at least from the standard interpretation of these stanzas by grammarians and other *śaiva* masters of

[35] Similar statements can be found in the anonymous commentary on the ŚRS, where it refers to the error committed by the *śabdabrahmavādin*s (pp. 48–49).

[36] Cf. 1.7cd, 12.2 ff., 19.12, 20.3cd–6ab.

[37] There exists a specialist debate as to whether or not Bhartṛhari was the author of the *Vākyapadīyavṛtti* and whether or not he posited a fourth level of word. Both arguments are complex; on the latter I refer the reader to Torella 2001:859–860, 866–867, who supplies references to primary and secondary sources.

his time. For example, the *vaiyākaraṇa* Harivṛṣabha (7th cent.), when glossing stanza *ja* in his *Paddhati* on the *Brahmakāṇḍa*, conceives *sūkṣmā* as an attribute of the *paśyantī vāc* (and not as a level superior to it), understood as the sixteenth digit of the moon, the immortal part of the *puruṣa*, which must be known to attain liberation from the *adhikāra*: *tasyām iti* | *paśyantyām* | *dṛṣṭasvarūpāyām iti* | *yat tasyā rūpam aviparītam abhigataṃ yadā śabdapūrveṇa yogena dṛṣṭam* | [...] *ṣoḍaṣīti kalā na kadācid āvartate* (*kadācid āvartate* conj. IYER] *kadivāvartate* MS) *saiṣā paśyantī vāk* (pp. 219_{26}–220_{12}). The *śaiva* master Somānanda (c. 900–950), who in the second chapter of the *Śivadṛṣṭi* cites (2.11ab) and gives a critique (2.44cd–51) of verse *ja ab*, attributes to grammarians the idea that there are only three levels of word, the highest (*parā*) being *paśyantī* (2.1). Rāmakaṇṭha, who, in his turn, quotes stanza *ja* in at least three of his commentaries (*ad Sārdhatriśatikālottara*, *Mataṅgaparameśvara* and *Kiraṇa*), appears to share Somānanda's view on grammarians in this regard. Later, Rājanaka Rāmakaṇṭha (2nd half of 10th cent.) in his *Spandakārikāvivṛti* and Kṣemarāja (11th cent.) in his *Stavacintāmaṇivṛtti*, both quote the three stanzas *ca*, *cha*, *ja* in reverse order (*ja*, *cha*, *ca*), and clearly interpret them as a description of the three levels of word: *paśyantī*, *madhyamā* and *vaikharī*.[38] Lakṣmīrāma gives a similar interpretation in his *Parātrīśikāvivṛti*.[39]

Thus, we can hypothesise that concerning sound emanation, Śrīkaṇṭha diverged too openly from both scriptures and the *comunis opinio* regarding grammarian tenets, and that those who came immediately after him, Rāmakaṇṭha *in primis*, found it easier to follow their own path rather than his.

One last thing worthy of note is that, notwithstanding Śrīkaṇṭha's favouring the quadripartition of word, significantly there is no reference in his work to the existence of other traditions, particularly the one maintaining that word has three levels; he in no way questions the three-word level concept, and makes no attempt whatsoever to justify the coexistence of the two traditions positing a tripartite and a quadripartite level of word. This problem was raised by Rāmakaṇṭha.[40]

3. While examining Rāmakaṇṭha's viewpoint, we must keep in mind the following: *1)* he only adopts the terminology *vaikharī*, etc. when citing stanzas *ja* and *ña*; *2)* he conceives these stanzas as belonging to another un-

[38] Cf. *Spandakārikāvivṛti*, ed. pp. 149–151; in the *Stavacintāmaṇivṛtti* (ed. p. 5) we read: *paśyantyādīnāṃ svarūpaṃ tatrabhavatā bhartṛhariṇā uktam* | *yathā* — [stt. *ja* = > *ca*].

[39] Cf. ed. pp. 3–7.

[40] Cf. also below, Appendix, *avatārikā ad* st. 80cd.

specified tradition advocating a tripartition of word. In the *Kiraṇavṛtti ad* 3.23cd, for instance, stanza *ja* is introduced to confirm that the *paraṃ bījam* of sound, defined in verses 1.6cd–7ab of the *Sārdhatriśatikālottarāgama* as a reality constantly expressed by all creatures, is called *paśyantī* by followers of other scriptures.[41] It is worth noting that in the *Sārdhatriśatikālottaravṛtti* and in the *Mataṅgavṛtti* Rāmakaṇṭha, in his turn, omits stanza *jha* and quotes the two stanzas *ja* and *ña* together. It is unclear if he is directly quoting from the *Vākyapadīyavṛtti* or from another source, or if he is following in the footsteps of his illustrious predecessor Śrīkaṇṭha. However, we can be sure that his citations of those two stanzas do not coincide with Śrīkaṇṭha's readings in the *Mataṅgavṛtti*, and only with the second variant in the *Sārdhatriśatikālottaravṛtti*.[42] It is probable, therefore, that like Harivṛṣabha and the other *śaiva* masters mentioned above he sees *sūkṣmā* as an attribute of *paśyantī vāc*. In fact, in his works we find *sūkṣmabindu* or *sūkṣmanāda* (cf. *Nādakārikā* 14), but never *sūkṣmā vāc*.

Although Rāmakaṇṭha does not adhere to Śrīkaṇṭha's schema —perhaps to remain faithful to āgamic terminology— he does however acknowledge the existence of a fourth level of word.

In the *Sārdhatriśatikālottaravṛtti* Rāmakaṇṭha refers to the fourth level of word as the cause of the 'supreme seed' (*paraṃ bījam*). He defines it as the 'locus of the word' (*vācaḥ sthānam*), consisting in the supreme ether and pure wisdom.[43] *Kiraṇāgama* 3.23cd is somewhat cryptic (*nādabindukhamantrāṇuśaktibījakalāntagaḥ*), and consequently Rāmakaṇṭha's commentary is not

[41] *proktaṃ ca śrīmatkālottare — āgopālaṅganā bālā mlecchāḥ prākṛtabhāṣiṇaḥ | antarjalagatāḥ sattvās te 'pi nityaṃ bruvanti tam ||* (SārK 1.6cd–7ab) *saiva paśyantyavasthety āgamāntarānusāriṇaḥ | yad āhuḥ* — [st. *ja*] (pp. 84–85; cf. transl. p. 293).

[42] I.e. *amṛtāhvayām* for *amṛtāṃ kalām*. It is worth noting that a slightly modified version of stanzas *ja*, *cha* ab and *ña* ab according to Śrīkaṇṭha's reading occurs in a quotation attributed to *āgama* in the opening of Vidyācakravartin's commentary on the *Alaṃkārasarvasva* by Ruyyaka: *sarvaiva khalv iyaṃ vāk parā paśyantī madhyamā vaikharīti caturbhiḥ padaiḥ parimīyate | yac chrutiḥ — catvāri vākparimitā padānītyādikā | tatra parā nāma nirupadhikaṃ rūpam | paśyantyādīni trīṇi punar aupādhikāni sthūlatvād vigrahasthānīyāni | yathā cāgamaḥ — svarūpajyotir evāntaḥ parā vāg anapāyinī | yasyāṃ dṛṣṭasvarūpāyām adhikāro nivartate ||* [77 = *ja* cd–*ña* ab] *avibhāgena varṇānāṃ sarvataḥ saṃhṛtakramā |* [*ja* ab] *prāṇāśrayā tu paśyantī mayūrāṇḍarasopamā ||* [cf. 76] *madhyamā buddhyupādānā kṛtavarṇaparigrahā |* [cf. 74cd = *cha* ab] *antaḥsañjalpa rūpā sā na śrotram upasarpati ||* [cf. 75ab] *tālvoṣṭhavyāpṛtivyaṅgyā parabodhaprakāśinī | manusyamātrasulabhā bāhyā vāg vaikharī matā || iti ||* . I thank Harunaga Isaacson for having kindly pointed out to me this reference.

[43] […] *tasyāpi yat kāraṇaṃ tat paramākāśaśuddhavidyātmakaṃ vācaḥ sthānam* (pp. 15–16).

wholly perspicuous. We cannot help noting however that some of the words he uses to gloss the term *kha* (*vākśakti*, *kuṇḍalinī*, *mahāmāyā*, *paramākāśa*, *sūkṣmabindu*)[44] recur in other works by him: the first three are found in the *Nādakārikā*, respectively in stanzas 25a, 17b, 16c; *paramākāśa* appears in the passage of the *Sārdhatriśatikālottaravṛtti* referred to above (cf. note 44). To describe this fourth level, Rāmakaṇṭha quotes a set of stanzas, including the well-known verse from the *Āśvamedhikaparvan* starting with *ghoṣiṇī jātinirghoṣā*, etc.[45]

Rāmakaṇṭha is the only one who provides, both in the *Sārdhatriśatikālottaravṛtti* (*ad* 1.8) and in the *Kiraṇavṛtti* (*ad* 3.23cd), an explanation of why the two traditions regarding the three and four levels of word exist. In the *Kiraṇavṛtti* he states that no distinction is made in the *Sārdhatriśatikālottarāgama* between *bindu* and *nāda* since they are both subtle;[46] in the *Sārdhatriśatikālottaravṛtti* he states that only one supreme level of word is mentioned, rather than a third and fourth, because the last two are both devoid of conceptualisation (*cintā*) and indiscernible to those who are not omniscient.[47] This was most probably an attempt to reconcile divergent traditions. Some parts of his *Nādakārikā* have this same function. Here, he does not treat word levels explicitly, and we can only seek to find some implicit references in the text.[48] Rāmakaṇṭha speaks about the *mahāmāyā* (stt. 16–17) and the subtle (*sūkṣma*), immanifest (*avyakta*) level of the *nāda* and its gross (*sthūla*) aspect. The gross aspect is represented by the sounds that manifest the *nāda* and which, having this function, are known as *vācaka* ('conveyors

[44] *tatra nādaḥ kuṇḍalinyabhidhānāyāḥ parasyā vākśakter avyaktaśabdātmakaḥ prathamaḥ kṣobhaḥ* | *binduś ca tasyaiveṣatsthūlatāntaḥsañjalpātmakatvam* | *khaṃ cātra paramākāśaṃ mahāmāyaiva sarvapuruṣasaṃyuktā śaktiḥ* [...] (p. $84_{9–11}$; cf. transl. pp. 290–293).

[45] I.e. *Mahābhārata* 14.21.16; cit. also in VP *Vṛtti ad* 1.134 [142] = st. *ṅa*, and in many other sources (for some comments, see Torella 2001:860, n. 12).

[46] *śrīmatkālottare tu bindunādayor dvayor api sūkṣmatayā viśeṣābhāvāt trīṇi rūpāṇy asyāḥ* (p. $85_{22–23}$; cf. transl. p. 294, see also n. 398).

[47] [...] *ubhayam api vācaḥ padaṃ cintayā rahitatvāt pararūpaṃ tadvaikam ity uktam* | *tadbhedasyāsarvajñair anavagāhyatvād iti trividham eva tadrūpaṃ darśitam* (p. $16_{13–15}$).

[48] In the NK (and also elsewhere) Rāmakaṇṭha uses three meanings of the term *nāda*: *1)* in some contexts he speaks of *nāda* as the level of the *paraṃ bījam* (cf. SārK 1), which, devoid of conceptual constructs, is the cause of knowledge as such (cf. stt. 1, 22–26); *2)* in others (cf. st. 11) he speaks of *nāda* as consisting in internal language, as a level at which differentiation already exists; it is the inner sound that in Śrīkaṇṭha's terminology is defined precisely as *madhyamā*; *3)* in yet others, he refers to *nāda* in the usual sense, as a generic synonym for sound (cf. stt. 14–15).

of meaning', st. 14) that, strictly speaking, refers only to the subtle *nāda* (st. 12). What is significant here is that the attribution of the name *vācaka* to gross sound (i.e. phonemes) appears also in the *Parākhyatantra* (6.16d) and the corresponding passage in the *Pauṣkarāgama* (8.40b, cf. also 2.22d).[49] Therefore, it is quite possible that Rāmakaṇṭha, and also Aghoraśiva, by deliberately using this word and giving the above explanation, attempted to unify under the *nāda* theory a fragmented tradition, some of whose branches adhered to doctrines close to those of the Mīmāṃsā.

4. As we have already seen, Aghoraśiva attempts to make the celebrated *Sārdhatriśatikālottarāgama* 1.8 fit into a four level schema and cites it *ad Ratnatrayaparīkṣā* 22, though it does not contain an explicit reference to that passage. At times, Aghoraśiva's ideas seem inconsistent. On the one hand, he glosses Śrīkaṇṭha; on the other, he takes Rāmakaṇṭha's terminology as a point of reference. In this regard, his asystematic use of the attributes of the various levels is revealing.

The three authors do not substantially differ in their descriptions of the level of audible sounds. While glossing *Ratnatrayaparīkṣā* 22 Aghoraśiva uses three compounds that Rāmakaṇṭha had already employed, *ākāśavāyuprabhava* and *śrotragrāhya* (cf. *Sārdhatriśatikālottaravṛtti* 1.8 and *Mokṣakārikāvyākhyā ad* st. 112) and *sthūlaśabda* (cf. *Kiraṇavṛtti ad* 3.23cd, *Nādakārikā* 8d; cf. *Nādakārikā* 24c, 26a). These terms were already known in linguistic and philosophical speculation and Rāmakaṇṭha himself must have taken them from earlier sources. However, *sthūlaśabda* also has a scriptural ring, since it evokes *Sārdhatriśatikālottarāgama* 1.8a (*sthūlaṃ* [i.e. *sthūlaṃ bījaṃ*] *śabda iti proktaṃ*), and Aghoraśiva actually employs it in his *Nādakārikāvyākhyā* 8, 11 and *Ratnatrayaparīkṣollekhinī* (*avatārikā ad* 76). Śrīkaṇṭha uses *arṇa* (st. 22d), *vaikharī vāc* (stt. 46d, 72c, 82c), *śrotragrāhya* (73ab) and *śabdarāśi* (st. 172).[50]

It is in the definition of the other levels that the greatest discrepancies are to be found. As we have seen, Śrīkaṇṭha uses the two attributes *svayamprakāśā* and *māyūrāṇḍarasopamā* to qualify *paśyantī*.[51] The latter, in particular, is used by Rāmakaṇṭha (*ad Sārdhatriśatikālottarāgama* 1.8, p. 15), and subsequently

[49] See also below RTP 73b.

[50] Sarvātmaśambhu in his *Siddhāntaprakāśikā* connects the level of audible sounds with the *vidyātattva*: *vidyātattve akārādikṣakārāntā* (em.] *akārādikṣakārādikṣakārāntā* MS) *ekapañcāśadakṣarāṇi kāmikādyaṣṭāviṃśatisaṃhitāś ca vaikharīrūpāṇi vartante* | *īśvaratattve praṇavaś ca sadāśivatattve sakalo binduḥ sakalo nādaś ca* | (fol. 13_8).

[51] Cf. also Śivāgrayogin's position, summarised by Devasenapathi (1966:139–140).

by Aghoraśiva in his *Ratnaparīkṣollekhinī* (st. 22), to gloss the *sūkṣmaṃ bījaṃ* level, corresponding to the (lower) *bindu*, which should represent the *madhyamā* level. Significantly, Aghoraśiva does not go out of his way to explain these words in the *Ratnatrayaparīkṣollekhinī*.[52] In the *avatārikā* to stanza 77, he states —in a vague if not actually misleading manner— that the synonym of *sūkṣmā* is *nāda*, defined earlier in the text (i.e. in the commentary on stanza 22) as the 'seed of the understanding of meaning' (*abhidheyabuddhibīja*).[53] In fact, in the gloss on stanza 22 the compound *abhidheyabuddhihetu* is used as an attribute of *nāda*. However we have seen that the latter corresponds to the third level of word and not the fourth. The compound *abhidheyabuddhibīja* was actually used first by Rāmakaṇṭha in his commentary on *Sārdhatriśatikālottarāgama* 1.5a (p. 9). In any event, Aghoraśiva also adopts the aforesaid compound in other parts of his *Ullekhinī* (i.e. *ad* 53–54ab, 83cd–84ab) but always as a gloss of the fourth level of word, *sūkṣmā vāc*. In Aghoraśiva's treatment there is another incongruity — the last I am dealing with here: *ad* stanza 22 he uses the compounds *akṣarabindu* and *parāmarśajñānarūpa* to gloss the lower *bindu* —the latter compound was employed in the same way by Rāmakaṇṭha in his *Sārdhatriśatikālottaravṛtti ad* 1.8, p. 15—, but *ad* stanzas 74cd–76 he utilises them respectively to indicate *paśyantī* and *madhyamā*.

Text

Note to the edition— Orthography, sandhi and punctuation have been silently normalised (e.g. *°ākhyo nāda°* instead of *°ākhyaḥ nāda°* in st. 22cd; *cidātyanta°* for *cidā atyanta° ad* st. 84b). For the sigla, see Sigla & Manuscripts Consulted (below). The symbols and abbreviations in the apparatus are as follows:

ac ante correctionem
conj. conjecture
deest omitted/absent in
em. emendation

[52]Aghoraśiva also adopts the comparison with the liquid of a peacock's egg in his critique of the *sphoṭa* (NK, p. 240). However, it should be noted that in other texts, such as *Vātūlanāthasūtravṛtti* by Anantaśaktipāda (*ad* st. 7, ed. p. 9) and the *Mahārthamañjarīparimala* by Maheśvarānanda it is compared with the *parā/sūkṣmā vāc* (*sūkṣmā tu śikhaṇḍyaṇḍarasanyāyād uktavāktrayaśabalībhāvasvabhāvā*, p. 129).

[53]A similar compound is used by Maṇḍanamiśra in his *Sphoṭasiddhi*: e.g., *abhidheyadhīhetu*, p. 74_2; *abhidheyādhigamanimitta*, p. 75_9. Cf. also *Tattvabindu* by Vacaspatimiśra: e.g., *abhidheyapratyayahetutā*, p. 70_8; *abhidheyadhīhetu*, p. $71_{6,13}$; *abhidheyapratyayopajanana*, p. 72_9.

pc post correctionem
r recto
v verso
(ep) equally possible
] separates the accepted reading from the variants
◊ separates the commentary on different lemmas within the same compound
(…) enclose numbers and bibliographical references (not present in the MSS)
[…] enclose the pagination (i.e., numbers of folios and of lines).
italic stanzas of the *Ratnatrayaparīkṣā* and *pratīka*s

[A_1 2_{18}, A_2 5, E_D 11, E_V 22, M_1^Y $110r_8$, M_2^Y $74v_7$] tatra bindusiddhi[A_1 3]m āha—

jāyate[1] *'dhvā yataḥ*[2] *śuddho vartate yatra līyate* |
sa binduḥ paranādākhyo nādabindvarṇakāraṇam[3] || (22)[α]

vakṣyamāṇavad vicitrabhuvanādirūpatvena śuddhādhvanaḥ kārya[A_1 3_2]tvāt tadupādānaṃ binduḥ siddhyati | kiñca śabdopādānatayāpi tasya siddhir ity āha— *nādabindvarṇakāraṇam* iti[4β] | tatra nādo nāmābhidheyabuddhihetur bindoḥ [A_1 3_3] prathamaprasararūpaḥ sūkṣmo nādaś cintayā rahitatvena śrīmatkālottarādyuktaḥ | binduś ca tatkāryaṃ[5] mayūrāṇḍarasabinduvad avyapade[A_1 3_4]śyaḥ parāmarśajñānarūpo 'kṣarabindus tatraiva sūkṣmatvenoktaḥ | arṇaś ca varṇa ākāśavāyuprabhavaḥ śrotragrāhyaḥ sthūlaśabdaḥ[γ] | yad[6] uktaṃ tatra [A_1 3_5] —

sthūlaṃ śabda iti [E_D 12] proktaṃ sūkṣmaṃ cintāmayaṃ bhavet |
cintayā rahitaṃ yat tu tat paraṃ parikīrtitam || (SārK 1.8) iti[7] ||

* * *

[A_1 10_4, E_D 30, E_V 161, M_1^Y $110r_{10}$, M_2^Y $80r_5$] idānīṃ bindoḥ paryāyanāmāny āha—

śabdatattvam aghoṣā[8] *vāg brahma kuṇḍalinī dhruvam* || (70)[9]
vidyāśaktiḥ[10] [A_1 10_5] *paro*[11] *nādo mahāmāyeti deśikaiḥ* | [M_1^Y $110v_{11}$]
bindur evaṃ[12] *samākhyāto vyomānāhata*[13] *ity api* || (71)

idānīṃ bindoḥ sūkṣmā[A_1 10_6]diśabdavṛttīḥ[14] saṃhārakrameṇa darśayati—

catasro vṛttayas tasya yābhir vyāptās tridhāṇavaḥ |

yābhir vyāptā aṇavaḥ[15] pro[A_1 10_7]ktavad uttamamadhyamāpṛṣṭajñānādimanto bhavanti ||

kās tā ity atrāha[16]—

vaikharī madhyamābhikhyā paśyantī sūkṣmasañjñitā || (72)[δ]

ata āsāṃ [A_1 10_8] kāraṇatvena binduḥ siddha ity arthaḥ || [E_V 162]

vaikharīsvarūpam āha—

tatra sā vaikharī śrotragrāhyā yārthasya vācikā | $^{\epsilon}$ [E_D 31]

sā ca — [A_1 10_9]

sthāneṣu vidhṛte vāyau kṛtavarṇaparigrahā || (73)

prayoktṝṇām iyaṃ prāyaḥ prāṇavṛttinibandha[M_1^Y $110v_{12}$]*nā* | $^{\zeta}$

tad āhuḥ—

ākāśavāyuprabhavaḥ [A_1 10_{10}] śarīrāt samuccaran vaktram upaiti nādaḥ |

sthānāntareṣu pravibhajyamāno varṇatvam āgacchati yaḥ sa śabdaḥ || iti || $^{\eta}$

madhyamām[17] āha—

kevalaṃ bu[A_1 10_{11}]*ddhyupādānā*[18] *kramād*[19] *varṇānupātinī* || (74)$^{\theta}$

antaḥsañjalparūpā tu na śrotram upasarpati |

prāṇavṛttim atikramya vartate madhyamāhvayā[20] || (75)$^{\iota}$ [A_1 10_{12}]

eṣā ca parāmarśajñānasvarūpā[21] sthūlaśabdasyāpi kāraṇam ity uktam ||

avibhāgena varṇānāṃ sarvataḥ saṃhṛtakramā[22] | $^{\kappa}$

svayamprakāśā paśyantī mā[A_1 10_{13}]*yūrāṇḍarasopamā*[23] || (76)$^{\lambda}$

iyaṃ cākṣarabindurūpety uktam || [E_D 32]

idānīm abhidheyabuddhibījatvena prāguktāṃ nādāparaparyāyāṃ sūkṣmā[A_1 10_{14}]vasthām āha—

svarūpajyotir[24] *evāntaḥ sūkṣmā vāg a*[M_1^Y $110v_{end}$]*napāyinī* | $^{\mu}$

anapāyinītvaṃ cāsyāḥ suṣuptyādyavasthāsv api sambhavāt, na tu nityatvena | [A_1 10_{15}] asyā api pratipuruṣaṃ bhedenānekatvād acetanatvāc ca kāryatvam[25] | tasyāś ca kāraṇaṃ parabindur evety uktam ||

tām eva vi[A_1 10_{16}]śeṣayati—

yasyāṃ dṛṣṭasvarūpāyām[26] *adhikāro nivartate* || (77)$^{\nu}$

yasyāṃ puruṣasvarūpād vivekena[27] dṛṣṭasvarūpāyāṃ puruṣasya bhogā[A_1 10_{17}]dhikāro nivartate | yady evaṃ vivekajñānād eva mokṣasiddher dīkṣānarthyaprasaṅgaḥ[28] | tan na, malasya dravyatvāc cakṣuḥpaṭala[A_1 10_{18}]sya[29] cakṣurvaidyavyāpāreṇeveśvaravyāpāreṇa[30] dīkṣākhyenaiva nivṛttisiddheḥ || [31]

tataś ca tadviṣayavivekavijñānābhāvād[32] eva śabdabrahmavādinaḥ puruṣasamavā[A_1 11_2]yinīṃ tāṃ[33] manyanta ity āha—

puruṣe ṣoḍaśakale tām āhur amṛtāhvayām | $^{\xi}$ [E_V 163]

evaṃ hi teṣāṃ bhrama ity āha—

kevalaḥ[34] *paramānando dhīro nityo*[A_1 11_3]*ditaḥ prabhuḥ*[35] || (78)

nāstam eti na codeti[36] *na śrānto na vikāravān* | [E_D 33]

sarvabhūtāntaracaraḥ śabdabrahmātmako raviḥ || (79)

bhitvā yaṃ[37] *bodhakhaḍgena* [A_1 11_4] *nirgacchanty aviśaṅkitāḥ* |

yam enaṃ samyagjñānākhyena khaḍgena bhitvā vivicya yathāvaj jñātvā saṃsārān nirgacchanty ātmānaḥ,[38] so 'yaṃ[39] [A_1 11_5] śabdabrahmākhyo ravir asmād raver vilakṣaṇa iti teṣāṃ bhramaḥ ||

atra siddhāntam āha—

tām eva vāṇīṃ sūkṣmākhyām āhur ātmavido [A_1 11_6] *janāḥ* || (80)

evaśabdo bhinnakramaḥ | ātmasvarūpavidas tu śaivās tāṃ sūkṣmākhyāṃ bindukāryabhūtāṃ śabdavṛttim eva manyante, na tu pu[A_1 11_7]ruṣasamavāyinīm, tasyā[40] vikāritvena jaḍatvāt, tatsamavāye[41] puruṣasyāpi vikāritvācetanatvādidoṣaprasaṅgāt[42] || [A_1 11_8]

itthaṃ bindukāryarūpāḥ[43] śabdavṛttīḥ pradarśyopasaṃharati—

pratyātmaniyatā etā vṛttayo bandhanātmikāḥ | [o]

āsāṃ ca kārya[A_1 11_9]tvena jaḍatvān na citsamavāyo yujyate, api tu bandhanatvam evety arthaḥ ||

tathāpi—

ābhyo viviktam ātmānaṃ na hi paśyanti [A_1 11_{10}] *pudgalāḥ* || (81) [E_D 34]

pudgalā malayuktātmāna ity arthaḥ[44] | malāvṛtatvād ātmanāṃ tadvivekajñānābhāvena tāsv evātmabhrāntir iti bhāvaḥ ||

kuta evaiṣām[45] ayaṃ bhrama ity atrā[A_1 11_{11}]ha[46]—

paramātmaiva vāgātmā vāg evātmeti ca śruteḥ[47] | [48]

ātmanā[49] vākśaktyādisambandhasyārthavādabhūtānām[50] āsāṃ śrutī[A_1 11_{12}]nām[51] arthāparijñānād evaṃ te manyante pudgalā malayuktātmāna[52] ity arthaḥ ||

vaikharī śrotraje bodhe madhyamā savikalpake || (82) [A_1 11_{13}]

paśyantī madhyamotpādasamudyogeṣu lakṣyate |

vaikharī śrotragrāhyaiva | madhyamā parāmarśajñānarūpatvāt[53] savikalpake lakṣyate | [A_1 11_{14}] tasyā api samutpādanahetuḥ paśyantī ||

anyā tu—

yadā vṛttir aśeṣeṇa vilīnā cittasaṃśrayā || (83) [E_V 164]

tadā sūkṣmā viśuddheva cidābhāty avive[A_1 11_{15}]*kataḥ*[54] |

sūkṣmā tv abhidheyabījatvena[55] sarvabhūteṣv avasthitā[56] paśyantyā api kāraṇabhūtā cidātyantasaṃśleṣāt tadrūpeva[57] bhā[A_1 11_{16}]tīty uktam || [E_D 35]

uktanyāyena ca—

na so[58] *'sti pratyayo 'ṇūnāṃ yaḥ śabdānugamād ṛte* || (84)

anuviddham iha[59] *jñānaṃ sarvaṃ śabdena jāyate* | [π]

kiñca—

saiṣā [A_1 11_{17}] *caturvidhā vṛttir nivṛttyādikalāśrayāt* || (85)

pañcadhā bhidyate bhūyaḥ kalās tā binduvṛttayaḥ[60] | $^{\rho}$
saiṣā śabdātmikā binduvṛttir nivṛttyādikalāśrayāṇām ātmanāṃ tā[A_1 11_{18}]ratamyena[61] pañcadhā jñānādyupakārikety arthaḥ | nivṛttyādayaḥ punaḥ kuta[62] utpannā ity atrāha [A_1 11_{end} (fol. 12 is missing)] — *kalās tā* iti | bindor evāvasthābhūtāḥ kalākāravṛttayaḥ | tataḥ kalopādānatvenāpi bindusiddhir iti bhāvaḥ ||

* * *

[A_1 21_3, A_2 17, E_D 61, E_V 178] mokṣopakārakatvam api darśayati—
jñānaṃ pa[A_1 21_4]*rāmṛtopāyahetuḥ parikaraḥ*[63] *paśoḥ* || (171)
paramokṣaprāptyupāyasya dīkṣākhyasya taduttarakālānuṣṭheyasya ca nityādikarma[A_1 21_5]ṇaḥ kāraṇaṃ paricchedajñānam[64] eva, ajñātaviṣaye [E_D 62] 'nuṣṭhānāsambhavāt, nirbījadīkṣāyām apy ācāryasya jñānapradhānatvā[A_1 21_6]t ||
tasya ca śivādivastuviṣayakajñānasya[65] śāstradvāreṇa bindur eva sampādaka ity āha—
tac ca[66] *śabdānuvedhena śabdarāśer abhūd asau* | [A_1 21_7]
śabdarāśiś ca bindūttho bindur nādād asāv api || (172)
bindor anāhatād eṣa kāraṇaṃ śuddhavartmanaḥ | $^{\varsigma}$
anāhatabindur iti śu[A_1 21_8]ddhādhvayoner mahāmāyāyāḥ sañjñā | tasyāś ca nādabindvādikrameṇa śabdotpattir ity uktam ||

Notes to the text

$^{\alpha}$ Verse 22cd is also quoted without variant readings in SSĀV on p. 5.

$^{\beta}$ In the *Siddhāntaprakāśikā* by Sarvātmaśambhu we read: *bindavo bandho vidyāvidyeśvarādiśarīrāṇāṃ kāraṇaṃ sakalākhyasaṃsāribhogaparikarībhūtā sūkṣmādivaikharyantaśabdahetuś ca bhavati* | (fol. $17_{2–4}$).

$^{\gamma}$ St. 22 and its commentary up to this point have already been translated by Sferra (1991:315) and by Goodall (1998:290).

$^{\delta}$ Cf. ŚRS 26: *tasyāś catasro vāgrūpā vṛttayo vaikharyādayaḥ* | *vaikharī madhyamā cānyā paśyantī sūkṣmasañjñitā* || (p. 47). St. 72 is also quoted without variant readings in SSĀV on p. 5; verse 72cd is very similar to PĀ 2.21ab: *vaikharī madhyamākhyā ca paśyantī sūkṣmasaṃjñitā* | (p. 12).

$^{\epsilon}$ Cf. PĀ 2.22d: °*pūrvam arthasya vācikā* | (p. 12).

$^{\varsigma}$ Verses 73cd–74ab correspond with a few changes to VP*Vṛtti ad* 1.134 [142] = st. *ca*: *sthāneṣu vidhṛte vāyau kṛtavarṇaparigrahā* | *vaikharī vāk prayoktṝṇāṃ prāṇavṛttinibandhanā* || (p. 219), which is also quoted in ŚDṛ*Vṛtti* p. 43, *Parātrīśikāvivṛti ad* 2cd–3ab (p. 3; *vivṛte* for *vidhṛte*), *Spandakārikāvivṛti ad* 4.18 (p. 151, *abhihate* for *vidhṛte*), *Stavacintāmaṇivivṛti ad* 1 (p. 5; *vivṛte* for *vidhṛte*); this stanza is also quoted without variant readings in SSĀV on p. 5,

where it is introduced with the words: *uktaṃ ca ratnatraye*. *Pāda* 73c corresponds exaclty to PĀ 2.22a.

[η] This stanza is also quoted by Rāmakaṇṭha in his commentaries on MPĀ *vidyā*° 7.40cd–42ab (p. 245) and SārK 1.5ab (p. 9) and 17.5cd–6 (p. 127); in the edition of the latter, N.R. Bhatt refers to *Pāṇinīyaśikṣā* and *Āpiśaliśikṣā* without supplying any specific information. It is also cited in the *Mahānayaprakāśa*, p. 113.

[θ] Verse 74cd corresponds to VP *Vṛtti ad* 1.134 [142] = st. *cha* ab: *kevalaṃ buddhyupādānā kramarūpānupātinī* | (p. 219); cit. in *Spandakārikāvivṛti* p. 150, *Stavacintāmaṇivivṛti* p. 5; cf. ASS (above, n. 42).

[ι] Verse 75ab is also quoted in the ASS (above, n. 42). Verse 75cd corresponds to VP *Vṛtti ad* 1.134 [142] = st. *cha* cd: *prāṇavṛttim atikramya madhyamā vāk pravartate* || (p. 219); cit. in *Spandakārikāvivṛti* p. 150, *Stavacintāmaṇivivṛti* p. 5. cf. PĀ 2.23ab: *prāṇavṛttim atikrāntā vāg eṣā madhyamāhvayā* | . Stt. 74cd–75 are also quoted in SSĀV on p. 6 (variant reading: °*upādāna*° for °*upādānā*).

[κ] Verse 76ab corresponds to VP *Vṛtti ad* 1.134 [142] = st. *ja* ab: *avibhāgā tu paśyantī sarvataḥ saṃhṛtakramā* | (p. 219); cit. in *Parātrīśikāvivṛti ad* 9cd–10ab (p. 7), *Spandakārikāvivṛti* p. 149, *Stavacintāmaṇivivṛti* p. 5. Cit. by Rāmakaṇṭha (with the variant *avibhagāt* for *avibhagā* in SārK *Vṛtti ad* 1.8 [p. 16], MPĀ *Vṛtti ad* 7.45–46ab [p. 247], KĀ *Vṛtti ad* 3.24cd [p. 85]); cf. also ŚDṛ 2.11ab, 44cd–51, and ASS (above, n. 42).

[λ] St. 76 is also quoted without variant readings in SSĀV on p. 6; cf. ASS (above, n. 42).

[μ] Verse 77ab corresponds to VP *Vṛtti ad* 1.134 [142] = st. *ja* cd: *svarūpajyotir evāntaḥ sūkṣmā vāg anapāyinī* || (p. 219). Cit. by Rāmakaṇṭha in his commentaries on SārK and MPĀ without variant readings (references in the previous note). It is also quoted without variant readings in SSĀV p. 6, *Parātrīśikāvivṛti* p. 7, *Spandakārikāvivṛti* p. 149, *Stavacintāmaṇivivṛti* p. 5, ASS (above, n. 42).

[ν] Verse 77cd corresponds to VP *Vṛtti ad* 1.134 [142] = st. *ña* ab: *tasyāṃ dṛṣṭasvarūpāyām adhikāro nivartate* | (p. 219); cit. in *Stavacintāmaṇivivṛti ad* 1 (p. 5). Cit. by Rāmakaṇṭha in his commentaries on SārK and MPĀ without variant readings (references above). It is also quoted without variant readings in SSĀV on p. 6; cf. ASS (above, n. 42).

[ξ] Verse 78ab corresponds to VP *Vṛtti ad* 1.134 [142] = st. *ña* cd: *puruṣe ṣoḍaśakale tām āhur amṛtāṃ kalām* || (p. 220). Cit. by Rāmakaṇṭha in his commentaries on SārK (*amṛtāhvayām*) and MPĀ (*amṛtāṃ kalām*) (references above). It is also quoted without variant readings in SSĀV on p. 7 and *Parātriṃśikātattvavivaraṇa*, ed. p. 248, and in *Parātrīśikāvivṛti ad* 7cd–8ab (p. 6) with the variant reading *paramāṃ* for *amṛtāṃ*.

[ο] Cf. PĀ 2.26cd.

[π] Verses 84cd–85ab correspond with slight differences to VP 1.115 [123]: *na so 'sti pratyayo loke yaḥ śabdānugamād ṛte* | *anuviddham iva jñānaṃ sarvaṃ śabdena bhāsate* || ; in Śaivasiddhānta texts, these verses are quoted in SārK *Vṛtti ad* 1.6cd–7ab and in NK *Vyākhyā ad* 12 (with *iha* for *iva*) and paraphrased by Umāpatiśivācārya in ŚRS 40 *o–au* (*āhur evaṃ jagat sarvaṃ prabuddhaṃ śabdavṛttibhiḥ* | *na hi śabdād ṛte puṃsaḥ pratyayo 'sti kadācana* || *śabdānuviddham eveha viśvaṃ jñānaṃ pradṛśyate* | *etā eva paro bandhaḥ paśūnāṃ paramārthataḥ* || , pp. 117–118). Cf. also PĀ 2.15ab: *kiṃca śabdānusaṃviddhāḥ* [*sic*: no application of sandhi] *jāyante pratyayā nṛṇāṃ* | ; 2.19ab: *na syād adhyavasāyo 'pi vinā śabdānuvedhanam* | .

[ρ] Verses 85cd–86ab are referred to in the anonymous *Ullekhinī ad* ŚRS 26 and quoted by Vedajñāna in his *Śaivāgamaparibhāṣāmañjarī* (4.10cd–11ab) with the reading °*āśrayā* for

°*āśrayāt* (p. 173).

[ς] Stanzas 172–173ab are quoted in SSĀV p. 5 (variant readings: *śabdarāśir* for *śabdarāśer* [172b], *eṣaḥ* for *eṣa* [173a], °*vartmanām* for °*vartmanaḥ* [173b]). Verses 171cd–173ab have already been translated in Goodall 2001:341.

1 *jāyate* $A_2E_DE_VM_1^Y$] *jāyato* A_1. 2 *yataḥ* $A_2E_DE_VM_1^Y$] *yatā* A_1. 3 *pāda* d is quoted in E_DE_V] *deest* in A_1. 4 *iti* E_DE_V] *deest* in A_1. 5 °*kāryaṃ* E_V] °*kāryo* A_1; °*kāryaḥ* E_D. 6 *yad* E_D] *pad* A_1; *tad* E_V. 7 *iti* A_1E_D] *deest* in E_V. 8 *śabdatattvam aghoṣā* $E_DE_VM_1^YM_2^Y$] *śabdatatvaghoṣā* A_1. 9 According to E_D the verse 70cd corresponds to 70ab. 10 °*śaktiḥ* $E_DE_VM_1^YM_2^Y$] °*śakti* A_1. 11 *paro* $A_1M_1^Y$ M_2^Y; cf. above st. 22c (*paranāda*°) and NK 16c (*nādaḥ paraḥ*)] *parā* E_DE_V. 12 *evaṃ* A_1E_V] *eva* $E_DM_1^YM_2^Y$. 13 °*hata* $A_1M_1^YM_2^Y$] °*hatam* E_DE_V. 14 °*vṛttīḥ* E_DE_V] °*vṛttiṃ* A_1. 15 *vyāptā aṇavaḥ* A_1E_V] *vyāptāṇavaḥ* E_D. 16 *atrāha* E_DE_V] *āha* A_1. 17 *madhyamām* A_1*pc* E_DE_V] *madhyamā* A_1*ac*. 18 °*upādānā* $A_1E_DE_VM_1^Y$] °*upādāna*° M_2^Y. 19 *kramād* $A_1E_DE_V$] *krama*° $M_1^YM_2^Y$. 20 *madhyamāhvayā* A_1*ac* E_DE_V] *madhyamamāhvayā* A_1*pc*. 21 *parāmarśajñānasvarūpā* E_DE_V] *paramajñānarūpā* A_1. 22 *saṃhṛtakramā* $A_1M_1^YM_2^Y$] *saṃhṛtikramāt* E_DE_V. 23 *māyūrā*° $E_DE_VM_1^YM_2^Y$] *mayūrā*° A_1 (ep). 24 *svarūpa*° $E_DE_VM_1^YM_2^Y$] *rūpa*° A_1. 25 *kāryatvam* conj.] *kāryatvāt* $A_1E_DE_V$. 26 °*rūpāyām* E_V] °*rūpāyā* A_1; °*rūpayām* E_D. 27 *vivekena* E_DE_V] *vikena* A_1. 28 °*ānarthya*° (or °*ānarthaka*°) em.] °*ānarthakya*° $A_1E_DE_V$. 29 *cakṣuḥ*° E_V] *cakṣuḥ* E_D; *cakṣuṣaḥ* A_1. 30 *cakṣur*° E_DE_V] *deest* in A_1 (ep). 31 In A_1 the following words are added here: *mahāmāyāpuru*[$A_1$11]*ṣavivekasya vicchiṃnamalānām e* (+ 9 illegible *akṣara*s). 32 °*vijñānābhāvād* E_DE_V] °*jñānābhāvād* A_1*pc*; °*jñānābhā* A_1*ac*. 33 *tāṃ* E_DE_V] *tā* A_1. 34 *kevalaḥ* $E_DE_VM_2^Y$] *kevala* A_1. 35 *nityoditaḥ prabhuḥ* $A_1E_DE_V$] *nityoditaprabhaḥ* M_2^Y (ep). 36 *codeti* $E_DE_VM_2^Y$] *cedeti* A_1. 37 *yaṃ* A_1E_V M_2^Y] *'yaṃ* E_D. 38 *ātmānaḥ* E_DE_V] *ātmanaḥ* A_1. 39 *'yaṃ* E_DE_V] *yaṃ* A_1. 40 *tasyā* em.] *tasyā*° E_DE_V. 41 °*samavāye* E_DE_V] °*samavāyena* A_1 (ep). 42 *vikāritvā*° E_DE_V] *vikāritvāc* A_1. 43 °*rūpāḥ* E_DE_V] °*bhūtāś* A_1 (ep). 44 *pudgalā malayuktātmāna ity arthaḥ* E_DE_V] *deest* in A_1. 45 *evaiṣām* A_1E_D (*eva eṣāṃ*)] *evam eṣāṃ* E_V. 46 *atrāha* E_DE_V] *āha* A_1. 47 *śruteḥ* $A_1E_DE_V$] *śrutiḥ* M_2^Y. 48 E_D records in note the following verse: *pumān eva hi vāgukto vāk puruṣa itīraṇāt*. 49 *ātmanā* em.] *ātmano* $A_1E_DE_V$. 50 *vākśaktyādi*° E_DE_V] *vākśaktyanādi*° A_1 (ep). 51 *śrutīnām* E_DE_V] *śrutītā*° A_1. 52 *mala*° A_1*pc* E_DE_V] *la*° A_1*ac* ◊ °*yuktātmāna* E_DE_V] °*yuktāḥ ātmāna* A_1 (ep). 53 *parāmarśa*° E_DE_V] *paramārśa*° A_1. 54 *aviveka*° E_DE_V] *āviveka*° A_1. 55 *abhidheya*° E_DE_V] *abhidheyabuddhi*° A_1 (ep). 56 *avasthitā* E_DE_V] *avasthitāḥ* A_1. 57 °*rūpeva* E_DE_V] °*rūpeṇava* A_1 (*sic* for °*rūpeṇeva* ?). 58 *na so* $E_DE_VM_2^Y$] *so* A_1. 59 *iha* $E_DE_VM_2^Y$] *iti* A_1. 60 *pāda* b is quoted in E_DE_V] *deest* in A_1 (it is probably quoted below in the *pratīka*, fol. 12 now missing). 61 *tāratamyena* E_DE_V] *tāratamyatābhā* (blank space for $\pm$ 4 *akṣara*s) *vana* A_1. 62 *punaḥ kuta* E_DE_V] *kutaḥ punar* A_1 (ep). 63 *parikaraḥ* $A_1E_DE_V$] *parikaraṃ* A_2. 64 *pariccheda*° E_DE_V] *paricchedo* A_1. 65 °*viṣayaka*° E_DE_V] °*viṣaya*° A_1 (ep). 66 *tac ca* $A_1E_DE_V$ SSĀV] *tataḥ* A_2.

Translation

At this point, he gives the demonstration of *bindu*:

22. *The [reality] from which the pure path is born, in which it exists [and] dissolves, is* bindu*, called* paranāda, *the cause of* nāda, bindu *and* arṇa.

Since the pure path is an effect (*kārya*), to the extent that it consists in multiple worlds, etc. —as will be shown below—, [Śrīkaṇṭha] demonstrates that *bindu* is its material cause (*upādāna*). Furthermore, there is the proof of the [*bindu*] also, because it exists as the material cause of word; thus he states: "[it is] the cause of *nāda*, *bindu* and *arṇa*". Among these, the term *nāda* is [to be understood as] the cause of the understanding of meaning (*abhideyabud-dhihetu*), the subtle sound (*nāda*), whose nature is the first effusion of *bindu*, which in the venerable *Kālottara* and in other [texts] is defined as devoid of conceptualisation (*cintā*). *Bindu*, in its turn, is the effect of [*nāda*]. It is the *akṣarabindu*, which is indefinable (*avyapadeśya*), like a drop of the liquid of the peacock's egg, consists in the knowledge of reflective awareness, [and] in this very [text, i.e. the *Kālottara*] is defined as subtle. Lastly *arṇa* is the phoneme, that is gross word, originating from the ether and the wind, audible. Since it has been said here [in the *Sārdhatriśatikālottara* 1.8]: "Gross [sound] is called *śabda*, subtle [sound] consists in conceptualisation, but that which is devoid of conceptualisation is said to be supreme".

* * *

Now, he gives the synonyms of *bindu*:

70cd–71. Bindu *is known by masters as follows:* śabdatattva*,* aghoṣā vāc*,* brahman*,* kuṇḍalinī*,* dhruva*,* vidyāśakti*, supreme* nāda*,* mahāmāyā, vyoman *and also* anāhata.

Now, he shows, according to an ascending order, the *bindu* states of word (*śabdavṛtti*), starting with the subtle one (*sūkṣmā*):

72ab. *There are four states of [*bindu*]. Pervaded by these [states], individual souls (* aṇu*) are divided into three orders*.

Pervaded by these [states], individual souls become the possessors —as has been previously said— of knowledge that is superior, median, inferior, etc.

[Someone may ask:] "What are these [states]?" He says:

72cd. *[They are:]* vaikharī*, the one known as* madhyamā*,* paśyantī*, the one called* sūkṣmā.

Hence, the meaning is that *bindu* is proved to be the cause of these [states].

[Śrīkaṇṭha] explains the nature of *vaikharī*:

73ab. *Among these,* vaikharī*, which is audible, is the one that verbalises (*vācikā*) meaning;*

And it,

73cd–74ab. *once the wind is compressed in the places of articulation, assumes the form of phonemes. As a general rule, it depends on the speakers' breathing (*prāṇavṛtti*).*

It has been said: "Word *(śabda*) is the sound (*nāda*) that comes into being through the ether and the wind; rising through the body, it reaches the mouth; being divided between the various places of articulation, it reaches the state of phoneme".

[Now] he explains *madhyamā*:

74cd–75. *Having only the mind as its cause, it gradually conforms to the phonemes. It consists in inner discourse (*antaḥsañjalpa*), but does not reach the ear. Being beyond breathing, it is called* madhyamā.

And it has been said that this, which consists in the knowledge of reflective awareness, is the cause also of gross word (*sthūlaśabda*).

76. *Due to the non-distinction of the phonemes, in it succession is absorbed completely:* paśyantī *is self-luminous, similar to the liquid of the peacock's egg.*

And thus it is stated that it consists in the *akṣarabindu*.

Now, he describes the *sūkṣmā* level, whose other synonym is *nāda*, which has been previously defined as 'seed of the understanding of meaning':

77ab. *The inner radiance is, within, none other than the undecaying subtle word.*

And its being undecaying stems from the fact that it is [constantly] present also in states of deep sleep and so forth, and not from its being eternal. This is also an effect, because it is multiple due to its being different in each human being, and because it is insentient. And its cause, it is said, is in fact the supreme *bindu*.

[Śrīkaṇṭha] defines this [subtle word] as follows:

77cd. *As soon as its true nature is seen, the* adhikāra *ceases.*

As soon as its true nature is seen through the discrimination between [it and] the very nature of the *puruṣa*, the *puruṣa*'s *bhogādhikāra* ceases. [Objection:] "If it were thus, since attaining liberation would simply be possible on the basis of discriminating knowledge, there would be the undesired consequence that initiation is useless". [Reply:] No! It is not so, since eliminating maculation (*mala*), which is material, occurs only by virtue of that action of the Lord known as 'initiation', in the same way that a cateract is removed by

virtue of the action of an eye specialist.

Thus he says that the *śabdabrahmavādin*s maintain that the [subtle word] is inherent in the *puruṣa*, precisely due to [their] lack of discriminating knowledge of its sphere:

78ab. *In the* puruṣa*, which has sixteen parts, it was known by the name of ambrosia.*

In fact, he explains their error as follows:

78cd–80ab. *The Lord, uncompounded, supreme beatitude, stable, always above the horizon, does not set and does not rise, is not tired, is not subject to transformation. The sun, whose essence is* śabdabrahman*, exists in all beings. Having divided it with the sword of knowledge, those devoid of doubt leave [transmigration behind].*

Hence, that sun known as *śabdabrahman* has different characteristics from this sun [i.e. the Lord]. It is in this that their error lies [that is, not seeing that the true sun that is the Lord is different from the sun that is *sūkṣmā* or *śabdabrahman*]. Having divided it with the sword of correct understanding, that is having discriminated [between it and the other sun or, in other words,] having correctly (*yathāvat*) known it, souls (*ātman*) leave *saṃsāra* behind.

At this point [Śrīkaṇṭha] presents the true doctrine:

80cd. *Men who knew the nature of the Self (*ātmavid*) said that it is none other than (*eva*) the word (*vāṇī*) known as* sūkṣmā.

The term "*eva*" is *bhinnakrama* [that is, syntactically speaking, it should appear in a different place in the text]. *Śaiva* [masters] who know the true nature of the Self maintain that what is called *sūkṣmā* is none other than a state of word which is an effect of *bindu*, and not that it is indissolubly linked to *puruṣa*, since being subject to transformation, it is insentient, and if it were connected with it, this would give rise to the undesired consequence of also the *puruṣa* being subject to transformation, devoid of consciousness, and so forth.

Having thus explained the states of word, which are by their very nature an effect of *bindu*, he sums up as follows:

81ab. *Fixed in each Self, these states have the nature of bondage;*

And since, being effects, these are insentient, [their] inherent connection with consciousness is not logically acceptable; on the contrary, they are bondage. This is the meaning.

However,

81cd. *the* pudgala*s, in fact, do not see the Self as distinct from these [states],*

By *pudgala* we mean the Selves bound to maculation. The meaning is that it is mistakenly supposed that Self exists in these [levels of word] because, being

covered by maculation, the Selves do not have a discriminative knowledge of these [levels].

If one were to ask whence their error derives, he would say:

82ab. *since the Śruti states: "The Self-Word is none other than the Supreme Self; the Self is none other than Word".*

The meaning is that the *pudgala*s, those whose Self is bound to maculation, think thus due to their ignorance of the meaning of those *Śruti*s that are non-prescriptive explanatory statements (*arthavāda*) [and not prescriptive rules (*vidhi*)] regarding the relation between the power of word, etc. and the Self.

82cd–83ab. Vaikharī *is perceived in what originates in the ear,* madhyamā *in knowledge endowed with conceptual constructs,* paśyantī *in the stimuli for the production of* madhyamā.

Vaikharī is audible; *madhyamā*, since it has the nature of the knowledge of reflective awareness, is perceived in [knowledge] endowed with conceptual constructs. *Paśyantī*, in its turn, is the cause of the production of the latter.

While the other:

83cd–84ab. *When there exists the state [of word] in which the association with conceptualisation is completely dissolved, then the pure, subtle (* sūkṣmā*) [word] shines as if it were not different from consciousness.*

But *sūkṣmā*, which, as the seed of [the understanding of] meaning, dwells in all beings, is also the cause of *paśyantī*. It has been said that, due to [its] strong embrace of conciousness (*cidā*), it shines as if it possessed its form (*tadrūpā*).

And, on the basis of the celebrated principle:

84cd–85ab. *For limited souls there is no thought that is not accompanied by word. Here [in this world] all knowledge arises penetrated by word*.

Furthermore:

85cd–86ab. *This fourfold state [of word] is further divided into five parts through the dependence of the* kalā*s starting with* nivṛtti. *These* kalā*s are functions of* bindu.

The meaning is that this *bindu* function consisting of word (*śabda*) facilitates knowledge, etc. in five ways, on the basis of the different degrees of souls that depend on the *kalā*s such as *nivṛtti*. From whence arose the *nivṛtti*, etc? He replies by saying: "These *kalā*s", etc. The functions that take the form of *kalā*s are actually the levels of *bindu*. Hence the meaning is that *bindu* is demonstrated also as the material cause of the *kalā*s.

* * *

He also shows that [knowledge] is a liberating factor:

171cd. *Knowledge is what assists the* paśu*, i.e. the cause of the means for [obtaining] the supreme ambrosia*.

The knowledge of discrimination is the sole cause of the means for obtaining the supreme liberation. This means consists in initiation and ritual practice, starting with perpetual rites, which must be performed after this [knowledge is reached], since action is not possible in relation to an unknown object [and] since the knowledge of the master is a fundamental element also in a seedless initiation.

He says that *bindu*, and nothing else, is the generator, through the *śāstra*, of this knowledge concerning Śiva and other subjects:

172cd–173ab. *And this [knowledge] that exists through penetration by word arose from the totality of sounds. This totality of sounds, in its turn, arose from* bindu*,* bindu *from* nāda*, and the latter from the* anāhatabindu, *which is the [material] cause of the pure path*.

Anāhatabindu is the name of the *mahāmāyā*, the matrix of the pure path. And it has been said that from this word arises according to the sequence: *nāda*, *bindu*, etc.

Appendix

Excerpts from an unpublished commentary on the RTP (ad stt. 22, 70cd–86ab)
[M_2^Y 74v_7] atha pūrvam uddiṣṭārthanirūpaṇāyāha—

tatra bindur ādau nirūpya[line 8]*te* || (21d)
jāyate <'>*dhvā yataḥ śuddho vartate yatra līyate* |
sa binduḥ paranādākhyo nādabindvarṇakāraṇam || (22)

nanu śivasya saty api prādhānye taṃ vihāya kim iti bindor ev*ādau nirūpyate* | kāryeṇa kāraṇasiddher iti brūmaḥ | ayam arthaḥ — kāryaṃ svopādānakāra-[line 9]ṇam[1] ākṣipati | upādānakāraṇaṃ ca svaprerakam iti | prerakāc chivāt prāg eva binduḥ sādhyata iti | ata eva kāryanirdeśapūrvaṃ bindusiddhiḥ | *jāyate* <'>*dhvā yataḥ śuddha* iti yac chuddhādhvana upādānakāraṇaṃ *sa binduḥ* paranādāparaparyāyaḥ | nādabin[line 10]dvarṇānāṃ kāraṇatvena boddhavyaś ca, nādo <'>syāvyaktaśabdātmakaḥ prathamaḥ kṣobhaḥ, yad vakṣyati—

svarūpajyotir evāntaḥ sūkṣmā vāg anapāyinī | (st. 77ab) iti |

binduś ca tasyaiva sthūle dve avasthe madhyamāpaśyantyākhye, yad vakṣyati—

kevalaṃ buddhyupādānā[2] kramavarṇānupā[line 11]tinī || (st. 74cd)
antaḥsañjalparūpā tu na śrotram upasarpati |

prāṇavṛttim atikramya vartate madhyamāhvayā || (st. 75)
avibhāgena varṇānāṃ sarvataḥ saṃhṛtakramā |
svayamprakāśā paśyantī māyūrāṇḍarasopamā || (st. 76) iti |

arṇas tu nādasyaivātisthūlāvasthā vaikharyā[M_2^Y 75r_1]khyā, yad vakṣyati—

tatra sā vaikharī śrotragrāhyā yā<rthasya vācikā |
sthāneṣu vi>dhṛte[3] vāyau kṛtavarṇaparigrahā || (st. 73) iti ||

* * *

[M_2^Y 80r_5] evaṃ sādhitasya bindoḥ śāstrāntarasiddhasañjñāsaṃvādaṃ darśayati—

śabdatattvam aghoṣā vāg brahma kuṇḍalinī dhruvam || (70)
vidyāśaktiḥ paro nādo mahāmāyeti deśikaiḥ |
bindur eva samākhyāto vyo[line 6]*mānāhata ity api* || (71)

atha svavṛttibhedasambhedaiś citim ullikhan bindur ity uktaṃ[α] kās tā vṛttayaḥ kati saṅkhyāḥ kimabhidhānāś cety atrāha—

catasro vṛttayas tasya yābhir vyāptās tridhāṇavaḥ |
vaikharī madhyamābhikhyā paśyantī sūkṣmasañjñitā || (72)

[line 7] *tridhāṇavo* vidyāvidyeśāṇusadāśivā *yābhir vyāptā* baddhās tāś *catasra* iti | atha tā eva vṛttīr lakṣayati | tatra vaikharīm āha—

tatra sā vaikharī śrotragrāhyā yārthasya vācikā |
sthāneṣu vidhṛte vāyau kṛtavarṇaparigrahā || (73)
prayoktṝṇām iyaṃ [line 8] *prāyaḥ prāṇavṛttinibandhanā* |

*sthāneṣū*raḥprabhṛtiṣu *vāyau vidhṛte* niruddhe sati *kṛtavarṇaparigrahā* paścāt *prāṇavṛttinibandhanā* satī bahiḥ *śrotragrāhyā prayoktṝṇāṃ* parasmai pratipādakānāṃ *prāyo* <'>tiśayen*ārthasya* ghaṭāder *vācikā yā* vāk *sā* [line 9] *vaikharī* | prāṇa unmukho vāyuḥ, tasya vṛttir ūrdhvaṃprasaraḥ, sa eva nibandhanaṃ nimittaṃ bahiḥprasare yasyāḥ sā tathābhūtā | sā ca vaikharī tatpūrvāyā madhyamāyā eva sthaulyaṃ,[β] tato madhyamām āha—

kevalaṃ buddhyupādānā kramavarṇānupātinī || (74)
antaḥsañja[line 10]*lparūpā tu na śrotram upasarpati* |
prāṇavṛttim atikramya vartate madhyamāhvayā || (75)

tad upādīyate gṛhyata iti *buddhyupādānā*, *kevalaṃ* buddhyaivāvagamyā, ata ev*āntaḥsañjalparūpā* | *kramavarṇānupātinī* kramavarṇātmikā | seyam ūrdhva*prāṇavṛ*[line 11]*ttim atikramya* vartamānatvān *na* hi *śrotram* upayāti *madhyamāhvayā* vāṇīti sā ca paśyantyāḥ kāryam,[γ] atha paśyantīm āha—

avibhāgena varṇānāṃ sarvataḥ saṃhṛtakramā |
svayamprakāśā paśyantī māyūrāṇḍarasopamā || (76)

varṇānām avibhāgena hetu[M_2^Y 80v_1]nā sarvātmanā *saṃhṛtakramā* paurvāparyavidhurā | ata eva *māyūrāṇḍarasa*vadvyapadeśyā *paśyantī* vāg bhavati *svayamprakāśe*ti | antaḥsañjalpamānety arthaḥ | antarmukhatvam eva hy ātmano <’>pi svayamprakāśatvaṃ, yadvā sakalaviśeṣaṇāparisphuraṇenā[line 2]nirṇīyamānārthaviṣayā vāṇī svayamprakāśaśabdavācyā | tadānīṃ śabda eva hi svayaṃ prakāśate | arthaprākaṭyatā vāc chabdaprakaṭa iti bhāvaḥ | sā ca sūkṣmavāṇyā vikṛtiḥ [δ] | tataḥ sūkṣmām āha—

svarūpajyotir evāntaḥ sūkṣmā vāg anapāyinī |

sva[line 3]rūpaṃ sakalaviśeṣaṇavidhuro <’>rthas tasya jyotis tasya prakāśaḥ, arthamātraprakāśikā vāṇī *sūkṣmā vāg* iti sā c*ānapāyinī* vāgantarāpekṣayā cirasthāyinī, kāraṇabhūtā vāgantarāṇām ity arthaḥ | atheyam evāṇūnāṃ paramo bandha[ϵ] ity āha— [line 4]

yasyāṃ dṛṣṭasvarūpāyām adhikāro nivartate || (77)

yasyāṃ vāci vivekena *dṛṣṭarūpāyām adhikāraḥ* sṛṣṭyādikāryakartṛtvāyāso *nivartate* [ζ] | seyaṃ sūkṣmā vāk paramo bandhaḥ svapravṛttinivṛttyadhīnapravṛttikatvād adhikārapravṛttinivṛttyoḥ, ata evāsyāḥ [line 5] sūkṣmaśarīrānupraveśena parabandhatvaṃ dṛḍhayati—

puruṣe ṣoḍaśakale tām āhur amṛtāhvayām | iti |

kalayanti pravartayanti dṛkkriye puruṣāṇām iti kalāḥ karaṇāni karmendriyabuddhīndriyamano<’>bhimānadhīvidyāvākśaktidvayalakṣaṇāni [line 6] ṣoḍaśa kathyante | kalāyā malanivṛttau kālasya sṛjyamānapadārthakalane rāgasya puruṣarañjane niyater bhoganiyame ca vyāpriyamāṇatayā sākṣāt pravṛttyanaṅgatvenāsaṅgrahaḥ | uktaṃ ca tathā—

karaṇasthena bhedena svacittyāpi ca[line 7]turdaśa |
vākśaktibhedau dvau ceti puṃskalāḥ ṣoḍaśa smṛtāḥ || iti |

āsu kalāsu ṣoḍaśī kalā puruṣam ā mokṣān na muñcati yonito yonyantaraṃ prāpayati ca [η] |

evaṃ vāgvṛttīr abhidhāya tatkāraṇabhūtaṃ bindum abhiṣṭauti—

kevalaḥ paramā[line 8]*nando dhīro nityoditaprabhaḥ* || (78)
nāstam eti na codeti na śrānto na vikāravān |
sarvabhūtāntaracaraḥ śabdabrahmātmako raviḥ || (79)
bhitvā yaṃ bodhakhaḍgena nirgacchanty aviśaṅkitāḥ | iti |

kevalo māyādivat karmakhacito na bhavati | *paramānandaḥ* para[line 9]mānandahetutvāt | *dhīraḥ* samarthaḥ svakāryārambhe | *nityoditaprabhaḥ* prabhā sāmarthyaṃ, sā ca na kadācitkā | *nāstam eti na codeti* vināśotpattirahitaḥ | *na śrānto* nodāsīnaḥ sarvadā samānāsamānapariṇāmayor anyatarapariṇāmavān

[line 10] | *na vikāravān* upādānakāraṇatvena sarvadā cāvikṛtaikadeśavān, vakṣyati ca—

yathodadhir upary eva vikaroty anileraṇāt ||

tathaikadeśato binduḥ | (stt. 177cd–178a) iti |

sarvabhūtāntaracaraḥ sarvabhūtāntarvartī bodhyaparāmarśalakṣaṇāt kāryāt | siddhaśabdātmikābhir vṛttibhir bṛṃha[line 11]ti vijṛmbhata iti *śabdabrahma*, tad*ātmakas* tatsañjñitaḥ | *raviś* ca tābhir eva śabdavṛttibhiḥ prakāśakatvād ravir iva padārthānāṃ, kim asāv ānandarūpatvāt kim sarvathopādeya eva nety āha—*bhitvā yam* iti | bodha eva khaḍgaḥ, tena *yaṃ bhitvā nirgacchanti*, sa bin[M_2^Y $81r_1$] [(…) broken ± 25 *akṣaras*]nīkṛtvā dhyeyaḥ kilety ākalayya viṣayatayā tad avalokanaṃ nirgamanaṃ tu ānandarūpatāparityāgena cidghanatāprāptir eva | *aviśaṅkitā* iti bindunivṛttya[line 2] [(…) broken ± 25 *akṣaras*] ity arthaḥ |

atha vāgvṛttīnāṃ traividhyam ācakṣāṇāḥ kecid bindum eva sūkṣmāṃ vāṇīṃ saṅgiranta ity āha—

tām eva vāṇīṃ sūkṣmākhyām āhur ātmavido janāḥ || (80) iti |

tam eva binduṃ sūkṣmāṃ yā[line 3] [(…) broken ± 25 *akṣaras*] <śrī>matkālottare—

sthūlaṃ sūkṣmaṃ paraṃ jñātvā karma kuryād yathepsitam | (SārK 1.7cd) iti |

atha yābhir vyāptās tridhāṇava ity uktaṃ (cf. st. 72b) tad eva spaṣṭayati—

pratyātmaniyatā etā vṛttayo bandhanātmi[line 4]<*kāḥ* |

[(…) broken ± 12 *akṣaras*]

ābhyo viviktam ātmānaṃ na hi paśya>*nti pudgalāḥ* || (81) iti |

vivekapratikūlatā hi bandhanatvam iti bhāvaḥ | evaṃ śrutāv apīty āha—

paramātmaiva vāgātmā vāg evātmeti ca śrutiḥ |

tathānubhavato vāgvṛttim ācaṣṭe—

vai[line 5]<*kharī śrotraje bodhe madhyamā savikalpake* || (82)

paśyantī madhyamotpādasa>*mudyogeṣu lakṣyate* |

yadā vṛttir aśeṣeṇa vilīnā cittasaṃśrayā || (83)

tadā sūkṣmā viśuddheva cidābhāty avivekataḥ |

śrotrajo bodhaḥ śabdaviṣayaṃ jñānaṃ tatrāsau *vaikharī* la[line6]<kṣyate | > [(…) broken ± 23 *akṣaras*]rthānuguṇavikalpaparāmarśasahite bodhe *madhyamā* lakṣyate | vimarśaviṣayāntaḥspharaṇaśabdā madhyameti[4] | tasyā utpāda utpattis tasyodyogaḥ pravṛttis tatra *paśyantī* [line 7] [(…) broken ± 25 *akṣaras*] <*aśe*>*ṣeṇa* sarvātmanā *vilīnā* citta*vṛttiḥ*, vikalpānurūpāś cittavṛttayo <'>nupapannās *tadā* vikalā vidhuracittamātrāśrayatvena *viśuddhā* sakalaviśeṣeṇa vidhurā prathamākṣa[line 8] [(…) broken ± 25 *akṣaras*]bhyati | etad uktaṃ bha-

vati— prathamākṣasannipātānantaraṃ padārthagatavikalpāmarśapūrvabhāvino bodhasya tadarthavācinaḥ śabdasya ca viveko durlabha ity arthaḥ |

athopasaṃharati—

na so [line 9] <*’sti pratyayo ’ṇūnāṃ yaḥ śabdānugamād ṛte* || (84)

anuviddham iha jñānaṃ sarvaṃ śabde>*na jāyate* |

evaṃ vāgvṛttidvāreṇa binduṃ sādhayitvā nivṛttyādilakṣaṇakāryadvāreṇāpy abhidhatte—

saiṣā caturvidhā vṛttir nivṛttyādikalāśrayāt || (85)

pañcadhā bhidyate bhūyaḥ kalās tā binduvṛttayaḥ |

[line 10] [(…) broken ± 25 *akṣara*s] *pañcadhā bhidyate* | tattatkalāvartipuruṣabodhakatayā *kalāś* ca *tā* bindor *vṛttaya* iti | kās tā vṛttayaḥ | tatra— (the text continues with stt. 86cd–87a).

Notes to the text

[α] Cf. st. 59ab: *svavṛttibhedasambhedair ullikhan labhate citim*.

[β] Cf. SSĀV (p. 5): *varṇotpattisthāneṣu vāyau niruddhe sati yā kṛtavarṇaparigrahā paścād atiśayena vāyor ūrdhvaprasara eva bahiḥprasaranibandhanā paraṃ pratyuccāryamāṇaghaṭādeḥ śrotragrāhyā vācikā vāk sā vaikharī tatpūrvāyāḥ* [*sic*: no application of sandhi] *madhyamāyā atisthaulyāvasthāsthitā*.

[γ] Cf. SSĀV (p. 6): *kāryabindor madhyasthaulyāvasthā madhyamā yā buddhyā kevalaṃ gamyamānā* | *ato ’ntargatoccāraṇarūpā* | *ata eva śrotrapatham anupayantī kramavarṇātmikā īṣadūrdhvaprāṇaprasaram atikramya vartamānā sā madhyamāhvayā paśyantyāḥ kāryam*.

[δ] Cf. SSĀV (p. 6): *kāryabindoḥ prathamāvasthā paśyantī* | *sā ca mayūrāṇḍarasagatapādapakṣādivacchabdagatavarṇānām avibhāgena sarvataḥ paurvāparyavidhurā* | *ata eva sakalaviśeṣaṇaparisphuraṇābhāvād aniścīyamānārthaviṣayā vāṇī svayaṃ prakāśate* | *sā paśyantī sūkṣmāyā vikṛtiḥ*.

[ε] Cf. SSĀV (p. 6): *nādasañjñā sūkṣmā sakalaviśeṣaṇavidhuram arthasya svarūpam evāntaḥ prakāśikā yā vāṇī cirasthāyinī sā sūkṣmākhyā*.

[ζ] Cf. SSĀV (p. 6): *iyam eva śuddhādhvavāsināṃ paramo bandhaḥ* | *ya imāṃ vivekena pratyakṣīkurvanti te prayojyalakṣaṇaṃ sṛṣṭyādikartṛtvaṃ vihāya śivatulyā bhavanti*.

[η] Cf. SSĀV (p. 6): *kiñca saiva pralāyakalānām api sūkṣmaśarīrānupraveśena ṣoḍaśakalāsu gaṇanīyā satī tān eva mokṣaparyantaṃ na muñcati* | *yonibhyo na yonyantaraṃ prāpayati* | *ṣoḍaśa kalās tu karmendriyapañcakaṃ jñānendriyapañcakaṃ mano’haṅkārabuddhividyāś caturdaśa* | *vākśaktibhyāṃ saha ṣoḍaśa kalāḥ puṃsāṃ karaṇāni* | *uktaṃ ca— karaṇasthena bhedena svacityāpi caturdaśa* | *vākśaktibhedau dvau ceti puṃskalāḥ ṣoḍaśa smṛtāḥ* || *iti* | *ata evāsu kalāsu śaktyaparaparyāyā sūkṣmākhyā ṣoḍaśī kalā paramo bandhaḥ*.

1 °*kāraṇam* em.] °*kāraraṇam* M_2^Y. 2 °*upādānā* em.] °*upādāna* M_2^Y. 3 °*dhṛte* em.] °*dhṛtā* M_2^Y. 4 °*viṣayā*° em.] °*viṣayo*° M_2^Y.

Sigla & Manuscripts Consulted

Siddhāntaprakāśikā of Sarvātmaśambhu
Adyar Library, MS TR 285.

A_1
Ratnatrayaparīkṣā with *Ullekhinī*: The Adyar Library, MS 71471 (palm-leaf MS; *grantha* script; incomplete; Arabic numbers added later on the right margin).

A_2
Ratnatrayaparīkṣā: The Adyar Library, MS TR 285 (paper MS; *devanāgarī* script; incomplete).

E_D
Ratnatrayaparīkṣā with *Ullekhinī*: ed. in *Aṣṭaprakaraṇam*, 2 vols. ed. by Kṛṣṇaśāstrī, Śivāgamasiddhāntaparipālanasaṅgraha Publications, Devakōṭṭai 1923, 1925, vol. 2, pp. 1–108.

E_V
Ratnatrayaparīkṣā with *Ullekhinī*: ed. in *Aṣṭaprakaraṇam*, ed. by Vrajavallabha Dvivedī, Varanasi 1988, pp. 147–202.

M_1^Y
Ratnatrayaparīkṣā: Mysore, Oriental Library, MS P 269, fol. 110*rv* (palm-leaf MS; *nandināgarī* script; incomplete; numbers on the left margin of the *recto*).

M_2^Y
Ratnatrayaparīkṣā with an anonymous commentary: Mysore, Oriental Library, MS P 269, fols. 71*v*–102*v* (palm-leaf MS; *nandināgarī* script; incomplete; numbers on the left margin of the *recto*).

Studies on Utpaladeva's Īśvarapratyabhijñā-vivṛti. Part III: Can a cognition become the object of another cognition?*

Raffaele Torella

The present paper is the third of a series of papers (Torella, forthcoming a, b) in which I am presenting the critical edition and English translation of the fragmentary *codex unicus* of the *Īśvarapratyabhijñā-vivṛti*, the long commentary that Utpaladeva composed on his own *Īśvarapratyabhijñā-kārikā* (ĪPK) and *svavṛtti*, a work of outstanding importance for the philosophy of Kaśmirian Śaivādvaita, and for Indian philosophy as a whole. I need not repeat here what I have already said elsewhere on the nature of the *Vivṛti* and its relation to the other commentaries.[1] Suffice it to recall that Utpaladeva is said to have composed the ĪPK and the concise *Vṛtti* at the same time, and later on to have devoted an analytic commentary to the complex *Kārikā-Vṛtti*, i.e. our *Vivṛti* (or *Ṭīkā*), in which he discussed possible alternative views and rejected them, also making occasionally quite long digressions on particular subjects. Of this lengthy work—corresponding to the extent of 8000 *śloka*s (hence the traditional denomination of *Aṣṭasāhasrī*)—only a comparatively small fragment has come down to us, covering the section ĪPK I.3.6 through I.5.3. A detailed exposition of my discovery of the original manuscript after a cursory consultation, some 15 years ago, with a transcript of the same made by Prof. K. Ch. Pandey, can be found in the first study that I have devoted to this text (Torella forthcoming a), which also contains a description of the manuscript (National Archives, Delhi, Skt. Mss. No. 30).

The present paper deals with the *Vivṛti* on ĪPK I.4.3–5. In the previous chapter Utpaladeva, referring to an enigmatic statement in the *Bhagavadgītā*,[2] had identified three powers (*śakti*) in the Lord: Cognition, Memory and Exclusion. After making some preliminary remarks concerning them as a whole,

*With deep sadness I pay tribute to the memory of Hélène Brunner. My admiration for her scholarly work is as great as my admiration for her unflinching courage and serenity in the last years of her life.

[1] Torella 2002: XL–XLV.

[2] *Bhagavadgītā* XV.15b *mattaḥ smṛtir jñānam apohanaṃ ca* "From Me derive memory, knowledge and exclusion".

he starts a detailed inquiry into each of them. His aim is to show that cognition, memory and exclusion, which constitute the very basis of the knowledge process in the human mind, are indirectly also a proof of the coinciding of the individual subject with universal Consciousness. None of these phenomena can be really explained and their complex functioning accounted for satisfactorily in merely 'mechanic' terms, as first of all the Buddhists do. The individual subject can cognize, remember and exclude only if it is conceived of as inscribed within an eternal and, at the same time, dynamic universal I-ness, i.e. Śiva. If Utpaladeva's investigation starts with memory, by infringing the above stated order, it is "because in a very clear manner memory can serve as a logical reason for the establishment of the identity of the self with the Lord".[3] The starting point is the classical definition of memory given in *Yogasūtra* I.11: "Memory is the non-extinction of the object formerly perceived" (*anubhūtaviṣayāsampramoṣaḥ smṛtiḥ*). The sustained analysis of Utpaladeva singles out a few crucial points contained in such an apparently simple process: How is it possible to attribute temporal differentiation to a cognizer that is permanent in his essential nature? What is the relationship between the cognitive act of the original perception and the cognitive act of the subsequent memory? How can the latter bring the former to light again without objectifying it? On this point, in fact, the Śaiva and his principal opponent, the Buddhist epistemologist, are in full agreement: a cognition is self-luminous and cannot be the object of another cognition.

The standard Buddhist explanation (examined in Torella, forthcoming b, from which I derive some of the observations that follow) is far from being satisfactory: saying that the perception produces a *saṃskāra*, which in turn will produce the phenomenon of memory, only accounts for the fact that memory has a certain objective content but leaves out the 'subjective' component represented by the fact that the object has been 'coloured' by the previous perception, or, to be more precise, by its having been 'already' perceived in a certain past moment. Memory, in fact, is indeed the memory of the past object but also of the past perception of it. Instead, as Abhinavagupta says, what the *saṃskāra* is able to convey (or resurrect) is neither the original perception nor the object insofar as it was cognized by such past perception.[4] This presupposes a living

[3]So we read at the very beginning of the *Vivṛti* on I.4.1: *smṛtyādīnām idānīṃ jñānaprakaraṇenānena svarūpaṃ nirūpayisyann aśeṣakālānugatasvatantrāvabodhalakṣaṇātmatattvasvabhāveśvaraśaktirūpatāṃ pratipipādayiṣuḥ smṛter eva tāvat suspaṣṭam īśvarātmasiddhihetutayā prathamaṃ sambhavam āha*.

[4]The point has been explicitly touched upon, in a different context, by Utpaladeva in ĪPK I.3.2cd […] *pūrvānubhavasaṃskārajatvaṃ tu tattulyatvaṃ na tadgatiḥ* "The fact that [mem-

organism at work, a dynamic and unitary consciousness able to freely move between different moments of time. It is the I that ensures the possibility of unifying the various cognitions occurring at different times, thus resolving the apparent inconsistency between a (present) *vimarśa* and a (past) *anubhava*. The one and same *svasaṃvedana* of both cognitions creates that necessary bridge between them which the Buddhist epistemologist fails to account for.[5] A further clarification is provided by Abhinavagupta in the ĪPVV (II, p. 32, ll. 10–13): the *prakāśa* concerning the part-object (*arthāṃśe*) belongs to the past; but the *prakāśa* as grasped by the *vimarśa*, concerning the part-self (*svātmāṃse*), is not limited by time. Thus the *vimarśa* in the memory can connect itself with the *vimarśa* in the perception and, through it, with the former light of the object—in this way meeting both requirements: taking place in the present and not being divorced from *prakāśa* (Torella 2002:106–107, fn. 12).

The portion of the *Vivṛti* that I have edited here (its translation will be published subsequently) is meant to answer the most obvious objection from a common sense point of view: why not simply say that the present memory 'cognizes' the former perception and, through it, the former object? Utpaladeva's reply is centred on the vindication of one of the main foundation stones of Pratyabhiñā philosophy: the basic identity of the I, consciousness and any cognitive activitiy. If the I, the self, became the object of something outside it, it would simply cease being the I. Any cognition has as its essential nature self-awareness (*svasaṃvit*), which can be taken in three different, and complementary, senses: *svasyaiva saṃvit, svaiva saṃvit, svasya saṃvid eva ca* (see below, p. 482). Abhinavagupta, availing himself of a device very popular among the commentators, maintains that the particle *ca* evokes the existence of a further sense to be added to the three explicitly stated by Utpaladeva: *svā saṃvid eva*. None of them would stand, if the objectifiability of cognition were ac-

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ory] arises from latent impressions implies its similarity to the former perception, but not its cognition of that". The *saṃskāra* of the former perception is awakened by a present perception—similar to the other—which gives rise to the memory. The *saṃskāra*, therefore, ensures this 'similarity' in the memory, but the memory itself has no direct access to (cannot 'know') the former perception and therefore nor can it, strictly speaking, establish the similarity between the latter and the present perception which has been reawakened by the *saṃskāra* (Torella 2002:99–100, fn. 4). *Vṛtti* thereon: "Since memory arises from the latent impression left by the former perception, it only bears a similarity to that perception but does not have direct cognition of the latter; and, moreover, as there is no cognition of the former perception not even the similarity to it can be maintained.

[5]Cf. ĪPVV II, p. 17, ll. 22–23 *anubhavasmṛtyor ekaṃ svasaṃvedanarūpam ekaviṣayatopalambhāt*.

cepted. For each of them, apart from the first one,[6] Abhinavagupta specifies the respective counterparts, aptly clarifying the terse lines of the *Vivṛti*: *svaiva saṃvit→parāpy asya [jñānasya] saṃvit, svasya saṃvid eva→asaṃvid api ca, svā saṃvid eva→jaḍam api asya rūpam*.[7]

But the opponent has one more argument, apparently a very strong one. The yogin, thanks to his extraordinary power of perception, is able to penetrate other minds and know their contents: this is an unequivocal proof that cognitions can become the object of others' cognitions. Utpaladeva's answer is expressed in the last *kārikā* taken under consideration here, and subtly elaborated in the dense *Vivṛti* thereon. Even if we hypothetically admitted that a cognition can be objectified, nothing would change, since the establishing of a valid relationship of *viṣaya-viṣayin* between the two cognitions should be mediated by the attainment of a state of unification between the two cognitions and the respective subjects, and, if a successful knowledge process has *sārūpya* as its core, *sārūpya*, for its part, is incompatible with unity. It is undeniable, concludes Utpaladeva, that the yogin can have access to other minds, but this is possible precisely because he has reached the identification with the supreme Self and consequently has gone beyond the distinction of limited subjects: at that point, the cognitions of others end up being 'his' own cognitions. Thus, *ātmavāda* has been finally established, but for Utpaladeva this is not enough. Cognitions now are provided with a permanent self as their ultimate ground, but the 'lazy' self (e.g. of the Nyāya or the Vaiśeṣika) is unable to freely move among cognitions, unite them, separate them, or, for example, in the case at issue (the phenomenon of memory), recover an object and its perception from the past and make them shine again in the present without cancelling their original nature but also without reproducing them mechanically. For this, the 'sovereignty' (*aiśvarya*) of self of the Śaivas is needed.

[6]The counterpart of *svasyaiva saṃvit* is not shown both because it is not relevant to what the author intends to prove, and because an awareness also of the other does not constitute a characteristic of insentience (ĪPVV II, p. 45, ll. 5–7).

[7]Cf. ĪPVV II, p. 44, l. 25– p. 45, l. 5 (l. 3 *prāg iti* is to be corrected to °*pratiyogi*).

Text[8]

[f. 31, l. 15] <**Vivṛti**> [9]smṛtikāle ca pūrvakālāvacchedenārthābhāsasya samarthitasya [10]vārtamānikasmṛtiprakāśād bhedo nopapadyata ity anubhavasmṛtyābhāsayoḥ śarīrībhūta eko 'rthaḥ tayor apy [11]ekatvam ākṣipatīti [12]copadarśayan draṣṭāraṃ [13]smartāraṃ caika[16v]m upapādayati || [14][…]

[16v, l. 4] **na ca yuktaṃ smṛter bhede smaryamāṇasya bhāsanam |**
tenaikyaṃ bhinnakālānāṃ saṃvidāṃ veditaiṣa saḥ || **3** || <I.4.3>

[15][…] [17r, l. 14] **Vṛttiḥ** || pūrvānubhūtaś cārtho 'nubhavena saha tātkālikasmṛtiprakāśe 'vabhāsamānaḥ smṛtyabhinna eva prakāśād bhinnasya prakāśamānatānupapatteḥ | [16]evam anubhavasmṛtyā[17v]disaṃvidām aikyaṃ sa eva cātmā vedakaḥ | tathā hi ||

Vivṛtiḥ || pūrvānubhūtasyaivārthasya kevalasya na smṛtau yogijñāna ivātītārthaviṣaye prakāśaḥ | tathā hi smṛtitvaṃ na syāt | anubhavamukhenaiva cārthasya svayaṃ sthiratve 'pi smṛtāv atītatvam [17]ucyata ity anubhavaprakāśa evātropayogī | tad āha "pūrvānubhūtaś cārtho 'nubhavena saha" iti | smṛtiś ca jñānarūpaivety āha "smṛtiprakāśa" iti, smṛtiprakāśasya tātkālikatva-

[8]The words underlined in the text are those literally cited in the ĪPVV. Punctuation is mine (that found in the MS is often misleading). In the edition, <…> means 'addition with respect to the transmitted text; […], means 'elimination of portions of the transmitted text' (also the indications 'folio' and 'line' are between square brackets). The *sandhi* has been 'normalized'. The establishing of the text has resulted from the delicate balance of sometimes divergent factors: the text as transmitted by the *codex unicus*, internal coherence, literal citations in the ĪPVV, paraphrases in the ĪPVV, parallel texts. A few literal citations from the *Vivṛti* can be found in the footnotes of the KSTS Ed. of the ĪPV, which have been derived from the marginal notes of an important MS of ĪPV, that given the siglum Gh in the edition of the ĪPV (the MS is now at the National Archives, Delhi, where I have consulted it). When the transmitted text has been modified, this has been pointed out by using three different expressions: emendation, conjectural emendation and tentative restoration. The first is felt as virtually certain, the second as highly probable, the third as a mere attempt.

[9]*smṛti*°, my conjectural emendation for *bhūta*° MS; cf. ĪPVV II, p. 33, l. 13 *tad avatārayati saṃkṣepeṇa 'smṛtikāle ca' iti*.

[10]*vārtamānika*°, my conjectural emendation for *vānumānika*° MS.

[11]*ekatvam*, my conjectural emendation for *ekataram* MS.

[12]cit. p. 33, l. 14 as *darśayan*.

[13]*smartāraṃ*, my conjectural emendation for *kartāraṃ* MS.

[14]the *avatāraṇikā* of ĪPV follows.

[15]the ĪPV follows.

[16]p. 36, l. 8 has *evaṃ ca* (*tadvṛttim 'evaṃ ca' ityādikāṃ vivṛṇoti*), which instead is omitted in the citation in the *Vivṛti* (see below), *tad āha "evam anubhava" iti*; *ca* also added in the MSS TṬ used for my edition of the *Vṛtti*.

[17]a possible emendation of *ucyata* to *ucyatām* could be considered.

viśeṣaṇena vartamānatoktyā kāladvayānusandhānāt smartṛsiddhir upakṣiptā, na ca smṛtijñānasya [18]vartamānāvacchinnasya viṣayiṇaḥ pūrvānubhavasahito 'nubhūto 'rtho 'tītarūpasvakālāvacchinno bhinnātmaiva [19]viṣayyabhraśamānatālakṣaṇasya viṣayatvasya prakāśād bhede saty anupapatteḥ | tad ahā "avabhāsamāna" iti | prakāśasvarūpāsvīkāre parokṣārthavat prakāśamānatvaṃ na yuktam arthasya [20]†…†, etac coktaṃ purastād vakṣyate ca | [18r] [21]tad evaṃ vartamānasmṛtiprakāśatāṃ vinā paurvakālikārthānubhavasya arthasya ca tajjñānadvayātmatāṃ vinā smṛtiviṣayībhāva eva nopapadyata ity uktā smṛtyanubhavayor anusandhānamayaikarūpātmasiddhiḥ | tad āha "evam anubhava" iti | ādigrahaṇenotprekṣādisaṃvid uktānubhaviṣyate punar artho mayeti bhaviṣyatkālānubhavenāpy utprekṣābuddher anusandhānāt | kevalam atrānubhavasmaraṇotprekṣādīnāṃ tattadviṣayavaicitryād vicitrātmatayā dharmarūpatāṃ vā parikalpya taddharmavān eko 'nya ivātmā vyavahriyate, [22]vastuta evāntarmukhasyānyonyam abhinnātmanas tadātmatvam | tad āha "sa evātmā" iti | svānubhavasmaraṇayor bhinnakālatve tadabhedino 'rthasyāpi pūrvāparabhāvena kālabheda eva atha ca smṛtāv arthasya [23]atītatābhāsenaikyam uktam, tat katham etasya bhedābhedalakṣaṇaviruddharūpayogaḥ syāt | atrocyate — pūrvānubhavajñānasya tāvat smṛtijñānād bhedena prathaiva nāstīty anantaram eva vakṣyate | jñānānāṃ ca svataḥ kālayogābhāvaḥ, kevalaṃ jñeya[18v]gato 'sau tatropacaryata ity etad api vakṣyate | evaṃ cānubhavasmṛtijñānayor anubhāvyasmaryamāṇārthābhedān na tāvat tadapekṣayā pūrvāparavyavahāro vastutaś cābheda evātmāparanāmā vakṣyate, tasyaiva tv ātmanas sarvaśakter īśvarasya kālaśaktyā citrāvabhāsakāritayā tattadādityādikriyāsākṣātkāralakṣaṇābhāsasadasadbhyāṃ cābhāsabhedaprakāśanāt kramāvabhāsane vakṣyamāṇakālacintākrameṇānubhavasmṛtijñānayoḥ śarīrādyavasthābhāsakramopacāro vāstavābhedo 'py[24]anayor | tadapekṣam apy arthasya paurvāparyaṃ kathaṃ viruddhaṃ syāt, na ca — smṛtāv avabhāsamāno 'pi smaryamāṇārthaḥ sphuṭākāro nāvabhāsata ity — ābhāsabhedād api bhidyate vimarśābhedād ity etad api vakṣyata eva | yady api[25] pūrvānubhavaḥ pṛthak smṛtau na prathate

[18]a possible emendation of *vartamānā°* to *vartamānatā°* could be considered.

[19]*viṣayyabhraśamānatā°*, my tentative restoration for *viṣayād bhraśamānatā°* MS.

[20]I reproduce the passage, apparently corrupt, for which I have not been able to find a plausible restoration: *śvetarūpādauveśeśvetamānayetiprasādasya*.

[21]cit. p. 36, l. 8 as *tad eva ca*.

[22]*vastuta evāntarmukhasyānyonyam abhinnātmanas tadātmatvaṃ*, my conjectural emendation for *vastu evāntarmukhā anyonyam abhinnātmanas tadātmatattvaṃ* MS.

[23]cit. as *atītā°* p. 36, l. 22 (also possible).

[24]*anayoḥ | tad°*, my conjectural emendation for *anayor atad°* MS.

[25]cit. p. 39 as *yady api ca*.

tathāpi pūrvānubhūtatvenārthāsya prathanād arthamayo 'sau prakāśata eva | evaṃ bhedavyavahāre 'pi tattvatas tadai[26]kyam evedānīṃ darśayati | tathā hīti ||

Vivṛti || na ca prakāśamānatānyathānupapattyā prakāśānupraveśe 'pi ghaṭavad grāhyāṃśāvasthā[19r]naṃ pūrvānubhavasya grāhakāṃśopāroheṇa prathanād ity āha || [27][...]

naiva hy anubhavo bhāti smṛtau pūrvo 'rthavat pṛthak |
prāg anvabhūvam aham ity ātmāroheṇa bhāsanāt || 4 || <I.4.4>

[28][...] [19v, l. 9] **Vṛttiḥ** || smṛtau smaryamāṇo 'nubhūtārtho yathā pṛthagbhūto bhāti na tathānubhavaḥ svātmana evāhantāpratyeyasyānubhavamayatvena prathanāt | yaś cānekakālo 'haṃvedyo 'rthaḥ sa evātmā ||

Vivṛtiḥ || smaraṇajñāne ghaṭādyarthākāra eva ekaḥ pūrvakālādyavacchinno grāhyabhāvasthaḥ pṛthaktvenedantānirdeśyo 'vabhāti, na tu pūrvānubhavākāro [29]'paraḥ | "smṛtāv" iti | na cāsau yogino 'tītārthamātrajñāna iva pūrvānubhavo naiva prakāśate 'haṅkārāspadībhūta[30]grāhakāṃśānupraviṣṭasyāham anvabhūvam [31]iti mayānubhūto 'rtha iti vā pūrvānubhavasya smartṛbodhaikyena prakāśanāt | mayānubhūta [32]'rtha ity atrāpi artha eva pṛthagbhūto bhāti, anubhavas tu tadānīm arthopasarjanabhā[20r]vena sṛjyamāno 'pi taduttīrṇa ivedantāparāmarśasaṃsparśākṣamo 'haṃmātraviśrāntisatattvaḥ, tasya tu yaḥ sa iti sphuṭa iti ca parāmarśaḥ tad anubhāvyadharmopacāreṇa vyavahāramātraṃ deśakālādyavacchedapṛthagbhāvād iti vakṣyate | so 'ham evam āsaṃ ity ātmanaḥ pramātur api grāhyatvena buddhyādidharmopacāreṇa vyavahārāt | vastutas tu nātmā nāpy anubhavajñānam anubhāvyātiriktaṃ grāhyapakṣe rūpavad ābhātīti | yo 'yam ahaṃpratītau prathamāno vedyabhūmikāvatīrṇo 'nekakālagatavedyonmukhatvamātrāt pratyagātmatādāśāyāṃ tathānekakāla[33]topacāropacaryamāṇaḥ sa evātmā draṣṭā smartā ceti | tad āha "yaś cānekakāla" iti | vedyatā atra prathamānatātātparyeṇoktā na tv anyāyattaprakāratvena [34]vedanakarmatayā ||

Vivṛti || nanu prakāśānupraveśaṃ vinā prakāśamānatā mā bhūt, na tu tāvataiva prakāśyaprakāśakayor aikyāpattir grāhyabhāga eva grāhakād vicchi-

[26] in MS °*kyam eve*° corrects a previous °*kyeneve*°.
[27] the *avatāraṇikā* of ĪPV follows.
[28] the ĪPV follows.
[29] *aparaḥ*, my conjectural emendation for *apara*° MS.
[30] °*grāhakāṃśā*°, my emendation for °*grāhakāṃ cā*° MS.
[31] *iti*, my conjectural addition.
[32] *'rtha*, my conjectural addition.
[33] °*pacāropacaryamāṇaḥ*, my emendation for °*pocāracaryamāṇaḥ* MS (also possible: *upacāreṇācaryamāṇaḥ* or *upacārācaryamāṇaḥ*).
[34] in MS *vedana*° apparently corrects a previous *vedaka*°.

nne ghaṭādeḥ prakāśyasya prakāśābhinnasyāpi prathanāt, tathā yogināṃ parapramātṛbodhaḥ paratvenaivedantayā prakāśate 'nyathā bhrāntiḥ syāt, tat kathaṃ jñānasya [35]jñānāntarāgrāhyatve 'nubhavaviṣayāyāḥ smṛter anubhavena sahaikyaṃ syād iti || [36][...]

[20v, l. 12] **yoginām api bhāsante na dṛśo darśanāntare |**
svasaṃvidekamānās tā bhānti meyapade 'pi vā || 5 || <I.4.5>

[37][...] <21v, l. 2> **Vṛttiḥ** || sarvajñānām api pramātrantaragatā upalambhāḥ svasaṃvinmātravedyasvabhāvāḥ svātmārūḍhā eva bhāseran | ataś ca [38] teṣāṃ yogināṃ [39]paramātmatāpattir eva [40]tattvam, prameyakakṣyāyām eva vā ghaṭādivat prātisvikena śuddhabodhātmanā rūpeṇāvabhāseran, yadi tathā sambhavet ||

[41]**Vivṛtiḥ** || tad atra | yoginām api parabodhaḥ svasaṃvinmaya evāvabhāsate 'nyathā prāguktanītyā bodhatāhāniḥ syāt svasaṃvedanaprathāmātrarūpatvāt tasya | grāhyabhūmigatatvenāvabhāsanābhyupagame 'pi vā tasya smṛtyanubhavavṛttāntavailakṣaṇyam eva parabodhaviṣayayogivijñānotpatteḥ, na tv etan[42]nidarśane 'nubhavasmṛtyor grāhyagrāhakabhāva ity āha "yoginām" iti | yogitvam iha upayujyamānatvāt parokṣajñānamātramayaṃ nirdiṣṭam | tad āha "sarvajñānām" iti | yogipratyakṣasya anyaprasiddhatvamātre sarvajñagrahaṇaṃ [43]kṛtam | "pramātrantaragatāḥ" pramātrantarasiddhāḥ pramātrantarātmānas tattadghaṭādibhinnabhāvaviṣayā ity arthaḥ | jñānānāṃ jñānāntaravedyatve svabhāvahāniḥ syād iti "svabhāva"padam upāttaṃ nāpy ubhayavedyateti pratipādanāya "mātra"grahaṇam | svasaṃvinmātralakṣaṇatvāc copalambhasya svasaṃvinmātravedyatvaṃ svabhāvaḥ [22r][44] | svasyaiva saṃvit [45]svaiva saṃvit svasya saṃvid eva ca iti | jñānaṃ svasaṃvillakṣaṇam, param api hi tat prakāśayet svātmānam eva prakāśayan na tu [46]svātmapra-

[35]*jñānāntarāgrāhyatve*, my conjectural emendation for *jñānāntaragrāhyatve* MS.

[36]the *avatāraṇikā* of ĪPV follows.

[37]the ĪPV follows.

[38]MS inverts the order: *yogināṃ teṣāṃ*; all the mss. of the *Vṛtti* read *teṣāṃ yogināṃ*.

[39]I accept now the reading *paramātmatā°* MS, while in my edition of the *Vṛtti* I had preferred *parātmatā°* (the mss. of the *Vṛtti* oscillate between the two readings).

[40]*tattvaṃ* is written above the line to correct a previous *na tu*.

[41]*vivṛttiḥ* has been added in the left margin.

[42]*°nidarśane*, my emendation for *°nidarśano* MS. The reading *°nidarśane* is also found in the fn. 121 of ĪPV I, p. 137, which reproduces literally (with the only addition of one explanatory gloss) the above passage of the *Vivṛti* (*grāhyabhūmi ... grāhyagrāhakabhāva*).

[43]I delete na (*na kṛtam* MS), which apparently does not fit the context.

[44]the passage "*tāvanmātraṃ lakṣaṇaṃ hi eṣām*", cit. p. 44, l. 10, might be a quotation from the *Vivṛti* (not found in MS).

[45]*svaiva*, my conjectural emendation for *svasya* MS.

[46]*svātma°*, my emendation for *svātmā°* MS.

kāśanād aparaṃ paraprakāśanaṃ jñānasyeti svasyaiva saṃvit tathābhūtaṃ ca sat | pareṇāpi yadā taj jñānaṃ prakāśyate tadā nāsya svaiva saṃvit, na ca svasya tat saṃvid eva syād, api tu parāpekṣaprakāśanatvāt parāpy asya saṃvit, asaṃvid api ca taj jaḍasyaivaṃlakṣaṇatvāt | tadā tv etāvat syāt — [47]yaṃ yoginaṃ pratyupasthitaṃ parapramātṛjñānaṃ svayam eva prakāśeta [48]taṃ praty asya evaṃ jñānalakṣaṇātikramo na syāt | [49]na tv etad upapadyate pareṇa saha sambandhāyogāt | jñānaṃ ca viṣayālambhanaṃ sārūpye[50]ṇaiva bhavati nīlādeś ca jñānavilakṣaṇarūpatvāt tadanukāreṇa jñānasya bhedābhedanibandhanaṃ sārūpyam upapadyate, jñānayos tu dvayor viṣayaviṣayiṇor ekabodhamātralakṣaṇatvād abheda eveti na sārūpyam ālambanārtho 'nayor, api tu aikyam eva | darpaṇayoḥ sarvarūpavailakṣaṇyād anyonyasārūpyaṃ syāt | jñānayos tu bodharūpatātirikto deśakālayogāveśaviśeṣo 'pi hi na sambhavī | kiṃca yad yathābhūtaṃ tadrūpeṇaiva jñānaṃ tadākāraṃ bhavat tadviṣayaṃ bhavet, anīlavyavacchinnena hi nīlena nīlākāraṃ jñā[22v]naṃ [51]tadviṣayam, tataś ca grāhyavyavacchinnagrāhakaikasvabhāvena jñānena jñānāntaraṃ tulyākāram eva syād | yadi hy ekabhāga eva niveśayet, etat pramuṣitasvarūpaṃ na kuryāt | [52]evaṃ dvayor [53]aikyāpattyaiva viṣayaviṣayibhāvaḥ | tad āha "svātmārūḍhā eva" iti | [54]svātmā jñānasya grāhakāṃśaḥ, parapramātṛsambandhi tu śarīrādi sarvajñajñāne bhedena grāhyāṃśa evāvabhāsate | tadabhiprāyeṇaiva tu parasattānupraveśaviṣayaṃ sarvajñajñānam iti vyavahāraḥ | vāstavena tu bodhaikātmanā [55]pramātrā pramātrantaraikyāpattir eva paramātma[56]vedakatvaṃ sarvajñasya | tad āha "yogināṃ paramātmatāpattir eva" iti | na ca pramātrantarair aikye 'pi sarvajñasya parasukhaduḥkhayogaḥ sukhāder vāstave pramātari bodhaikalakṣaṇāhantāmātraprathātmany asanniveśāt | māyīya eva buddhyātmani pramātary ahantedantāpratītiviṣaye tasyāva-

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[47] *yaṃ*, my tentative restoration for *paraṃ* MS (which, alternatively, could simply be deleted).

[48] cit. p. 45, l. 14 as *taṃ yoginaṃ prati* (*yoginaṃ* being most probably a gloss).

[49] cit. p. 45, ll. 15–16 as *nanu etad api*.

[50] *°ṇaiva*, my emendation for *°ṇaivaṃ* MS.

[51] MS reads, incorrectly, *na tadviṣayam*.

[52] *evaṃ*, my emendation for *eva* MS (also possible, but less satisfactory*: na kuryād eva – aikyāpattyaiva* …).

[53] in MS *aikyāpattyaiva* corrects a previous *aikyāpattir eva* (also possible*).

[54] *svātmā*, my conjectural emendation for *svātma°* MS.

[55] I restore *pramātrā*, not found in MS (most probably dropped by haplography; see the following *pramātrantara°*).

[56] *°vedakatvaṃ*, my conjectural emendation for *°vedanam* MS (quoted p. 47, l. 10 as *°vedakam*); cf. l. 11 *'tattvam' paramātmavedakatvam ity arthaḥ* (contra: cf. ll. 13–14 *sarvajñagrahaṇaṃ […] parātmavedakaparyāyatām eti*).

sthitir iti vakṣyate | ata eva grāhakabhūmikottīrṇānāṃ vāstavapramātṛdaśāsamāpannānāṃ tattatsvahetūpasthāpitasukhaduḥkhasākṣātkāre 'pi na sukhitvādi, teṣāṃ notpadyata eva vā sukhādihetuvaikalyāt | sahajānandāvirbhāvas tadā syāt | pūrvajanmāntarapratyakṣīkāre 'pi yogināṃ janmā[23r]ntarānubhūtānām arthānāṃ pūrvānubhūtatvena sākṣātkāre pūrvānubhavaikyāpattir eva, tadā ca vartamānena mayā pūrvajanmany anubhūtam iti pūrvānubhavānusandhānāj janmāntarānubhūtena smṛtir evāsau | pramātrantaradṛṣṭam arthaṃ pramātrantaradarśanena saha yadottarakālaṃ sākṣātkaroti yogī, tadā tatpūrvavartipramātrantaradarśanaikyāpattyā sākṣātkarotīti smṛtir eva sā | pramātrantaraikyāpattāv api ca svapratyagātmasaṃskārānivṛttes tatpramātrantara[57]svarūpapuryaṣṭakādi parapramātṛtvenaivāvabhāsate, sarvathā saṃskārapariksaye tv īśvarāyamāṇo yogī sarvam ātmaśarīram eva paśyati, na tasya jñānapravibhāgaḥ | tad evaṃ sarvathā jñānānāṃ [58]na vedyavedakabhāvaḥ, grāhakabhāvaikyāpattyā svaparavibhāgasaṃskārabhraṃśe 'pi vastutaḥ svasaṃvedanarūpatayaiva [59]bhavantīti sthitaṃ | abhyupagamyāpy ucyate — sarvajñasya pramātrantarā[60]nubhavā yadi grāhyabhāga evā[61]vabhāseraṃs tad abhedenaivāhaṅkārabahirbhāvena tatpramātrantarasambandhiśarīrabuddhyākārottīrṇena bodhamātreṇātmanā idantayā paratvenāvabhāseran | tad āha "prameyakakṣyāyām" iti [62]"prātisvikena śuddhabodhātmanā" iti ca | eṣa ca pakṣo noktanayena saṃbhavatīty abhyupagamavādamātram evedam | tad āha "yadi tathā sambhaved" iti | iha tv aham [63]anvabhūvaṃ mayānubhūtam iti grāhakāṃśādhiropeṇaivedaṃ[64]bhāvottīrṇatayaiva[23v] prathanād anubhavasmaraṇajñānayor aikyam eva naitattulyateti siddha evātmavādaḥ | ātmanaś ca aikyamātreṇāpy audāsīnyān [65]ananubhavasmaraṇādiśaktimattvād aiśvaryaṃ na syād, etac coktaṃ vakṣyate ca ||

[57] °*svarūpa*° (or, also possible, °*svarūpaṃ*), my emendation for °*svarūpaḥ* MS.

[58] *na*, my conjectural addition (*na*, not found in MS, is strictly required by meaning).

[59] *bhavantīti*, my conjectural emendation for *bhavatīti* MS (the only possible subject being *jñānāni* understood from the previous *jñānānām*).

[60] °*nubhavā yadi*, my emendation for °*nubhavāya* MS.

[61] *avabhāseraṃs tad abhedena*, my conjectural emendationfor *anubhāseran* | *stadbhedena* MS.

[62] *prātisvikena*, my emendation for *svikena* MS.

[63] *anvabhūvaṃ*, my emendation for *anvabhūyaṃ* MS.

[64] °*bhāvo*°, my conjectural emendation for °*bhāso*° MS.

[65] *ananubhava*°, my conjectural emendation for *nānubhava*° MS. The citation p. 53, l. 17 of *yāvat*, not found in MS, leaves some doubt on the last sentence as transmitted in MS.

The Search in Śaiva Scriptures for Meaning in Tantric Ritual*

Judit Törzsök

Introduction

The question whether ritual is meaningful or not and if yes, what meaning it can have, keeps haunting various fields of Indian studies. Although it would be important to summarise what conclusions have been reached so far, it would require another paper – or even a book – to give an overview of the situation. The aim and scope of the present paper being different, I need to skip the general discussion of the problem, in order to concentrate on some aspects of what certain Sanskrit texts actually say about Tantric ritual. Nevertheless, it can be remarked in general that whatever meaning the texts seem to find in the rituals they prescribe, it always necessitates the performer's prior knowledge of this meaning. This knowledge then can be of various kinds, such as the recognition of one's identity with Śiva or the knowledge of the hidden meaning of ritual elements etc.[1]

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*This article is dedicated to the memory of Hélène Brunner, whose pioneering works on Śaiva ritual have opened up a new field in Indian studies and have served as the most important sources on the subject. A first version of this paper was read at a workshop on Tantric ritual on the 20th of March, 2004, organised by Prof. Harunaga Isaacson at the South Asia Institue of the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia. I am grateful to him and everybody present for important comments and criticism, especially for remarks made by Prof. George Cardona and Shaman Hatley. A second, revised French version of the first half of the paper was presented on the 3rd of May 2004 at the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes. I am grateful to Prof. Lyne Bansat-Boudon for the invitation and her very useful comments. Moreover, I would like to thank Dominic Goodall for his invaluable criticism and suggestions to improve this paper at its final stage.

[1]This paper owes much to Alexis Sanderson's ground-breaking article on meaning in Tantric ritual (Sanderson 1995). An important part of that article is devoted to an analysis of the ways in which Kashmirian exegetes, most importantly Abhinavagupta and Kṣemarāja (of the 10th and 11th centuries AD), interpreted some aspects of Tantric ritual in an effort to infuse meaning into or to project some new meaning onto its elements. In addition to the

Leaving aside the exegetical interpretations, I shall attempt to give a number of examples taken from Śaiva scriptural sources and to show that certain concerns about ritual already appear in these rather unsophisticated texts.[2] These passages could demonstrate that the exegetes were not the first to raise such questions. While in the majority of cases one can show only that the arguments are similar, in a few passages there are more than one reason to suspect that the exegetes made use of some ideas taken directly from these sources. Be as they may borrowings or parallel arguments, these extracts reveal that in spite of great differences in aims, method, and level of sophistication, the scriptures and their interpreters were often concerned with the same problems, albeit from different perspectives. The passages examined will then also show that there is an internal theoretical development within the scriptural tradition of questioning the meaning of ritual action, of searching for meaning in ritual.

The examples given for various developments are meant as illustrations and are definitely not exhaustive. All the sources examined here were available to the Kashmirian exegetes of the tenth and eleventh centuries.

Among these sources, the *Tantrasadbhāva* is one that has a special place and importance. This text is one of the three surviving scriptures of the early phase of the Trika tradition, which forms the basis of Abhinavagupta's exegesis.[3] Just as another early scripture of the Trika, the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata*,[4] it concentrates on the attainment of supernatural powers and the cult of *yoginī*s and other fe-

philosophy of the Pratyabhijñā school, their ultimate exegetical source was the esoteric systems of the Kaula Trika and the Krama, regarded as the highest in a hierarchy of tantric systems. The ideas of the Kaula and Krama systems were freely made use of when interpreting the scriptures of other tantric currents.

[2] Such investigations would not have been possible without important recent contributions to the study of Śaivism. First, Dominic Goodall's critical edition and translation of the *Parākhyatantra* made this important text available. In many passages, it is only thanks to his efforts that the text of the *codex unicus* has become intelligible. His introduction is also a major contribution to the study of the Siddhānta. Second, Somdev Vasudeva has identified and transcribed several early Kaula sources from Nepalese palm leaf manuscripts. I am grateful to him for having made his electronic texts available to me, of which the *Kulasāra* in particular has proved very important for this paper. He has identified a citation of the *Kulasāra* (fol. 38v) in Kṣemarāja's *Śivasūtravimarśinī* p. 136 and references to the title in *Kubjikāmata* 20.67 and *Kulacūḍāmaṇi* 1.9. Finally, it is also of great help to scholars of Śaivism that Mark Dyczkowski made the electronic texts of a number of scriptures accessible on the website of the Muktabodha Indological Research Institute. However, in this article I make references to my own working edition of parts of the *Tantrasadbhāva*.

[3] See Sanderson 1988:672.

[4] For an edition and translation of most of the text, see Törzsök *1999.

male spirits associated with it; but it also discusses some aspects of ritual and gives some rather unique interpretations of some of its elements. Many of the quoted passages were then borrowed in a Kaula scripture, the *Kubjikāmata*, which is heavily indebted to the Trika tradition.[5] The fact that the *Kubjikāmata* borrows these very passages could be of double importance. First, it may show how elements of the early Trika became absorbed into the Kaula tradition; second, it could possibly suggest that these questions about ritual, which were raised in a relatively early phase of the scriptural tradition, may have been a prompt for developments towards the overtly anti-ritualist Kaula systems.

However, this mixed nature of the *Tantrasadbhāva* does not imply that it dates from before the appearance of the Kaula system or its earliest texts. At the present state of research, it would be difficult to establish a relative chronology, especially because many of the early Kaula texts have not survived.[6] There are two possibilities one could assume: either the *Tantrasadbhāva* represents a real transition between the *yoginī* cults and the Kaula systems, or it was compiled at a date when some early Kaula scriptures were already in existence, thus uniting the two traditions in a relatively late compilation. The latter hypothesis seems more likely, especially in view of a similar case, that of the *Mālinīvijayottara*. The *Mālinīvijayottara* is the third of the three surviving scriptures of the early Trika, and just as the *Tantrasadbhāva*, it shows influences from different Śaiva currents, thus suggesting a compilatory origin and a relatively later date among the early scriptures.[7]

The questions about ritual that the texts examined here discuss are of diverse nature. First, I shall examine what general meaning some of the Tantras see in Śaiva ritual. Then I shall give a few examples of the ways in which they interpret particular ritual elements or details. Finally, I shall raise the problem of how particular elements can be or can become meaningful for the ultimate purpose of ritual, and re-examine the question of the meaningfulness.

[5] See Sanderson 1988:686ff. and 2002:1.

[6] On this problem, see Vasudeva 2004:XLI.

[7] On the syncretic nature of the *Mālinīvijayottara*, see Vasudeva 2004:XXXIX ff.

Ritual and its overall meaning: Śivahood in initiation and beyond

Śaiva initiation confers the right to practise certain rituals (both obligatory and optional) on the initiate and, at the same time, it is the purificatory rite that performs the major part of his preparation for final release. In its commonest form, which does not produce salvation immediately, initiation purifies the individual soul while leaving certain residual impurities, which are then eliminated in the course of time.

Among the earliest scriptural sources, all of which prescribe initiation to be performed with basically the same ritual structure, the scriptures of the Siddhānta appear to treat the purpose and meaning of initiation much more often than more esoteric schools teaching the cult of Bhairava and *yoginī*s; and there may be a reason for that.[8] Tantras teaching the cult of Bhairava and *yoginī*s concentrate much more on the attainment of supernatural powers and on worldly enjoyments that result from the attainment of such powers, and therefore are less concerned with the meaning of rites that lead to these (for them) obvious results. But the scriptures of the Śaiva Siddhānta aim primarily at salvation,[9] which normally happens only at the time of death. Therefore, they have probably more reason to argue and demonstrate why and how that (in this life) invisible result shall come about after considerable time of dedication. As the *Tantrasadbhāva* puts it: All teachings say that initiation equals liberation; but liberation is invisible, although it is proven by a visible cause.[10]

In fact, envisaging a question about the very existence of liberation as such was not inconceivable to the Śaiva tradition:

> Pratoda spoke:
> Some hold that this liberation is empty of the existence of all things, since it is

[8]On some other questions concerning initiation and liberation in the Siddhānta, see Goodall 2006.

[9]This does not mean they do not teach the attainment of supernatural powers; but their focus is different. See Sanderson 1988.

[10]*Tantrasadbhāva* (9.236, referring to the various visible signs one is supposed to display when initiated): *śāsanānāṃ tu sarveṣāṃ dīkṣā mokṣo vadanti hi | sa ca mokṣas tv adṛṣṭas tu sādhyate dṛṣṭahetunā*. This argument is less sophisticated than what Sanderson 1995:24 refers to before elucidating the theological problem and the answers exegetes have tried to give. 'It is only here [i.e. in the obligatory worship of those who seek liberation alone] that it was felt necessary to formulate explanations of the far from obvious process by which ritual as the manipulation of finite forms and quantities could achieve the infinite and absolute state of liberation.'

> when the existence of those has reality that the soul is involved in what characterises *saṃsāra*.
> Prakāśa spoke:
> If liberation were not real, a means [to accomplish it] could not reach it, since its nature should be to accomplish a [really existing] goal. [And] who would use a means [to such a goal]?[11]

It is also notable that among the demonstrably early scriptures of the Siddhānta the texts concerned with the problem of how ritual works and what its meaning is are relatively late.[12] This may be due to the fact that such questions were raised only after the Śaiva Siddhānta established itself to some extent and it was felt that a somewhat more solid theoretical defence of the system was needed. Such defence may have also been prompted by the fact that other (Śaiva) schools tried to challenge the original ritual system. It is also noteworthy that scriptures other than those of the Siddhānta discussing this problem also seem to belong to a relatively later layer of the tradition (such as the *Tantrasadbhāva*).

As to the purpose of initiation, it is often brought out in a semantic analysis (*nirvacana*), which is frequently cited by the exegetes.[13] In all versions of this analysis, initiation, *dīkṣā* is derived from two verbs: to give, *dā-*, and to destroy, *kṣi-*. The *Parākhyatantra*, which has a relatively long discussion of the subject, puts it in the following words (15.10):

> It bestows (*dā-*) Śivahood and destroys (*kṣi-*) the bonds of the soul – therefore it is called intiation (*dīkṣā*), established as such because of the bestowing and destroying functions.[14]

[11] *Pratoda uvāca: sarvārthabhāvaśūnyā sā keṣāṃ cin muktir īpsitā | yatas tadbhāvasadbhāve pumān saṃsāradharmagaḥ || Prakāśa uvāca: abhāvarūpayā muktyā sādhanaṃ na tadāśritam | sādhyasādhanarūpatvāt prayoktā sādhanasya kaḥ || Parākhya* 15.46–47. Translation quoted from Goodall 2004:399. As remarked by Goodall 2004:399 in view of the subsequent discussion, it is not very likely that a particular rival's conception is referred to when the real existence of liberation is questioned. However, the argument could be perhaps that of a *śūnyavādin*.

[12] For the relatively late date of the *Mataṅgapārameśvara* and the *Parākhya*, which are used here, see Goodall 1998:lxxiii–lxxiv. As Goodall 2004:lviii concludes, the *Parākhya* is perhaps the latest of the early listed scriptures of the Siddhānta. Among the early Saiddhāntika scriptures, it is only the *Mṛgendra*, the *Mataṅgapārameśvara* and the *Parākhya* that have more developed theological discussions (see Goodall 2004:xlviii).

[13] This semantic analysis is mentioned in Sanderson 1992:287 and Goodall 2004:386 note 865. For yet more examples and their translations, see *Somaśambhupaddhati* vol. 3, pp. 3–4. See also *Bhairavamaṅgalā* 257b–d, with a slightly different wording: *śivatvaṃ ca pradīyate | aśivā (?) malakṣayaṃ kṛtvā dīkṣ[ā] iti vidhīyate* (*iti* corr. Somdev Vasudeva: *itya* MS).

[14] *śivatvasya pradānaṃ yat kṣapaṇaṃ pāśasaṃtateḥ | tena dīkṣā samākhyātā taddānāt kṣapaṇāt*

As pointed out above, normally neither of these two aspects of initiation is fully carried out in the rite of initiation itself. For if the initiate was to obtain perfect Śivahood, and if all his bonds that tie him in this world were to be cut, he would cease to live and would become Śiva or Śiva-like immediately. Instead, what initiation bestows is supposed to mature through time, as explained in the same text about the fruit of initiation:

> Its fruit arises through maturation, just as [fruit arises] from sowing seeds in the ground. That fruit is Śiva-hood, which releases [from the bonds], [and] which is of the nature of bliss.[15]

The above cited semantic analysis of the word 'initiation' occurs in slightly different forms in other texts. According to these variants, things to be given and to be destroyed are not exactly the same. The citations below replace the attainment of Śivahood with that of knowledge, and the bonds that are severed with the impressions of the bound soul or karmic residues obliterated.

> True knowledge is bestowed (*dī-yate*) and the impressions of the bound soul are destroyed (*kṣī-yante*). Therefore, because it is associated with bestowing and destroying, it is called here initiation (*dīkṣā*).[16]

> True knowledge is bestowed and the impression of actions is destroyed. Therefore, because it is capable of bestowing and destroying, it is called initiation; it is the purification of those who are ready.[17]

The variations concerning what is eliminated, whether it is the impressions of the bound soul (*paśu*) or actions (*karma*) that are destroyed seems less important here. Although being a bound soul implies not only karmic bonds, what

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sthitā || For a different formulation with the same purport, see *Mataṅgaṅgapārameśvara Kriyāpāda* 2.2–3b (also referred to in Goodall 2004:389, note 865): *dānaṃ nāma parā kāṣṭhā mantrapradhvastakarmaṇām* | *paśor yā vyaktim āyāti prakṣīṇakaluṣasya ca* || *anayoḥ śāsane siddhā dīkṣā kṣapaṇadānayoḥ*.

[15] *paripākāt phalaṃ tasyā bījakṣepād yathā bhuvi* | *ānandalakṣaṇaṃ tat syāc chivatvaṃ muktidaṃ phalam*, *Parākhya* 15.45. Translation by Goodall 2004:399.

[16] *dīyate jñānasadbhāvaḥ kṣīyante paśuvāsanāḥ* | *dānakṣapaṇasaṃyuktā dīkṣā teneha kīrtitā*, scripture cited by Jayaratha ad *Tantrāloka* 1.43 and by Kṣemarāja ad *Svacchandatantra* 5.87, replacing the second *pāda* with the singular of the same words.) See also *dīyate paramaṃ jñānaṃ kṣīyate karmavāsanā*, scripture cited by Yogarāja ad *Paramārthasāra* 3.

[17] Cited by Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha in his *Mṛgendravṛtti ad Mṛgendrāgama Kriyāpāda* 8.1 *dīyate jñānasadbhāvaḥ kṣīyate karmavāsanā* | *dānakṣapaṇayogyā hi dīkṣā śuddhiḥ kṛtātmanām*. The first compound is translated more literally as 'true nature, which is Knowledge' (la nature vraie, qui est Connaissance) by Brunner 1985:198.

is destroyed during the most part of initiation is karmic impurity. This could explain why *karmavāsanā* appears here as a synonym of *paśuvāsanā*, even if, strictly speaking, the latter would imply more than karma.

The transfer of knowledge instead of Śivahood in some versions is possibly more significant. What can be intended here by (true) knowledge is the realisation of one's identity or similarity with Śiva, which ultimately leads to Śivahood after some maturation, as the passage above explained. But knowledge may also stand for one of Śiva's qualities the initiate shall finally obtain at the time of his liberation: omniscience.[18]

This variant leads us to the question of the role of knowledge in Śaiva ritual in general. For it is knowledge of Śaiva doctrine, transmitted in the course of initiation, that can possibly ensure that the performer of the ritual perceives and understands the meaning of what he does.

It is often reiterated that one of the major differences between the dualist Siddhānta and nondualist schools of Śaivism is that the latter gives more importance to knowledge, in the sense that it sees liberation primarily as the knowledge or realisation of one's identity with Śiva. By contrast, dualist Śaivas maintain that initiation must always involve and depends on external (i.e. not internal, mentally performed) ritual, which removes (most) impurities in the same way as one removes a cataract from the eye. Now this opposition is certainly present in exegetical texts,[19] but it does not imply that knowledge in general is more important for the nondualists. For, as Sanderson (1995:40–41) points out, dualist exegetes claim that the practitioner can remove impurities that remain after initiation only if his daily ritual is also a cognitive action. It is nevertheless true that according to this theory, knowledge works as a kind of action and not as knowledge.

If we turn to the scriptures, some that are qualified as dualist or belonging to the Siddhānta lay rather heavy emphasis on the role of knowledge, and it seems they do so much more often than the supposedly nondualist texts of *yoginī* cults. They explain the link between Śivahood and knowledge as follows:

> The real nature of Śiva is revealed to the individual so that his knowledge may manifest itself. Enlightened by this knowledge, he will appear as Śiva and he

[18]It must also be remarked that the *Parākhya* perhaps deliberately tranformed the line into a more recognisably Śaiva definition by replacing knowledge with Śivahood and karma with 'the bound soul' (*paśu*). The *Mataṅgapārameśvara* also presents a more shaivite version.

[19]For the categories of dualist and nondualist in various Tantric senses and in the scriptures as opposed to exegetical sources, see Sanderson 1992:282ff.

> will be Śiva when his body ceases to exist.[20]
>
> When one is initiated by a guru, due to an intense descent of Śiva's Power, one becomes omniscient like Śiva, being devoid of limited knowledge; then one is filled with the manifestation of Śivahood and one shall not return to the world of transmigration.[21]
>
> He [the person who has attained Śivahood] has that true knowledge which is left, all bonds [having] fallen away it. It is pure, has everything as its object and is devoid of all limitations.[22]
>
> When ignorance and one's limited power to act are consumed by the fire of knowledge, then all dispositions of the mind such as passion [or desire (*abhilāṣa*), egotism (*ahaṃkāra*)], together with things beyond this range [i.e. anything else produced by ignorance[23]], will be destroyed immediately. From that moment, one's [remaining] karmas are destroyed and one will obtain unlimited Śivahood, visibly and completely.[24]

Knowledge as a powerful instrument and an important aim appears in contexts other than initiation and the direct attainment of Śivahood. It is also claimed as necessary for the performance of any ritual. Ritual and knowledge about what it means are thus inseparably linked, as it is explained in the passage below, using the more general concepts of 'action' (which implies more specifically ritual action) and 'knowledge'.[25]

> Knowledge by itself is not seen to produce results, since, when [objects of desire such as] women or food are cognised, enjoyment of them is not possible without action. So too action depends on knowledge, for action is necessarily

[20] *jñānābhivyaktaye vyaktaṃ śivatattvam aṇuṃ prati | vyakto 'sau śivavad bhāti śiva eva tanukṣaye*, *Mataṅgapārameśvaratantra, vidyāpāda* 26.72.

[21] *tīvraśaktinipātena guruṇā dīkṣito yadā | sarvajñaḥ sa śivo yadvat kiñcijjñatvavivarjitaḥ || śivatvavyaktisaṃpūrṇaḥ saṃsārī na punas tadā*, *Kiraṇatantra* 1.21–22ab. For a different translation according to Rāmakaṇṭha's interpretation, see Goodall 1998:215ff.

[22] *sajjñānaṃ tasya tacchiṣṭaṃ sarvapāśaparicyutam | śuddhaṃ tat sarvaviṣayaṃ sarvopādhibahiṣkṛtam* (*Parākhya* 15.65) describing true knowledge in the state of Śivahood, along with true dispassion, power and dharma. Translation by Goodall 2004.

[23] According to Rāmakaṇṭha's commentary ad loc.

[24] *yadā vidyāgninā pluṣṭā sāvidyā kalayā saha | madādayas tadā sarve hy āśayāś cordhvagocarāḥ | dhvaṃsam āyānti vai kṣipraṃ; tatkṣaṇāt kṣīṇakarmaṇaḥ | puṃso 'mitaṃ śivatvaṃ syāt prakaṭaṃ sarvatomukham* (*Mataṅgapārameśvaratantra, vidyāpāda* 26.75cd–77ab).

[25] The context of the following passage is the discussion of the four means (*sādhana*) one can employ to attain liberation, viz. knowledge (*jñāna*), (ritual) action (*kriyā*), yoga and observances (*caryā*). The arguments, however, go beyond these specific considerations.

preceded by knowledge. Therefore both knowledge and action come together as the means to attain the fruit. And *caryā* [[observances]] and yoga are taught to be subsidiary to knowledge and action.[26]

According to passages cited above, the transfer of Śaiva knowledge can have several roles after initiation: it reveals and confirms the initiate's Śivahood, which he will fully obtain after death; it destroys by itself several negative dispositions of the bound soul (so knowledge has the power to act on the bonds of the bound soul); and Śaiva knowledge is also indispensable in order to perform Śaiva ritual after initiation, which in turn also contributes to the full destruction of the bonds.

But this efficiency of knowledge – as well as ritual action – can only work for those who have the right to perform post-initiatory practices. Women, children, the elderly, the hedonists and other such weak creatures are unable to obey post-initiatory rules of pratice, and therefore are excluded from (ritual) action and knowledge:

And for children and others [incapable of following the post-initiatory observances of the cult], He has taught the cleansing of post-initiatory observances and such, by which the activities referred to as knowledge and action are therefore excluded for them.[27]

The same scripture also raises the question of meaningfulness in another context. It concludes that life-cycle rites and the like are meaningful only inasmuch as they ensure a social framework for Śaivas, which is important to show to the outside, non-Śaiva world.[28]

Celibacy [and other observances] are for the sake of the [continued] functioning of social institutions and practices. Otherwise Śaivas would be reviled as being without correct practices and without social groupings. There are no particular

[26] *kevalatvena na jñānaṃ dṛśyate phalasādhakam || yataḥ strībhakṣavijñāne tatsukhaṃ na kriyojjhitam | jñānāpekṣā kriyāpy evaṃ jñānapūrvā yataḥ kriyā || ato jñānakriye dve 'pi phalopāyasamāgate | caryāyogāv api proktau citkriyānugatāv api* (*Parākhya* 15.14cd–16). Translation by Goodall 2004:391–392.

[27] *bālādīnām api proktaṃ samayādiviśodhanam | vyāpāro dṛkkriyākhyo 'to vyāvṛttas teṣu yena saḥ* (*Parākhya* 15.31). Translation by Goodall 2004:395.

[28] I understand that *brahmacarya* here stands metaphorically for practices belonging to life-cycle rites and other rituals, defined and prescribed by Smṛtis and practised by Śaivas and non-Śaivas alike; but that it does not cover Śaiva initiation and daily ritual. For a different interpretation, see Goodall 2004:394.

> benefits of those [practices and so forth to be derived] from the variety of practices that can be chosen; but still this variety of practices must be protected, just as [the caste hierarchy of] brahmins and the other castes [must be respected].[29]

A similar view is expressed at one place in another, earlier scripture,[30] which states that any post-initiatory expiation is performed only to keep up appearances. Although the text refers to expiatory or reparatory rites (*prāyaścitta*) in particular, which are meant to make up for omissions and faults committed while performing other ritual actions, it may understand that expiation includes most post-initiatory rites by extension; and that those initiated do not need any ritual, for they are already liberated. Indeed, apart from certain elements in daily ritual, all other rites were or could be generally considered expiatory.[31]

> Those who belong to the four *varṇa*s, of unmixed origin, and have been purified by Śaiva initiation are released from all sins, just as those who are absorbed in Śaiva knowledge.[32] [For them,] any [post-initiatory] expiation is taught only to protect common social practice.[33]

Although the passages cited justify the necessity of knowledge including ritual knowledge, and, in one way or other, maintain that at least certain post-initiatory rituals and practices are needed, they do not clarify why or in what particular way post-initiatory ritual contributes to the destruction of the remaining bonds or impurities in the course of time.

The answer given by the exegetes[34] is that the daily enactment of one's transformation into Śiva, which is a necessary part of all Śaiva worship, gradually

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[29] *āśramācāravṛttyarthaṃ brahmacaryam iha sthitam | nindyāḥ syur anyathā śaivā nirācārā nirāśramāḥ || na tatphalaviśeṣo 'sti vṛttibhedair vikalpitaiḥ | tathāpi paripālyo 'sau vṛttibhedo dvijādivat ||* (*Parākhya* 15.28–29). Translation by Goodall 2004:394.

[30] *(Pauṣkara-)Pārameśvaratantra* cited in Goodall 1998:361.

[31] On this idea, deriving from Vedic ritual theory, see Sanderson 1995:31

[32] The last clause may be understood in two ways. It could mean that those absorbed in Śaiva knowledge are liberated even if they are not of unmixed origin etc. (This has been followed in the translation.) Or it could have a restrictive sense, i.e. that not only one has to belong to the four varnas, of unmixed origin etc, but also absorbed in Śaiva knowledge in order to be liberated. The grammatical structure suggests the former interpretation, but the restrictive meaning could equally have been intended, for the last clause may be added there in this form for metrical reasons.

[33] *varṇinaḥ śuddhajātīyā[ḥ] śivadīkṣāviśodhitāḥ | vimuktāḥ sarvapāpebhyaḥ śivajñānaparāś ca ye || lokasaṃvṛttirakṣārthaṃ prāyaścittaṃ prakīrtitam* (cited by Goodall 1998:361, who understands the passage to mean that all post-initiatory observances are unnecessary).

[34] See Sanderson 1995:38ff. and 1992:287.

contributes to the ultimate tranformation obtained only at death. Although exegetes would differ in the interpretation of how exactly this contribution to Śivahood takes place, they would agree on the necessity of daily rites due to this principle. And this enactment of Śivahood is indeed prescribed in all scriptures. Their principle is often cited in the form of "*śivo bhūtvā śivaṃ yajet*": becoming Śiva, one should worship Śiva.[35]

While the exegetical understanding seems sensible, I have not found any actual occurrence of such interpretation of the daily ritual in the scriptures. Either it was something too obvious for their authors to state, or it was simply not one of their major concerns.[36]

What is nevertheless quite remarkable is that some early scriptures of the Siddhānta do question the point and meaning of certain rites. Even if these questions are rare and cannot be called typical, they show us that such doubts were not voiced only by anti-ritualist Kaula texts. These argumentative passages form an important part of the history of ritual interpretations.

Another noteworthy element in these arguments is that, at least in some cases, it is accepted that some – or even most – rites are performed only for the sake of preserving common social practice, in order to maintain a façade of conformity. Part of the difference between the ritualists and the anti-ritualists then is simply that the former want to preserve this façade, while the latter do not find it necessary.[37]

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[35]Another possibility has been proposed by Richard H. Davis (1992b). He suggests that what is enacted in the course of daily worship is the divine cosmological activities of emission and reabsorption, and that it is – at least partly – by this enactment of the divine functions that one's tranformation is effected. Examples for reabsorption include the reabsorption of all the levels of the universe (*tattva*s of the subtle body) before worship, and the return of the secondary circles of deities into the central one, Śiva, at the end of a *pūjā*. Emission is performed when the worshipper creates his divine body with mantras, or when he visualises the secondary circles of deities (*āvaraṇa*s) around Śiva. Such practice of creating and reabsorbing the universe and the senses seems to be described in *Paramārthasāra* 78 as a special kind of mantra recitation (*japa*); but here there may be an allusion to a more esoteric Kaula practice. In Yogarāja's commentary ad loc. (p. 150), °*sṛṣṭisthitisaṃhārakrameṇa* should be emended to °*sṛṣṭisaṃhārakrameṇa*, a reading found also in the ms. Wilson (531e) at the Bodleian library.

[36]It is of course also possible that I have failed to identify this interpretation or a relevant passage in the available corpus, or that a now lost text dealt with it.

[37]This difference of attitude is also reflected in two similar *pāda*s: *lokasaṃvṛttirakṣārtham* ('*in order to protect* common social practice') in the above citation of the *(Pauṣkara)Pārameśvara* as opposed to *lokapravṛttihetvarthe* ('*because of* social practice') in a passage of the *Tantrasadbhāva* quoted below.

The significance of particular elements of a ritual

Another way in which ritual is or can be considered meaningful is if its constitutive elements are meaningful, in other words, if each of its elements taken separately contribute to the ultimate purpose, whether directly or indirectly. Here, I shall examine four ways in which scriptures attribute meaning to certain elements of ritual. The first is the identification of various elements with Śiva, the second is the analysis of the meaning of elements in the immediate ritual context, the third is giving meaning to some elements irrespective of the ritual context in the form of semantic analyses, and the fourth is attributing meaning through internalisation of some ritual elements.

The meaning of elements in relation to Śiva: identification of a support with Śiva

In the course of all Śaiva ritual, various factors of the rite are transformed into Śiva, by infusing mantras into them. This fact has been emphasised by nondualist exegetes in order to affirm that it promotes awareness of one's identity with the god, and thus leads to liberation.[38] In fact, the same procedure is seen in all the Tantras and manuals, not only in those of the nondualist school. Moreover, this identification is practised not only in view of final liberation, but also to obtain success in this world. Scriptures abound in lists of factors which are thus transformed. The following is just a sample to illustrate the idea in various ritual contexts, from daily ritual to initiation and rites of magic.

> One should worship the Lord of gods in an image (*liṅge*), on a platform, in the fire-pit [as the sacred fire] or in the [practitioner's] body – thus is it always taught.[39]
>
> After the *pūjā* performed in this way on the platform and in the [purificatory] chalice, one should worship the Highest Lord in the fire-pit and in one's own

[38] On the nonduality of the factors of action, see Sanderson 1995:48–49

[39] *Svāyambhuvasūtrasaṃgraha* 17.28 (in the context of daily ritual): *pūjayed atha deveśaṃ liṅge vā sthaṇḍile 'pi vā | agnikuṇḍe 'thavā dehe nityam evaṃ prakīrtitam*. Here as elsewhere, *liṅga* probably does not denote the well-known phallic representation of Śiva, but may mean any kind of image in which Śiva is installed. The platform usually implies the *maṇḍala* drawn on it, but other objects can also be placed there. Śiva is made to be born in the fire from the Goddess of speech (Vāgīśvarī), and he is identified with the ritual fire in the course of fire offerings. He is propitiated, and takes part in the purificatory procedure during initiation. 'Body' signifies the practitioner's own body, transformed into Śiva by the appropriate mantras.

body.[40]

> If one worships Him properly on one's hand, on the platform, in an idol (*liṅge*), on the *maṇḍala*, in the rice-offering, in the water [of the purificatory chalice], one shall obtain the fruit of initiation.[41]

> One should visualise Rāvaṇa with the Sword [Khaḍgarāvaṇa, a manifestation of Śiva] together with his Female Mantra-companions in one's body, in an idol, in the middle of the sacrificial fire and on a platform.[42]

While these identifications explain the *raison d'être* of the major factors of Śaiva worship, they do not attribute meaning to smaller elements and minor details of the ritual, nor do they explain why certain minor actions are performed.

The meaning of elements in relation to each other, in the immediate ritual context

A certain number of elements which are not identified or identifiable with Śiva can gain significance because they fit into a longer ritual sequence whose final aim is the preparation of one of the factors identified with Śiva. In these cases, the link of the particular element with the rest is quite obvious and does not

[40] *Tantrasadbhāva* 9.119 (in the context of initiation): *evaṃ saṃpūjayitvā tu sthaṇḍile kalaśe tathā | kuṇḍe cātmaśarīre ca pūjayet parameśvaram.*

[41] *Svacchandatantra* 3.31cd–32ab (in the context of initiation): *svahaste sthaṇḍile liṅge maṇḍale caruke tathā | jale cāgnau ca saṃpūjya samyag dīkṣāphalaṃ labhet.* Śiva worshipped on one's hand means the so-called *Śivahasta* or 'Śiva's hand'. The guru ritually places the appropriate mantras on his right hand, which is thus tranformed into Śiva. He then puts his hand ceremonially on the initiand's head, thus transferring Śiva's power onto him. See e.g. *Somaśambhupaddhati* 3 p. 97. As Brunner explains in note 245 on p. 98ff., this gesture may have been the most important moment of initiation at an earlier date. Tantras teaching goddess worship call this hand the *śaktihasta* 'the hand of Śiva's power' and prescribe the transformation of the left hand, instead of the right one. See e.g. *Brahmayāmala* 38.3–5 (187r3). The purificatory elements, fire and water, are also worshipped as Śiva, just as the rice-offering made to Him.

[42] *Kriyākālaguṇottara* fol. 57v (for the attainment of supernatural powers): *ātmadehe tathā liṅge agnimadhye ca sthaṇḍile | dhyāyet khaḍgeśvaraṃ devaṃ(dhyāyet em : dhyāyeta) vidyāmantrais tu āvṛtaṃ.* In the context of the attainment of supernatural powers, it may be significant that the male deity is not invoked on his own in the usual *loci* of worship, but accompanied by a host of goddesses or demonesses. In various Tantras of different branches (e.g. the *Svacchandatantra*, the *Kriyākālaguṇottara*, the *Mataṅgapārameśvara*, and the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata*), the same phenomen can be observed quite often. When the deities are invoked to bestow supernatural powers, they are often accompanied by a larger circle of deities, which usually includes additional female deities. For some more details and references, see Törzsök 2003:203ff.

need any clarification. I shall give two examples of such contextually required or justified rites. The first is the case of hand-gestures, *mudrā*s. By simple analogy, they are associated with certain ritual acts which are reinforced or even performed by them. A text confirms that they are to be shown to complete the ritual action (*pūraṇāya kriyāvidheḥ Mṛgendra Kriyāpāda* 3.26d). Thus, the presence of four different *mudrā*s are justified by the actions they perform, as in the following passage: the invocation of the deity is accompanied by the hand gesture of Invocation, then the god is installed with gesture of Establishing, greeted with the gesture of Homage and retained with the *mudrā* of Blocking.[43]

> One should invoke the mantra-body [of Śiva] following the sequence of creation,[44] starting from the end of the mantra [i.e. from the point situated twelve inches above the head according to Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha], creating the ancillary-mantras of He Who Has the Radiance of the Rising Sun. This is to be done with the gesture of Invocation. Then one should establish Him in a support made of His powers[45] with the gesture of Establishing, and after receiving Him with the gesture of Homage, one should make him stay there with the Blocking gesture.[46]

[43]It is noteworthy that the commentator, Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha, does not seem happy with this straightforward explanation of how the gestures function. Therefore, he gives a general semantic analysis of the word, which is based on another passage of the same text: ...the gestures (*mudrā*) seal (*mudrayanti*) the numerous obstacles [i.e. demons] that could have found some occasion [to interfere with the rite]; the gestures do not let them free, that is why they are called *mudrā*s. (*...labdhāvakāśaṃ vighnaughaṃ mudrayanti na tu svātantryaṃ kurvantīti mudrāḥ*). Cf. *Mṛgendra Kriyāpāda* 5.2ab, whence this derivation comes. I come back to this *nirvacana* below.

[44]This is normally done by identifying five sections of the body with five large segments of the universe, five parts of Śiva's fivefold mantra and five Śaiva ancillary mantras, starting from the uppermost of each (the downward movement representing creation, the way in which the created object is further and further away from its source, the creator). The equivalences can slightly differ in various Tantras. For two examples, see *Somaśambhupaddhati* vol. 3, Pl. III, IV and V.

[45]The word *śāktavigraha* refers to the term *vidyāmūrti* or 'female mantra body' according to Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha ad loc. (*nirliṅgā daṇḍākārā vidyāmūrtiḥ*): Śiva's body made up of his mantras, having no particular visual representation apart from being arranged vertically. See Brunner 1985:48.

[46]*Mṛgendra Kriyāpāda* 3.12cd–14ab: *mūrtāv āvāhanaṃ kuryān mantrāntāt sṛṣṭivartmanā* || *navārkatejaso 'ṅgāni vidhāyāvāhamudrayā* | *sthāpanyā sthāpanaṃ kuryāc chāktavigrahasaṃśraye* || *praṇatyā saṃnidhīkṛtya nirudhyād rodhamudrayā*. For an illustration of how to perform the hand gestures, see e.g. *Somaśambhupaddhati* vol. 1, Pl. I, keeping in mind that Tantras can slightly differ on this subject.

Another, different kind of example of how ritual elements depend on each other and form a sequence could be the various rites performed around the fire-pit, which is identified with Śiva. Śiva is in fact born there from the goddess of speech, Vāgīśvarī, whose presence implies a whole series of rites. A small house is symbolically created for her with sacred *kuśa* grass; she is protected behind a curtain visualised around her, and before she conceives she is ritually given a bracelet to be tied on her right wrist so that she should have a male child. Thus, a major factor in Śaiva ritual, the fire identified with Śiva, justifies and necessitates a chain of minor rites. It is, however, never questioned why just exactly these actions are needed to establish Śiva in the fire.[47]

The concatenation of minor rites is something one can observe in various contexts. But just as the association of *mudrā*s with the corresponding ritual actions are too obvious to point out, so too the ways is which minor ritual items are linked to each other are left unexplained. Rather than stating such trivial matters, the scriptures devote their attention to more complex associations of ritual and meaning. Why is Śiva worshipped in such and such forms? What is the purpose of carrying attributes such as the sword? What is the point of performing ritual in prescribed places, at crossroads, on the top of a mountain etc? What is the actual role of consorts in ritual? The scriptures do attempt to provide answers to such questions. However, it must be remarked that in most cases, the replies they give are not the more or less obvious ones we would expect them to say. In several examples below, instead of offering straightforward explanations, some texts develop what could be called an exegetical discourse on each subject. And in so doing, they sometimes anticipate their own, later, exegesis by writers such as Abhinavagupta and Kṣemarāja. Indeed, it seems that some of these texts are the first to write the exegesis of their own tradition.

The meaning of elements on their own 1: semantic analyses

In analysing less evident and more hidden links between ritual and meaning, the scriptures often turn to a traditional exegetical device: semantic analysis (*nirvacana*). The *nirvacana* of deity names is a device through which the exegetes, most notably Abhinavagupta and Kṣemarāja, often encoded additional, more esoteric meaning into their cult. But in this too, there are some scriptural antecedents, even if their analyses are far from being as learned and complex as the exegetical ones. Moreover, the aim of the scriptures is obviously not the

[47] For the sequence, see e.g. *Svacchandatantra* 2.183ff.

same as that of the exegetes in that they do not try to infuse the system of the Krama into them; these *nirvacana*s are attempts to fit all details into the ritual and doctrinal complex and thus to enrich their meaning.

One such semantic analysis appears in an unpublished anti-ritualist Kaula text, the *Kulasāra*.[48] Interestingly, it concerns the name of Bhairava, a favourite object of analysis in the Kashmirian exegetical literature. This well-known name describing a frightening form of Śiva denotes 'the Terrifying One' and derives in fact from the adjective *bhīru*, which comes from the verb *bhī-* 'to be afraid.'[49] Abhinavagupta and Kṣemarāja propose several complex exegetical analyses of the word. According to one one of them, the name is derived from an aggregate of three verbs: *bhṛ-, ru-* and *vam-*. The first verb 'to hold, to nourish' expresses that Bhairava holds and nourishes the world while he himself is held and nourished by the universe in which he is manifest. The second verb, *ru-* 'to roar', shows that Bhairava manifests the world as sound within himself. The third verb *vam-* in the sense 'to vomit' or 'to emit' refers to the fact that he emits or creates the universe, even if it is ultimately identical with him. The three verbs thus reflect the three divine functions, maintenance (*sthiti* with *bhṛ-*), retraction or resorption of the world into the god (*saṃhāra* with *ru-*) and creation (*sṛṣṭi* with *vam-*).[50] The analysis of the *Kulasāra* is much simpler, deriving the name from only one verbal root. But it agrees with Kṣemarāja and Abhinavagupta in making it come from the verb *bhṛ-*, to hold, in the sense that he holds or nourishes the universe and | or that he manifests himself as the universe.

> *bharitaṃ tena cāśeṣaṃ akalpanakalādikam*
> By Him everything is maintained | nourished | filled up, from the internal power of creation onwards.[51]

[48] For a summary of Kaula doctrines, see Sanderson 1988.

[49] bhī+Kru according to Pāṇini 3.2.174. *bhiyaḥ kru-klukan-au* Kru and KlukaN are *kṛt* (nominal) suffixes one can add only to the verb *bhī-*.

[50] Summary of Sanderson 1995:62–63, who analyses Kṣemarāja's interpretation in his commentary on *Svacchandatantra* 1.4ab with the help of the *Tantrāloka*, and points out, among other things, that the explanation of the *ru-* element requires more exegetical effort. See also *Tantrāloka* 1.96–100. For a detailed discussion of this topic, see the excellent analysis given in Kahrs 1998:55–97.

[51] The meaning of the word *akalpanakalā* is not clear to me. Lit. '*kalā* of non-fashioning', it could denote a section of the Śaiva universe called *śāntikalā*, the second one from above corresponding to the very beginning of creation; or it could stand for the highest level of pure non-creation. It could also mean 'limited power to act' (one of the senses of *kalā* itself), which is the first evolute of *māyā* or the plurality of creation, paving the way for other levels (*tattva*)

There is another line in the same text, which most probably also contains a semantic analysis, echoing *nirvacana*s well-known from Kashmirian exegesis.[52] Since the text is very fragmentary here, one cannot be sure what it is really about. The context is about Śiva's power, *śakti*, in any case, which suggests that the derivation concerns the goddess Kālī, but as she does not appear elsewhere in the text, this remains only a possibility.

> *kalā[ḥ/ṃ] kalayate sā tu kālasaṃgrahakāraka [ā(?)]...*(fol. 4r)
> She creates the Kalā(s) [i.e. the five levels of the universe(?); or: limited power to act(?)] and she withdraws time (*kāla*)... [therefore she is called Kālī]

These *nirvacana*s are not restricted to the texts of the more esoteric Kaula branch, although they are definitely less ubiquitous elsewhere. One example is to be found in the *Kriyākālaguṇottara*, a text mainly concerned with exorcism and snake-charms. In one of its longer sections, the text prescribes the worship of a god called Khaḍgarāvaṇa ('Sword-Rāvaṇa') and his female attendants. Khaḍgarāvaṇa is a Rāvaṇa-like form of Śiva, mostly invoked to chase away evil spirits who possess people. The *Kriyākālaguṇottara* tells us that once Śiva created five mantras in order to kill the demon Kālanemi. As it was a furious form of Śiva that created the mantras to fight the demon, his roar or cry (*rāva*) became the mantra-deity Khaḍgarāvaṇa. (The story is told by Śiva in the first person singular to the goddess.)

> *mantrās tv ete saha vidyai[r] niḥsṛtā mama dehataḥ |*
> *krodhe (krodhe em : krodha) krodheśvaro jāto rāve vai khaḍgarāvaṇa[ḥ] ||*
> And these mantras, together with their female mantras, were created from my body. Krodheśvara ('Lord of Wrath') was born from my wrath (*krodha*) and Khaḍgarāvaṇa from my roar (*rāva*).[53]

The derivation of Rāvaṇa from *ru-* 'to roar' is of course a common one, but the context created around it also explains why he is not a devotee (as he is in the *Rāmāyaṇa*), but an embodiment of Śiva. It is also possible, although

of the universal creation. Or this 'natural' *kalā* could also stand for divine energy, *śakti*. In any case, in most possible interpretations, it appears to denote the first step towards creation.

[52] For examples and their analysis, see Sanderson 1995:64.

[53] Note that *vidyā* is treated as an -a stem noun and the locative is used for the ablative.

by no means provable, that through this derivation some association is created between Khaḍgarāvaṇa and Śiva in the form of Rudra.[54]

Another semantic analyis, more closely related to ritual action, is to be found in a scripture of the Siddhānta. It explains that hand gestures, *mudrā*s, instead of simply repeating and confirming the ritual action in gestual language (as one would think from the examples given above), are employed to seal or paralyse (*mudrayanti*) demons called 'impeders' or 'obstacles', who could spoil the rite or make it unsuccessful. The derivation also makes use of the fact that *mudrā* is a feminine noun: 'Since they paralyse (*mudraṇāt*) the horde of obstacles, these Female Powers belonging to Śiva are called gestures (*mudrā*)'.[55]

Furthermore, objects or substances used in ritual are also given additional significance through *nirvacana*. Thus, again the *Kulasāra*, derives the name of one of the impure offerings, rice beer (*surā*), from the word 'god' (*sura*), while another word for alcohol (*vāruṇī*) is identified with the nectar of immortality:

> *kṣīrābdhimadhyamathanā[d] vyaktitvasamupāgatā*
> *avasthā vāruṇī jñeyā suraiḥ pītā surā smṛtāḥ* (fol. 78r–78v)
> Alcohol is called *vāruṇī* [in the sense of 'coming from or belonging to the god of the ocean, Varuṇa'] because it was produced as such from the churning of the milk ocean.[56] Rice beer is called *surā* because it was drunk by the gods (*suraiḥ*).

In this context, it is also notable that the *Kulasāra* justifies impure offerings such as alcohol and meat by pointing out that some vedic rites also require them: the Sautrāmaṇī involves drinking *surā* (rice beer), and the Aśvamedha for instance necessitates the killing of a horse: *sautrāmaṇyaṃ surāpānaṃ ... aśvamedhe tu cāśvaṃ vai evamādipaśor vadhaṃ* (fol. 70r). These lines are echoed in some similar arguments in Abhinavagupta's *Tantrāloka*. In the following pas-

[54] Ru-dra meaning 'running about (*dra-*) and roaring (*ru-*)' is a common interpretation recorded in dictionaries. For the name Rudra being separated into Ru-dra, see Kṣemarāja on *Netratantra* 16.64a glossing *sarvatorudraḥ* with *samastarugdrāvaṇād rudraḥ*. Rudra is explained by him here as 'annihilating (*drāvaṇa*) pain (*ruj-*)'. For yet another interpretations, see his commentary on *Svacchandatantra* 1.42 (vol. 1, p. 36.).

[55] *vighnaughamudraṇān mudrāḥ kathyante haraśaktayaḥ*, *Mṛgendra Kriyāpāda* 5.2ab. For some more sophisticated derivation in the exegetical literature, see e.g. Kṣemarāja ad *Netratantra* 7.33, explaining the word as 'bestowal (*rā-ṇa*) of happiness (*mud-a*)', 'releasing (*muc*) [from bonds] and destroying (*drāvaṇa*) [duality]' and as 'sealing (*mudraṇa*) the power (*dra-viṇa*) of supreme consciousness': *mudo harṣasya rāṇāt pāśamocanabhedadrāvaṇātmatvāt parasaṃviddraviṇamudraṇāc ca.*

[56] The meaning of the word *avasthā* here is not clear to me. It may be understood to form a compound with the preceding word.

sages, in addition to adducing the above examples of the *Kulasāra*, Abhinavagupta also justifies the prescription of a female partner (*dūtī*) in tantric rites by referring to the vedic injunction according to which a wife (*patnī*) is needed to perform the rites.

> *Surā* is pure for the sacrificer in the Sautrāmaṇī sacrifice, while it is impure [lit. 'contrary'] for others.[57] [...] There is no sacrifice without a wife, the gods are all treated as equals, the Brahmasatra requires the offering of alcohol, and one also offers the marrow, intestines and the heart [of animals]. This has been taught even in the scriptures of bound souls [i.e. in non-Śaiva scriptures] by the Lord.[58]

Cult objects do not escape from this scriptural exegesis either. The esoteric *Kaulajñānanirṇaya*[59] (3.10cd.) for instance gives the following, rather widespread,[60] derivation of the word *liṅga*, standing here probably for 'symbol' or 'idol'.

> *tena liṅgaṃ tu vikhyātaṃ yatra līnaṃ carācaram*
> Thus it is called *liṅga*, because [lit. 'in which'] the world of moving and non-moving creatures dissolve (*līn-am*) in it.[61]

Many other occurrences of semantic analysis in the scriptures could be enumerated to demonstrate the various ways and fields in which it was applied as an exegetical tool; and many of these occurrences would be similar to the above cited examples in that the explanations they give would be general, i.e. independant of the particular ritual context in which the object of analysis is used. However, it also happens that the *nirvacana* is applied not only to explain, but

[57] *sautrāmanyāṃ surā hotuḥ śuddhānyasya viparyayaḥ*, *Tantrāloka* 4.246ab.

[58] *na patnyā ca vinā yāgaḥ sarvadaivatatulyatā || surāhutir brahmasatre vapāntrahṛdayāhutiḥ | pāśaveṣv api śāstreṣu tad adarśi maheśinā*, *Tantrāloka* 15.172cd–173.

[59] This text, of which an eleventh century manuscript survives, probably dates from the 9th or 10th century C.E. For the dating of the manuscript, see e.g. Bagchi 1934. A discussion of the dating will be found in Shaman Hatley's thesis, which is in preparation at the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

[60] One of the earliest occurrences of this derivation may be in the commentary of Kauṇḍinya on *Pāśupatasūtra* 1.6: *līyanāl liṅganāc ca liṅgam*. For closer parallels, see *Niśvāsa Guhyasūtra* 1.100 *kathaṃ līyej jagat sarvaṃ liṅge caiva carācaram* and *Mālinīvijayottara* 18.3 *yajed ādhyātmikaṃ liṅgaṃ yatra līnaṃ carācaram | bahirliṅgasya liṅgatvam anenādhiṣṭhitaṃ yataḥ*. I am grateful to Dominic Goodall for pointing out these parallels in an email message of the 26th of August, 2006.

[61] The idea seems to be this: *liṃ | layaṃ gacchatīti liṅgam*, where *li-* would stand for *layam* or *līnatvam*, dissolution, and *ga-* for *gacchati*, to go.

to create a new form of ritual. In most of such cases, the old form of ritual is reinterpreted and transformed from external rite into an internal, mental or yogic one. While semantic analysis is not the only way of internalising ritual, it is a very common one in the Kaula scriptures.

The meaning of elements on their own 2: internalisation

The internalisation of several elements of external ritual was an important development in the history of Śaiva tantrism, and it has been amply analysed in the literature on the Kaula branch. Here I simply intend to show that this transformation of external into internal or mentally performed ritual was at least partly the result of the attempt to infuse more meaning into ritual, and that this quest for meaning is clearly discernible in some scriptural passages. An important element of internalisation in the Kaula cults was of course their esoteric interpretation of the word Kula, which, instead of denoting *yoginī* lineages, came to mean the body, consisting of various internal powers (internal *yoginī*s or *śakti*s).[62] But their interpretative élan went further than that. In what follows, I shall give examples of some more unusual internalisations through interpretation. The examples are mainly taken from the *Tantrasadbhāva*, which is not a purely Kaula scripture of the Trika; but the passages on internalisation I cite have all been borrowed in a Kaula text, the *Kubjikāmata*.[63]

The first set of examples concerns the attributes a practitioner (*sādhaka*) is supposed to carry during his *vidyāvrata*. The *vidyāvrata*, lit. 'observance of the female mantra', was an obligatory preliminary observance to propitiate mantras before making use of them, i.e. before invoking them to help in the attainment of supernatural powers. Various such observances are prescribed in different texts. The practitioner must usually wear certain clothes, carry certain objects, and wander around reciting a particular mantra. Sometimes excentric behaviour is also prescribed, reminiscent of *pāśupata* practices.[64] When the *Tantrasadbhāva* comes to the discussion of this topic, it lists a number of attributes prescribed for the practitioner to carry during his wanderings. For each object, the text gives an esoteric interpretation, by which the attribute, usually a weapon commonly carried by a deity, is enriched with esoteric meaning and is thus said to lead to final liberation. In each case, the interpretation takes the

[62] On a summary of the changes in the Kaula cult, see Sanderson 1988:679ff.

[63] These borrowings have been pointed out in Sanderson 2002.

[64] See e.g. chapter 10 of the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata*.

form of a semantic analysis, and the text introduces this passage as a *paribhāṣā* or explanation of technical terms. Here are three weapons of the long list:

> *vāmā jyeṣṭhā tathā raudrī icchājñānakriyātmikā[ḥ]* |
> *triśūlaṃ tripathaṃ khyātaṃ triśaktim anupūrvaśaḥ* ||
> The godesses Vāmā, Jyeṣṭhā and Raudrī are of the nature of Will, Knowledge and Action. Thus the trident is known to be made of these three goddesses, of three spheres | roads, in due order. [65]

> *kharūpā vyomagā śāntā nirmalā aṭate priye* |
> *kheṭakaṃ tena nāmaṃ tu dvādaśānte vyavasthitam* ||
> There is [a Female Power] which has the form of space (*kha*), moves in space, is calm and pure while erring (*aṭate*), o my beloved; therefore, she is called the shield (*kheṭaka*), which is established at twelve inches above the head.[66]

> *kartarī jñānaśaktis tu yena pāśāñ chinatty asau* |
> *sā kalā paramā sūkṣmā mantrāṇāṃ bodhanī parā* ||
> *kartarī kartṛrūpeṇa jñātavyā sādhakena tu* |
> The scissors | knife is the Power of Knowledge by which one cuts the bonds [of the soul]. It is an extremely subtle element, which is the supreme awakener of mantras. Thus it is to be known as the performer [of initiation | ritual] by the practitioner.[67]

These semantic analyses do not simply explain or justify why these objects should be carried by the practitioner; they transform them into his internal powers he must master in order to proceed in his observance. The object becomes a metaphor for a Female Power (*śakti*) in his body, and thus the whole rite is internalised. The external observance is transformed into a yogic practice.

The last interpretation concerning the *kartarī* (scissors or knife) is interesting also in that it gives us a parallel to Kṣemarāja's exegesis on an attribute of Svacchandabhairava, the sword. For in his commentary on *Svacchandatantra* 2.90, Kṣemarāja identifies the sword of the deity with the Power of Knowledge

[65] *Tantrasadbhāva* 9.107cd–108ab = *Kubjikāmata* 25.134. The word *tripatha* can denote a group of three worlds or spheres (such as *ātmatattva, vidyātattva* and *śivatattva* in the Śaiva context) or a place where three roads meet, which could also be understood to refer to the three goddesses metaphorically. The equivalence of the trident and the goddesses is also established through the homonymy of the word *śakti* 'female power' and 'spike | prong'. (N.B. Every noun is transformed into the neuter in the second line.)

[66] i.e. *khe aṭate – iti kheṭakam. Tantrasadbhāva* 9.108ab–109cd = *Kubjikāmata* 25.135. (*Nāman* is thematised.)

[67] I.e. *kartṛrūpeṇa pāśāñ chinattīti kartarī. Tantrasadbhāva* 9.111–112ab = *Kubjikāmata* 25.137cd–138.

(*jñānaśakti*) and calls it the instrument with which the bonds of the soul are cut – a role quite similar to that of the *kartarī* in the *Tantrasadbhāva*.[68]

In the same chapter of the *Tantrasadbhāva*, another set of equivalences concerns the places where the pracitioner is to go during his mantra observance. In fact, the list of places given also corresponds to the lists given in many Śaiva Tantras, which recommend them for the performance of any ritual, for daily worship as well as for intiation. The enumeration includes mainly abandoned places, such as abandoned mansions, the top of a mountain, forests etc. and places which are traditionally thought of as invested with magic properties such as the confluence of rivers or crossroads. The cremation gound is also mentioned of course. The primary reason for preferring these places must have been twofold: since they were abandoned, invested with magic power, they were particularly auspicious for tantric rites to obtain supernatural powers; and since they were far or hidden places, the rites could remain secret and well protected from the uninitiated. Although these reasons seem obvious and understandable enough, the appropriateness of these places would be difficult to justify soteriologically. However, through their reinterpretation, the *Tantrasadbhāva* gives them particular significance for the individual practitioner and his practice. The following examples are metaphorical understandings of two such places: 'the top of the mountain' and 'crossroads':

> The mountain is the mouth of the preceptor, and one should rely on | cling to the tip of his mouth. Thus is the mountain top [in Tantras] known metaphorically, o Goddess worshipped by the gods.[69]

> Oh Goddess, the crossroads is that of the goddesses Vāmā, Jyeṣṭhā, Raudrikā together with Ambikā – the individual soul roams there | in them.[70]

In this way, the places prescribed for ritual lose their primary association with external rites and magic. They are transformed into sources of knowledge and internal sources of power.

[68] This is not meant to suggest that Kṣemarāja borrows from this scripture, for in both cases, the word lends itself to the derivation mentioned quite easily.

[69] *Tantrasadbhāva* 9.45cd–46ab, *Kubjikāmata* 25.74: *parvataṃ guruvaktraṃ tu tasyāgram avalambayet | parvatāgraṃ smṛtaṃ tantre paryāyeṇa surārcite* (tantre TSB : tena KMT).

[70] *Tantrasadbhāva* 9.46cd–47ab: *catuṣpathaṃ bhaved devi vāmā jyeṣṭhā tu raudrikā | ambikāyā samāyuktā -m- aṭanaṃ pudgalasya tu*; citation almost identical with *Kubjikāmata* 25.75.

Names of consorts (*dūtī*s) in ritual, the Mother, Sister and Daughter (three nouns which are also used as simple synonyms of *yoginī*) are similarly reinterpreted; and their function and importance are again explained through semantic derivations.

> *māteva saṃsthitā śaktir jagato yonirūpiṇī* ||
> *atotpannaṃ samastaṃ hi vāṅmayaṃ sacarācaraṃ* |
> *tena māteti vikhyātā mayā te parameśvari* ||
> *udbhavasthā duhitṝ tu duhanā jagatasya tu* |
> *duhitṝ tu dvitīyā tu bhaginī tu tathocyate* ||
> *bhagarūpā parā sūkṣmā utpannā sātmanā saha* |
> *yathāgnis tejasā nityam anānātve vyavasthitaḥ* ||
> *tadvad eva hi cātmasthā bhaginī bhagarūpiṇī* |
> *svayaṃjātā mahāsūkṣmā nānyatkenaiva nirmitā* ||
>
> The female Power is established as the Mother, she is the matrix of the world. Everything moving and non-moving, made of speech, is born from her. Therefore I call her Mother, great goddess. The Daughter (*duhitṛ*) is established in the origin [of the world], she provides the world with desired objects (*duhanā*).[71] Thus the Daughter is the second [type of female power], now I explain the Sister (*bhaginī*). She is extremely subtle in the form of the female organ (*bhaga*), born together with the individual soul. Just as fire is always inseparable from its heat, so too the Sister, in the form the female organ, is within the individual soul. She is born of herself, is highly subtle, and is not constructed by anyone or anything else.[72]

In a more elaborate way, the sacred places (*pīṭha*s) are also internalised, starting with the confluence of the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā, Prayāga, in the navel, thus tranforming the external geography of pelegrination into an internal one. Both the *Tantrasadbhāva* and the *Kubjikāmata* affirm that the internal places are more important, and that external ones are prescribed only to comply with worldly conventions.[73] The *Kubjikāmata* then adds yet another set of equivalences, whereby it identifies various parts of a house with the sacred centres.

[71] The word meant is probably *dohanā*, which has both a primary and a metaphorical meaning. What is intended is probably the metaphorical one, but with reference to the verbal root *duh-*, 'to milk', which the text connects with *duhitṛ-*.

[72] The extract, in strongly Tantric Sanskrit, comes from the beginning of the passage in question (*Tantrasadbhāva* 9.132cd–136), which has been somewhat shortened in the version of the *Kubjikāmata* (25.158–160).

[73] *lokapravṛttihetvarthe bahiḥ pīṭhāḥ prakāśitāḥ* | *prakīrtitāḥ* (*Tantrasadbhāva* 9.79cd, *Kubjikāmata* 25.98ab).

Thus, Prayāga is placed in the middle of the house for instance, Aṭṭahāsa in the fire-place (*cullī*), Devīkoṭṭa in the grinding stone (*gharaṭṭa*) etc.

These equivalences are established, at least partly, in search of meaning in ritual. And in this respect, the Tantras continue the same method that one can see in the Brāhmaṇas and the Upaniṣads. For these vedic texts also seek meaning in ritual by creating macrocosmic and microcosmic links, equivalences – *upaniṣad*s – between elements of vedic ritual, the universe and the human body.[74]

Now the reinterpretations of these isolated elements in ritual do not necessarily change the basic ritual structure of initiation and daily rites, at least not in the *Tantrasadbhāva*. On the whole, the text does not reject external ritual altogether, but attempts to enrich the meaning of some observances by writing some sort of primary exegesis on them. These metaphoric interpretations, homologisations and even the internalisations remain separate from and independent of the traditional, external ritual complex of initiation and daily ritual, which are maintained and prescribed in this text. As opposed to this, Kaula scriptures go further in this interpretative procedure. For there, once the elements of a rite are given new meaning, the whole rite changes, often in that it becomes internal, and initiation and daily ritual are also affected by these transformations. The pan-Śaiva offering of eight flowers (*aṣṭapuṣpikā*), for instance, is transformed into an offering of eight mental flowers in the *Kaulajñānanirṇaya* (3.24ff): non-violence (*ahiṃsā*), the curbing of the senses (*indriyanigraha*), compassion (*dayā*), sincerety or devotion (*bhāva*), patience (*kṣamā*), the conquering of anger (*krodhavinirjita*), meditation (*dhyāna*), and knowledge (*jñāna*).[75]

[74]This idea was already expressed in a remark by Kahrs 1998:60, pointing out that the interiorisation of Śaiva ritual is 'strikingly similar to the way in which sacrifice was interiorised in late Vedic times.'

[75]This offering is performed with real flowers and recommended for the poor, the weak, women, children etc. in *Bṛhatkālottara* fol. 137r. In its various versions prescribed there, the flowers are to represent parts of Śiva's mantra-body and his throne. For more details, see Törzsök *1999:133 citing Prof. Alexis Sanderson's edition of the passage. Note that *Kiraṇatantra* 59.29 also prescribes what it calls mental (*mānasa*) flowers. (I thank Dominic Goodall for pointing out this passage in an email of 26th August, 2006.) However, this text seems to identify the flowers (whether they are indeed mental or just mentally transformed into something else) with various elements of a common worship (*pūjā*), i.e. water, honey mixed with milk and ghee, incense and lamps, sandalwood paste, roots, flowers and fruits, cooked food and clothes (understanding *vāsanā* in the sense of *vāsana*).

The meaning of the ritual elements in view of the ultimate purpose of ritual

As the above examples show, it was not an uncommon procedure to seek meaning in various elements of external ritual taken separately, especially concerning rites other than initiation and daily ritual. However, the purpose and meaning of rites are rarely questioned in view of the ultimate purpose of ritual, except in the more esoteric Kaula texts. The Kaula inquiries include questions that do not seem to preoccupy other scriptures and which also concern initiation and daily ritual. Why would one need to be purified before performing a rite? Why is a *maṇḍala* a necessary support on which to invoke the deities during initiation? These Kaula investigations result in the rejection of almost all external ritual, with the argument that this or that rite ultimately does not make sense. Below I should only like to point out a few arguments taken from Kaula scriptural sources. Thus, the *Kulasāra* reasons as follows on the futility of purificatory baths:

> Unwise people think that purity is obtained with water or earth. The body is born from blood and sperm and contains faeces, urine and phlegm. It is destined to live with disorders of the blood, the bile etc. Now how could purity be obtained by pouring water on it, oh Faultless One? When one rubs a stone, it can be shown to be made of earth. But just as it is destroyed [by rubbing] without becoming different, so too, embodied souls [remain the same]. If you rub a piece of charcoal or if you pour water on it, it will not abandon its own nature. The same is true for all embodied souls.[76]

Interestingly, another Tantra, the *Bhairavamaṅgalā*, uses the same image with almost identical wording. It continues the argument by saying that one should resort to non-duality, i.e. one should stop seeing objects in terms of pure or impure, auspicious or inauspicious. It concludes that nothing is inauspicious, and that only what is auspicious for Bhairava (*bhairava-maṅgalā*) exists. This in turn may refer to the title of the text itself.

> If you rub a piece of charcoal or pour water on it from hundreds of jars it will not abandon its own nature. The same is true for all embodied souls. Therefore,

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[76] fol. 74v *vāriṇā mṛttikābhiś ca śaucam icchanty apaṇḍitāḥ | raktaretodbhavaṃ piṇḍaṃ viṇmūtrakaphasaṃyutaṃ || raktapittādi-cānyaiś ca doṣair yukto vyavasthitaḥ | sa tatprakṣālanāc chuddhiḥ kathaṃ saṃbhāvyate 'naghe || śilāyāṃ ghṛṣyamānāyām mṛdbhavatvapradarśanaṃ | kṣayaṃ yāti na cānyatvaṃ tadvad dehavatāṃ punaḥ || ghṛṣyamāno yathāṅgāraḥ kṣālyamāno jalena tam | na jahāti svabhāvaṃ tu tadvat sarvaśarīriṇām*. As Somdev Vasudeva has pointed out (in his electronic text), the first line has a parallel in *Tantrāloka* 4.223.

> since nothing exists that would be pure by nature ... what is the purity of mind for people is non-duality ...[77] Nothing should be inauspicious, only what is auspicious to Bhairava exists.[78]

Of course, one could argue against this by saying that it is not the water or some other substance that purifies, but the water that has been transformed into Śiva by mantras. This is indeed affirmed by the *Bhairavamaṅgalā*, which consequently rejects not only all calendrical restrictions and observances, but also purificatory rites and baths, claiming that only mantras have the power to change the nature of someone or something.

> There are no rites to be performed on certain lunar dates or vows to be observed under certain constellations, no calendrical fasts,[79] purification, observances and baths, and there are no inauspicious moments. It is the mantra that is the supreme time, observance and secondary rites; baths and purificatory rites are ... established in mantras.[80] Mantras derive from the Omnisicent and are capable of ending this transmigration. They are unfailing, pure and still, devoid of inaspicious times and the like. They are made of time and they give rise to the *nāḍī*s. They perform initiation, and Sadāśiva is also formed with mantras. ... Just as something touched by the philosopher's stone turns from copper to gold, someone purified by initiation reaches Sivahood.[81]

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[77] The text is difficult to construe here either due to corruption or to irregular grammar or both.

[78] *Bhairavamaṅgalā* 249–252ab: *ghṛṣyamāno yathā[ṅ]gāraḥ kṣ[ā]lyamāno ghaṭaśataiḥ | na jahāti svabhāvatvaṃ tadvat sarvaśarīriṇām || tasmā[t] svabhāvaśuddhasya abhāve bhāvam āśritaḥ | bhāvaśuddhir manusyānām advaitaṃ bhāvam āśritam || amaṅgalaṃ na kiṃcit syād asti bhairavamaṅgalā* (*abhāve* has been corrected from *abhāved* and *na* from *naiva* by Somdev Vasudeva).

[79] These two *pāda*s rejecting only calendrical observances seem to have been quite popular, although they figure mostly in the context of obtaining supernatural powers. See e.g. *Tantrasadbhāva* 1.56 and *Tantrāloka* 29.65, the latter perhaps based on the former. A similar line, in yet another context, also occurs in the *Īśvarasaṃhitā* (19.787) and the *Viṣvaksenasaṃhitā* (38.3 and 39.321). I am grateful to Dominic Goodall for pointing out the popularity of this verse.

[80] The Sanskrit has an illegible syllable here.

[81] *Bhairavamaṅgalā* 252cd–256ab, 258: *na tithir na ca nakṣatraniyamo nopavāsakaṃ || na śaucaṃ na vratasnānaṃ kālavelā na vidyate | mantram eva (mantram eva em.: manum eva MS) paraṃ kālaṃ vrataṃ ca niyamādikam || snānaśaucādikaṃ karma mantra(–)tra pratiṣṭhitam | sarvajñād āgatā mantrāḥ bhavacchedakarā[ḥ] smṛtāḥ || amoghā nirmalā[ḥ] śāntā[ḥ] kālavelādivarjitāḥ | kālātmakaṃ bhaven mantraṃ mantrān nāḍisamutkalam || mantrais tu kriyate dīkṣ[ā] mantrarūpī sadāśivaḥ ... yathā rasendrasaṃ[s]pṛṣṭa[s] tāmrabhāvāṃ pramuñcati | tadva[d] dīkṣāviśuddhas tu śivatvaṃ pratipadyate.*

Now if it is Śiva in the form of mantras who purifies everything, he could just as well purify one directly, and do that once and for all. This is the point of view of the *Kaulajñānanirṇaya*, which affirms that he who has learnt the science of conquering old age from the Kaula texts will be able to purify anything by touching or by looking, thanks to the powerful rays of the Bindu.[82] Other common elements of daily ritual are also rejected, such as the material idol (*liṅga* probably referring to any idol here) in the *Kaulajñānanirṇaya*[83] and any kind of iconic image (*pratimā*) in the *Timirodghāṭana*:[84] 'For them [for true yogis] there is no clay, stone, silver or gold idol (*liṅga*). [...] What is the use of images for he who possesses the divine way [i.e. liberation]?'

In the same way, elements of the initatory ritual are also found purposeless: the tracing of the *maṇḍala*, which is necessary in other systems for the Samaya rite to introduce the neophyte into the Śaiva community, the construction of the fire-pit (*kuṇḍa*) together with all ritual around the fire, which are the principal means of initiation in the tantric systems. Instead, the *Timirodghāṭana*, for instance, states that the real fire-pit is in the body,[85] and that liberation occurs not through initiation with fire ritual, but through the transmission of knowledge.[86] In a similar spirit, the *Kulasāra* maintains that one can be initiated simply by the touch of a Kaula yogi.[87] Needless to say that other, optional rites, such as observances (*caryā*) are also often declared useless or to be done simply according to one's wish[88]; and sacred sites (*pīṭha*s) are not to be revered externally, but only inside the body.[89]

[82] 7.30cd–31ab: *yaṃ yaṃ spṛśati hastena yaṃ yaṃ paśyati cakṣuṣā | śuddhaṃ bhavati tat sarvaṃ parabindukiraṇāhatam* The printed text has *yāṃ yāṃ* for what should be *yad yat* in Sanskrit. 'Whatever he touches with his hand or looks at with his eyes will become pure, struck by the rays of the supreme Bindu.' Bindu stands here for the subtle essence of the power of all mantras.

[83] 3.14: *na kāṣṭhaṃ mṛṇmayaṃ liṅgaṃ na śailaratnasaṃbhavam...* '[In this system,] there is no wooden clay or stone idol (*liṅga*), nor one made of precious stones...'

[84] 12.4ab: *na teṣāṃ mṛṇmayaṃ liṅgaṃ na [śailaṃ] rūpyakāñcanam*; 12.14ab: *kiṃ tasya pratimārūpaiḥ yasya divyā gatiḥ sthitā*.

[85] *dehasthaṃ tu mahākuṇḍaṃ*. 'The great fire-pit is in the body.'

[86] 5.2ab: *yadā saṃkrāmita[ṃ] jñānaṃ tadā muktiḥ suniścitaṃ*. 'Surely, it is when knowledge is transmitted that liberation occurs.'

[87] *sparśanād dīkṣito bhavet* (fol. 40r). 'He will be initiated by touching.'

[88] See *Kaulajñānanirṇaya* chapter 12, *Kulasāra* fol. 83r.

[89] *Kulasāra* fol. 80v: *vāmadakṣiṇam agre tu tṛdhā pīṭhaṃ tu sundari | paryaṭed [d]ehasaṃsthaṃ tu yogī bāhye vivarjayet*.

While some of the internalisations cannot be considered reductions of ritual in that they involve elaborate visualisations, most of them not only internalise ritual, but also reject parts or the whole of it. Moreover, many of the internal practices are not developed in greater details, only the internal-external equivalences are established in an outline. Therefore, it seems that the majority of these internalised rites do not form a full structure for meditation, unlike Buddhist Sādhanas.

As it has been pointed out in Sanderson (1995:87–90), this compression or reduction of external ritual was coupled with the intensification of what remained. Most importantly, it implied the intensification of initiation, which had to involve visible possession by the deity. Below, the example of the *Tantrasadbhāva* is cited because it reflects some of the contradictions and problems involved in such intensification and emphasis on spontaneous possession.

The passage starts with the enumeration of various kinds of *śaktipāta*, the descent of Śiva's Power, which is a manifestation of his grace. In all tantric systems, this descent – whether it is visible or not – is a sign that the person is ready to receive initiation. In the *Tantrasadbhāva*, a mantric manifestation of this Power is written on the ground, which the initiand is to look at.

> He who, concentrating on the Curled *śakti* while looking at her, falls [on the ground] after a hundred [repetitions of the mantra] is known to have had an intense descent of Śiva's Power. He who falls after one thousand or ten thousand [repetitions] is known to have had an average descent of the Power, o goddess. And he who falls after twenty, thirty or fifty thousand repetitions is known to have had a basic descent of His Power, my beloved one. This is how I describe the various descents | falls in the order of decreasing quality. One should initiate those who have fallen on the ground, those who do not fall should be discarded.[90]

The passage clearly requires a visible sign to prove the intensity of Śiva's grace: the falling on the ground. Moreover, the requirement of this sign is implicitly justified by suggesting a parallel between the intensity of the descent (*pāta*) of Śiva's Power and the falling (*pāta*) on the ground. After this, the guru

[90] *Tantrasadbhāva* 9.327–330: *bhāvitātmā yadā paśyec chaktiṃ vai kuṭilākṛtiṃ | śatena patate yas tu tīvrapātaḥ prakīrtitaḥ || evaṃ sahasram ekena atha caivāyutena ca | yasya pāto bhaved devi madhyamaḥ parikīrtitaḥ || dvyayutais tryayutair vāpi tathā pañcadaśaiḥ priye | patate vartanair yas tu so 'dhamaś ca tv iti smṛtaḥ || pātānāṃ ca vibhāgo 'tra vivṛṇve daṃśakānvaye | patitaṃ dīkṣayed devi pātahīnaṃ tu varjayet.*

can go on with the process of initiation. But the subsequent lines, which describe the effects of initiation, more precisely, the effects of the cutting of the initiand's bond, do so in very similar terms. The initiate is to fall on the ground again, albeit not exactly in the same way.

> This is the sign of those who have been transformed [by initiation]: they move about, tremble or shake. And when the bonds of the soul are cut, the initiate falls on the ground. He who falls on his face is the best, he who falls on his back is average and he who falls on his side is taught to be the least good by Śambhu, the god of gods.[91]

The effects of the spontaneous descent of Power and the cutting of the bonds being quite similar, initiation does not appear to make a remarkable difference. And the concluding part of the passage seems to suggest that apart from the touch of the guru, indeed, nothing else is really needed for initiation.

> If initiation is liberation, as it is according to all Śaiva scriptures, then initiation is to be understood when the bonds of the bound soul have been stunned. When the body, released from all merit and demerit, falls on the ground, then it is salvific initiation; he who performs it is the guru. He who has the bonds stunned merely by his touch is called the guru: he makes people cross the ocean of transmigration.[92]

In spite of the wording, it may be too far-fetched to interpret this extract to assert that no ritual is needed for initiation apart from the guru's touch. When the guru is defined as he who liberates merely by his touch, it can also be meant as a general praise of the guru rather than a theoretical statement about the role of initiatory rites. It is, however, remarkable that the passage appears to start out as a defense of ritual initiation, but ends with a Kaula-type anti-ritualistic statement – even if it is just metaphorical here – reducing initiation to the guru's touch.

[91] *Tantrasadbhāva* 9.332–334ab: *bhāvitānāṃ tu cihnedaṃ calate kampate dhunet | pāśacchede tu saṃjāte patate kāśyapītale || saṃmukhaṃ patate yas tu cchinnapāśo na saṃśayaḥ | uttamo 'sau samuddiṣṭa uttāno madhyamo mataḥ || tiryakpāto 'dhamaḥ prokto devadevena śambhunā*.

[92] *Tantrasadbhāva* 9.340–42: *yadi dīkṣā bhaven muktiḥ sarveṣu cāgameṣu ca | tasmād dīkṣā tu bodhavyā pāśastobho yadā bhavet || dharmādharmānibaddhas tu piṇḍo yatra patet priye | tadā nirvāṇadā dīkṣā yaḥ karoti sa deśikaḥ || yenaivālabdhamātrasya stubhyate pāśapañjaram | sa gurus tu samākhyātaḥ saṃsārārṇavatārakaḥ ||* (°ānibhaddhas *conj.:* °anibaddhas *codd.*).

Conclusion

From the ways in which the scriptures examined here treat the problem of how to interpret and find meaning in ritual, three distinct approaches emerge. These approaches sometimes seem to be characteristic of certain branches of Śaivism, but this is not necessarily the case.

1. The first could be called the argumentative approach. The basic ritual structure is accepted and never questioned as it is; instead, this approach tries to argue for why rites are necessary and what they accomplish. Although texts of the Siddhānta have been cited in most cases, it is not the case that all texts of the Siddhānta would argue in this way, nor is the Siddhānta the only branch that would do so.

2. The second approach, for which most examples have been quoted, is an interpretative one. This interpretative approach may or may not accept all external ritual; but whichever is the case, it attributes special meaning to external ritual elements by reinterpreting them, often through semantic analyses. All branches of the scriptural tradition seem to adopt this approach, albeit not to the same extent. The interpretative approach sometimes tranforms external rites into internal ones, which thus partly undermines the original ritual system.

3. The third one may be named the rejectionist approach. As is known, this is characteristic of the Kaula branch, which rejects most external rites as meaningless; but it can also be adopted by others, especially concerning a particular type of ritual.

As I remarked above, the sources examined here do not give us a complete picture of the situation and therefore any conclusion drawn here is subject to revision.[93] Nevertheless, I think many of the scriptural examples clearly show that there is an internal and theoretical development within the scriptural tradition of questioning the meaning of ritual action. And this self-questioning and search for meaning may be a more significant factor in the reduction of external ritual than usually assumed. Of course, there must have been other, most importantly social, factors behind; and it is generally true that the reduction of

[93]As Sanderson (1995) argues, one Śaiva tantric tradition appears to have been able to solve the problem of how ritual can be meaningful in all its elements in an organic way. It is the Krama, which attempted to render every element of ritual meaningful for the attainment of Śivahood, and which was a source for many an interpretation given by Abhinavagupta and Kṣemarāja. However, the scriptures of the Krama, too, simplified external worship to a large extent: they considered internal worship superior, and suppressed all icons.

external ritual is always more convenient for a number of reasons.[94] But it seems more likely that the questioning of the meaning of ritual contributed to the reduction of external rites rather than that it was the simple manifestation of an intention or tendency to reduce them. As mentioned above, a distant parallel of such developments might be the case of the Upanishads, which reinterpret, internalise, and, at the same time, undermine the Vedic ritual system.

There is another reason why it is not unreasonable to think that much of the internalisation is a result of the tradition's internal, theoretical development. It is the fact that in many cases the internalised ritual does not appear to be related to actual practice. This is especially true for many homologisations of the *Tantrasadbhāva* (concerning e.g. the internalisation of places of worship and of the weapons), which give the impression that there is more exegetical work than actual practice behind them. Now such arguments are very questionable; for who are we to judge today what was actual practice at the time of the composition of the Tantras?[95] But in spite of the difficulty of proving this, one should bear in mind that the homologisations of the *Tantrasadbhāva* are rather unique, and the *Tantrasadbhāva* itself does not refer to them in other contexts, whether ritual or not. This strongly suggests that in the majority of the cases we are dealing with what I called primary exegesis, exegesis within the scriptural tradition itself, evolving from questions raised by their authors.

Manuscripts Consulted

KULASĀRA

NAK MS 4-137, NGMPP A 40/11. (I have made use of Somdev VASUDEVA's annotated electronic transcription.)

KRIYĀKĀLAGUṆOTTARA

NAK MS 3-392, NGMPP B 25/32.

TANTRASADBHĀVA

NAK MSS 1-363, 5-445, 5-1985, which are, respectively, NGMPP A 44/1, A 44/2 and A 188/22.

TIMIRODGHĀṬANA

[94] For an analysis of such tendencies in Kashmir, see e.g. SANDERSON 1995.

[95] Other evidence, such as the mention of certain rites in non-tantric sources, could help. However, inscriptions rarely give many details of these rites, especially concerning Kaula practice, and literary sources describe what appears even more fanciful than the scriptural prescriptions.

NAK MS 5-690, NGMPP A 35/3. (I have made use of Somdev VASUDEVA's annotated electronic transcription.)

NIŚVĀSATATTVASAṂHITĀ

NAK MS 1–227, NGMPP A 41/14. (I have used the electronic transcription, supplemented with readings from its Kathmandu apograph MS No. 5-2406, NGMPP A 159/18, prepared by Dominic GOODALL.)

PARAMĀRTHASĀRA

Bodleian Library MS Wilson 531e.

[PAUṢKARA-]PĀRAMEŚVARATANTRA

Cambrige University Library MS Add. 1049.

BṚHATKĀLOTTARA

NAK MSS 1-89 and 5-778, which are, respectively, NGMPP B 24/59 and A 42/8. (I have made use of Alexis SANDERSON's partial electronic transcription.)

BRAHMAYĀMALA

NAK MS 3-370, NGMPP A 42/6. I have made use of Shaman HATLEY's annotated electronic transcription.)

BHAIRAVAMAṆGALĀ

NAK MS 5-687, NGMPP B 27/21. (I have made use of Somdev VASUDEVA's electronic transcription.)

SIDDHAYOGEŚVARĪMATA

NAK MS 5-2403, NGMPP A 203/6, and Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta MS 5948 (5465 G). (I have used my own working edition.)

Synæsthetic Iconography: 1. the Nādiphāntakrama

Somadeva Vasudeva

The mantric identity of Goddess Mālinī is an allegedly disordered version of the Sanskrit alphabet called the *nādiphāntakrama.* That there does exist a discernible system in this supposed chaos can be demonstrated by analysing the earliest scriptural sources transmitting textual variations. The surprising, but compelling reason for the order is set out in § 3, and the synæsthetic iconography it implies is briefly discussed.[1]

Alphabet Deities

The Goddess Mālinī is one of two alphabet deities[2] prominent[3] in the Tantric system called the Trika. The mantric identity of this Goddess[4] is the *nādiphāntakrama* (*lit.* 'the order [of the alphabet] beginning with *na* and ending with *pha*'), a particular rearrangement of the Sanskrit syllabary in which vowels and consonants are intermingled in a hitherto unexplained and at first sight random order. In all early sources surviving[5] each individual phoneme of the sequence is said to be a body-part of the Goddess Mālinī, and some accounts also supply the names and details of fifty presiding female phoneme-deities. To explain the

[1]This article is the first of a triptych of studies on Synæsthetic Iconography. I presented an earlier draft of its central argument at Alexis Sanderson's *Tantric Seminar* in All Souls' College, Oxford, in 1997.

[2]The other alphabet deity of the Trika is Śabdarāśi (cf. MVUT 8.27–32ab; *Tantrāloka* 15.116cd–120), represented by the common order of the Sanskrit syllabary.

[3]The high status of the Goddess Mālinī in the pantheon of the Trika is evident by her partial (in early texts) or total (in later texts) transcendence of visual representation (for details of the intimate relationship of Mālinī, Parā and Sarasvatī, see Sanderson (1990:45–50 and *passim*)).

[4]To use the terminology of the MVUT: the Goddess manifested in the *nādiphāntakrama* is called *Bhinnayonimālinī,* 'the Crowned Goddess in whom the vowels are intermingled [among the consonants]'. The Goddess manifested in the common order of the Sanskrit alphabet (the *Śabdarāśi*-sequence) is called *Abhinnayonimālinī,* 'the Crowned Goddess in whom the vowels are not intermingled [among the consonants]'.

[5]Excepting the Kashmirian *Agnikāryapaddhati*, a ritual manual which presents the *nādiphāntakrama* as a completed Mantra with initial seed-syllable and final *jāti-*.

underlying rationale of the *nādiphāntakrama* the two presumed original functions of the sequence are here investigated: the ritual projection of the alphabet into the practitioners body *(nyāsa-)* and the encryption and "extraction" (decoding) of mantras *(mantroddhāra-)*.

It must be emphasised at the outset that the *nādiphāntakrama* as discussed in the surviving works of the Trika DOES indeed present a specific order of the syllabary and not a chaotic non-order. Once this has been pointed out, it seems obvious, but earlier scholars (e.g. SINGH in his translations[6]) have presumably not reflected on the matter and, in spite of textual evidence to the contrary, have assumed it to be a "non-order" *(akrama-)*. Such an assumption is in fact also doctrinally impossible.

Both in the early Trika's realist ontology and in the later Trika's non-dualist phenomenology order is transcended only by the ultimate reality of Śiva.[7] Therefore this article demonstrates that the "disarray" or "irregularity" of this sequence of phonemes is only apparent. The original redactor(s) of the *nādiphāntakrama,* compelled by considerations either ignored by, or unknown to their successors, have in fact followed a discernible methodology to produce their variants of the *nādiphāntakrama*. To uncover this, the largely unpublished, earliest scriptural sources transmitting the series must be taken into account.

The extensive metaphysical discussion of the *nādiphāntakrama* in the post-scriptural exegetical tradition of the Trika is unanimous in its acceptance of the *nādiphāntakrama* as revealed in the *Mālinīvijayottaratantra* (MVUT)[8]—and paraphrased by Abhinavagupta in his *Tantrāloka*[9]—as authoritative.

They do not discuss or explain divergences in the order of this sequence found in other Tantras.[10] Nevertheless, the scriptural transmission of this sequence does show substantial divergences in the order of the phoneme-series.

[6] e.g. SINGH (1979:254): "In Mālinī, they are arranged in an irregular way, i.e. the vowels and consonants are mixed and no serial order is observed."

[7] Abhinavagupta describes Śiva's autonomy thus: *Parātriṃśikāvivaraṇa* (S) p. 43[15]: *tan na kaś cit krama iti brūmaḥ, akramaṃ yad etat paraṃ pārameśvaraṃ vicitraṃ garbhīkṛtānantavaicitryaṃ svātantryaṃ trikārtharūpaṃ tad evaitat*, 'Therefore we say: 'no order at all.' That which has no order, this ultimate, diverse autonomy of the supreme Lord, containing within itself infinite variety, is what the Trika teaches [as the ultimate reality].'

[8] MVUT 3.37–41ab.

[9] *Tantrāloka* 15.121–125ab.

[10] It is interesting to note that Jayaratha in his commentary on *Tantrāloka* 15.121–125ab quotes the passage of the *Triśirobhairava* but remains silent about the divergent order of the *nādiphāntakrama* given therein.

Luckily, this is a rare instance where it is possible to study the corresponding passages of the greater part of the known early Trikatantras: the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata*, the *Mālinīvijayottara*, *Triśirobhairava,* and the *Tantrasadbhāva*.[11]

The scriptures of the cult of the Goddess Kubjikā have incorporated much of the Trika material that predated them: some of it reworked, some of it verbatim.[12] This material may therefore also legitimately be adduced as a secondary level of evidence for the Trika sources on which they are based.

Anatomy of the Systematisations

With the exception of an evidently corrupt passage in the [published version of the] *Agnipurāṇa*, all of the texts consulted list all 50 phonemes of the Sanskrit alphabet, but they present them in a varying number of what I will call enunciations.[13]

Anticipated Inconsistencies

A preliminary survey of the available materials has yielded thirteen different passages teaching the *nādiphāntakrama*.[14] In the eleven different sequences[15] summarised below the *nādiphāntakrama* is taught in four different modes. The phonemes are listed:

1. In more or less "plain language" with an associated body-part (i, ii, iii);
2. In plain language with an associated body-part and a corresponding presiding female deity (iv, ix, x);
3. Encoded in the *Mālinīgahvara* (see below) with an associated body-part (v, vi);
4. Encoded in the *Mālinīgahvara* with an associated body-part and a corresponding presiding female deity (vii).

[11] Of the presumed early Tantras of the Trika only the *Devyāyāmala*'s discussion of the *nādiphāntakrama* (presuming it contained such a chapter) is not available. It is also not known whether the later *Trikasāra* transmitted its own version of the *nādiphāntakrama.*

[12] *Cf.* Sanderson (1986:163–164).

[13] The difference is that *anusvāra-* and *visarga-* are not given independently in some texts.

[14] Only five of these have been published before now.

[15] I omit the *Pārameśvarīmata* and a second version of the sequence taught in the *Śrīmatottaratantra*.

In all of these the sequence seems quite naturally to break up into a series of shorter strings of phonemes (separated by commas and semi-colons in the listing below). A substantial proportion of these can be presumed to be intentional, designating phases of projection or anatomical description. Others may be no more than artifacts of varying versification skills. Most of these are shared with some variation by all texts, but the order of placement in the main sequence may differ. One immediate text-critical hypothesis must be that these subunits approximate the textual units in a posited Ur-text. The history implied by these surviving texts becomes thus rather complex; the extent of differentiation requires probably many more degrees of separation from the posited original source than the known texts allow. So, even though the greater part of known early Trikatantras has been examined these appear to reveal that they are merely incomplete remnants of a far more complex textual situation.

Furthermore, all of the texts[16] homologise the phonemes with the Goddess' body-parts, thus it is clear that this must be the one essential feature which cannot be separated from the *nādiphāntakrama* in the minds of the redactors.

Expected Divergence in the Phases of Portrayal

i. *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* 3.7cd–18, 48 enunciations, six descriptive phases:

ii. *Mālinīvijayottaratantra* 3.37cd–41, ≈*Tantrāloka* 15.121–125cd, 48 enunciations, five descriptive phases:[17] *1. na ṛ ṝ ḷ ḹ tha, ca dha ī ṇa u ū, ba ka kha ga gha ṅa i a; 2. va bha ya; 3. ḍa ḍha, ṭha jha ña ja ra ṭa; 4. pa cha la ā saḥ, ha ṣa kṣa; 5. ma śaṃ ta, e ai o au da pha*

iii. *Agnikāryapaddhati*, Göttingen^{pc} ms $F^{v}39^{5–7}$, Paris ms $F^{v}77^{13–16}$; gives Mantra and aniconic visualisation verse encoding the Mantra *sauḥ*: *oṃ na ṛ ṝ ḷ ḹ tha ca dha ī ṇa u ū ba ka kha ga gha ṅa i a va bha ya ḍa ḍha ṭha jha ña ja ra ṭa pa cha la ā sa aḥ ha ṣa kṣa ma śa aṃ ta e ai o au da pha hrīṃ mālinyai namaḥ svāhā*

[16] Excepting of course the *Agnikāryapaddhati* which merely presents Mālinī as a completed Mantra.

[17] [1.] The first twenty phonemes, *na→a*, form the head of the Goddess; [2.] three phonemes *va→ya* are her neck and shoulders; [3.] the eight phonemes, *ḍa→ṭa* are her arms, hands, fingers, trident and skull-bowl; [4.] the nine phonemes *pa→kṣa*, given in eight enunciations, are her upper torso; [5.] the ten phonemes *ma→pha*, given in nine enunciations represent her buttocks, genitals, legs and feet.

iv. *Tantrasadbhāva* 3.105–128ab encoded in the *mālinīgahvara* (redacted in the *Kubjikāmata*, see v), 48 enunciations, five descriptive phases:[18] *1. na ṛ ṝ ḷ ḹ tha ca dha ī ṇa u ū ba ka kha ga gha ṅa i a; 2. va bha ya; 3. ḍa ḍha ṭha jha ña ṭa ra ja; 4. pa ṣa cha la ā ha saḥ kṣa; 5. ma śaṃ ta e ai o au da pha*

v. *Kubjikāmata* A 4.81ab–106 encoded in the *mālinīgahvara-* (incorporated from the *Tantrasadbhāva*, see IV), 49 enunciations, five descriptive phases: *1. na ṛ ṝ ḷ ḹ tha ca dha ī ṇa u ū ba ka kha ga gha ṅa i a; 2. va bha ya; 3. ḍha ḍa ṭha jha ña aḥ ṭa ra ja; 4. pa saḥ ha cha la ā ṣa kṣa; 5. ma śaṃ ta e ai o au da pha*

vi. *Triśirobhairavatantra cit.* TaĀlViv$_K$ 15.121–125ab: *c*, ≈*Kubjikāmata* B 17.94–109, 50 enunciations with Śaktis, six descriptive phases:[19] *1. na ṛ ṝ ḷ ḹ tha dha ī ca ba ka kha ga gha ṅa i a ṇa u ū; 2. va; 3. ḍa ḍha ṭha jha ña ṭa ra ja; 4. bha ya; 5. pa ṣa kṣa cha la ā sa ha aḥ; 6. ma śa aṃ ta e ai o au da pha*

vii. *Ṣaṭsāhasrasaṃhitā* B 7.5–38, encoded in the (*mālinīgahvara-*), 50 enunciations with Śaktis, five descriptive phases: *1. na tha ṛ ṝ ḷ ḹ ca dha ī ṇa u ū ba ka kha ga gha ṅa i a; 2. va bha ya; 3. ḍha ḍa ṭha jha ña aḥ ṭa ra ja; 4. pa saḥ ha cha la ā ṣa kṣa; 5. ma śa aṃ ta e ai o au da pha*

viii. *Ṣaṭsāhasrasaṃhitā* A 4/5.30–35, 52–56, 78–84, 106–112, 123cd–126, 50 enunciations ordered into the five *mahāpīṭha-*: Uḍḍiyānapīṭha: *na ṛ ṝ ḷ ḹ tha dha ī* ; Jālandharapīṭha: *ca ba ka kha ga gha ṅa i a ṇa*; Pūrṇagiri-

[18] Following the *Mālinīvijayottara* very closely: [1.] the first twenty phonemes, *na→a* form the head of the Goddess; [2.] then three phonemes, *va→ya*, represent her neck and shoulders; [3.] then eight phonemes, *ḍa→ja* represent her arms, hands, fingers, skull-bowl and trident; [4.] then nine phonemes *pa→kṣa*, given in eight enunciations, represent her upper torso; [5.] then ten phonemes, *ma→pha*, given in nine enunciations represent her buttocks genitals legs and feet.

[19] [1.] The first twenty phonemes, *na→ū* represent the head of the Goddess; [2.] a single phoneme, *va*, represents her neck; [3.] eight phonemes, *ḍa→ja* represent her arms, hands, fingers, skull-bowl and trident; [4.] two phonemes, *bha* and *ya* represent her shoulders (the position of these two phonemes may be explained by their inclusion into the phase of the upper torso); [5.] eight phonemes *pa→aḥ*, represent her upper torso; [6.] ten phonemes, *ma→pha* represent her buttocks, genitals, legs and feet. The text as edited in the KSTS edition of the *Tantrāloka* is not very reliable, but emendation is possible on the basis of the parallel passage in the *Kubjikāmata*.

pīṭha: *u ū va ḍha ḍa ṭa ṭha jha ña ra ja bha* ; Kāmarūpapīṭha: *ya pa ṣa kṣa la cha ā sa ha aḥ ma śa aṃ*; Mātaṅgapīṭha: *ta e ai au o da pha*

ix. *Śrīmatottara* A 7: *1. na tha ṛ ṝ ḷ ḹ ca ī ṇa u ū ba ka kha ga gha ṅa a va i; 2. bha ya; 3. ḍa ḍha ṭha jha ña ra ja ṭa; 4. pa ā aḥ ha sa cha la ṣa kṣa; 5. ma śa aṃ ta e ai o au da pha*

x. *Kularatnoddyota* 5.84–99, 50 enunciations with Śaktis, six descriptive phases: *1. na tha ṛ ṝ ḷ ḹ dha ca ī ba i a ka kha ga gha ṅa ṇa u ū; 2. va; 3. ḍa ḍha ṭha jha ña ra ja ṭa; 4. bha ya; 5. cha la ā sa ha aḥ pa ṣa kṣa; 6. ma śa aṃ ta e ai o au da pha*

xi. *Agnipurāṇa* (AP_1) 145.6–18ab, 39 enunciations with Śaktis: *na a[tha] śa[ṛ] ṭa[ṝ] ca ḍha ī na[ṇa] ta[u] ja[ū] ca[ba] ka kha ga gha u[ṅa] ī a va bha ma ḍa ḍha pa[ṭha] o[au?] aṃ aḥ ṭa ta ja pa śa[sa] sa cha na[la] a[ā] tha[ṣa] kṣa ma*

i. In the recension of the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* surviving in Nepalese MSS (3.7c–18d) the enumeration of the phonemes is partially encrypted, (eg. *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* 3.9c: *jhasaptamaḥ smṛtau karṇau*, 'the two ears are the seventh [phoneme from] *jha* [=*ṇa*]'), and the order given is the most eclectic of any work consulted. The order of this sequence points to an origin in the practice of *nyāsa-*. The practitioner empowers his body in phases in a more or less descending order. The first phase describes the head omitting the chaplet and the third eye. The first sixteen phonemes thus represent the actual physical features of the practitioner (as opposed to the Goddess). The importance of the first sixteen phonemes of the sequence may be explained by their correspondance to the sixteen vowels of the regular Sanskrit alphabet in its *śabdarāśi-* form. In the *nyāsa-* procedure of the *śabdarāśi*-sequence (cf. *Mālinīvijayottara* 8.27–29ab) the sixteen vowels (usually representing Śivatattva) are all projected into the head.[20]

[20] The 50 phonemes are given in 48 separate enunciations correlated with the respective body-parts of the Goddess. Vocalic nasalisation and aspiration (*anusvāra-* and *visarga-*) are not present independently but are joined to *śa* and *sa* respectively. The attribution of left and right is given only for the ear-ornaments, the right being mentioned first. Since nothing else is stated one may infer that the right side is always mentioned first (*sādhyāpekṣa-*, right from the deity's point of view).

The order given in the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* differs so greatly from all other sequences that we must conclude it to be only remotely related to the re-codification of the *nyāsa*-order into the so-called *nādiphāntakrama*. The very name *nādiphānta* is inappropriate since the sequence neither begins with *na* nor ends with *pha*. It is not possible to explain this order as the result of faulty textual transmission. Rather, because the sequences are embedded in quarter-verses which cannot be easily transposed, it must be the result of conscious effort. It would not be possible to assimilate this sequence to the later *nādiphāntakrama* without considerably altering, or rather rewriting, the text.

ii. The presentation of the *nādiphāntakrama* in *Mālinīvijayottara* 3.37–41ab is very brief. The order is given in plain language with no attempt at encoding.[21] The sequence of the MVUT is clearly the most systematic among the works consulted: the Goddess is described from her topknot down to her feet in a consistent descending order. This is one of the two most common ways to describe a personage of eminence, the other possibility being the ascending manner, approaching as a humbly bowing devotee who first sees the feet. Thus the Kashmirian commentator Vallabhadeva introduces the first description of Pārvatī in the *Kumārasambhava* as follows:[22]

> The body of Goddesses is described beginning with the toes of the feet; [for a description] of humans one begins with the hair, this is the poetic convention.

The inversion of this principle may be explained by the manifestation of the Goddess in the order of creation *(sṛṣṭikrama-)* rather than the order of resorption *(saṃhārakrama-)*. Now this principle of a systematically descending order is

[21] Only the phonemes *ha*, *o* and *au* are not directly enunciated but are stated to be 'the following phoneme' (3.40a, 3.41b). The sequence consists of 48 enunciations, since neither the *anusvāra-* (*aṃ*) nor the *visarga-* (*aḥ*) are given independently. The *anusvāra-* is joined to *śa* forming the *bījamantra- śaṃ* representing the generative organ of the Goddess and the *visarga-* is connected with the phoneme *sa* to form the *bījamantra- saḥ* representing her life/soul (*jīva*). The relative position of right and left is stated only once, for the shoulders. The right is enumerated first, again implying a procedure to be followed throughout. It is noteworthy that this appears to be the standard practice for all of the Trikatantras with the exception of the *Tantrasadbhāva* which has reversed this order.

[22] Vallabhadeva ad *Kumārasambhava* 1.32: *devīnāṃ rūpaṃ pādāṅguṣṭhāt prabhṛti varṇyate, mānuṣīṇāṃ tu keśebhya ārabhyeti kavisamācāra iti.* This is echoed by Mallinātha introducing *Kumārasambhava* 1.33 but attributed to the custom of the pious *(dhārmika-)* and not the common practice of poets: *devatānāṃ rūpaṃ pādāṅguṣṭhaprabhṛti varṇyate mānuṣāṇāṃ keśād ārabhyeti dhārmikāḥ.*

of help to clarify the precise nature of the Goddess' "head-garland" *(śiromālā-)*. This expression could refer to two things: a garland of severed heads, or a headband. Since it is mentioned immediately after the top-knot, it cannot possibly be a necklace located at the level of the neck. That it was originally intended as a kind of chaplet is also implied by the *Triśirobhairava*: 'a garland [worn] on the head' (*mālikā śirasi*).[23]

The extreme condensing and essentialising tendency of the *Mālinīvijayottara* has reduced the exposition of the *nādiphāntakrama* to a mere four and a half verses:[24]

> The phoneme *na* is her topknot; *ṛ ṝ ḷ ḹ*[25] form the skull-crown; *tha* is her head; the eyes are *ca* and *dha*[26]; her nose is *ī*; *ṇ-u* and *ṇ-ū* are the two ears with ornaments; *ba*, the gutturals [*ka kha ga gha ṅa*], *i* and *a*[27] are the mouth, teeth, tongue and voice;[28] *va bha ya* are the neck, the right and left shoulders; *ḍa ḍha* are the arms; the hands are [both] *ṭha*; *jha* and *ña* are the fingers [on her right and left hands]; *ja ra* and *ṭa* are her [trident-]staff[29] and skull[-bowl]; *pa* is her

[23]As Jayaratha explains, it is of course made of skulls, see TaĀlViv$_K$: *śiromālā kapālārambhikā*, 'Garland of heads means one made of skulls'.

[24]*Mālinīvijayottara* 3.37–41b.

[25]There is a metrical problem at MVUT 3.37a. The *ra-vipulā* (–˘–) is preceded by a non-permitted *ja-gaṇa* (˘–˘). Such violations of the metre are rare in the MVUT but it should be taken into consideration that the present instance occurs in a list.

[26]The phoneme *ca* forms the third eye of the Goddess and *dha* represents her two ordinary eyes. The corresponding passage in SYM 3.7d explicitly places only *dha* into the two eyes (cf. also *Ṣaṭsāhasrasaṃhitā paṭalaḥ* 7: *tṛtīyaṃ nayanaṃ devyā ṅa-cha-madhyagataṃ tathā* || *cāmuṇḍayā samopetaṃ jñātavyaṃ varavarṇini* | *na-da-madhyagatau jñeyau dvidhābhūtau tu locanau* || *priyadarśanī deveśi sūryasomātmikā smṛtā* | *cakṣuryugme varārohe, dakṣavāmakrameṇa tu* ||).

[27]The long *-ā* expresses the plural *-āḥ* in *sandhi-*.

[28]In the discussion of the SYM's passage it was noted that the first sixteen instances of its sequence, corresponding to the sixteen vowels of the Śābdarāśi sequence, were all present in the head of the Goddess. At first glance it appears that this doctrinally significant feature is not preserved; the first phase of the *Mālinīvijayottara* does describe the head of the Goddess but it consists of twenty phonemes. There is however one peculiarity in this phase: the phonemes representing the teeth are not individually enumerated but are collectively called the "gutturals" (*kavarga-*). If this is counted as a single instance the head of the Goddess would again be circumscribed by sixteen instances. It is not inconceivable that it was the redactor's intention to preserve this feature. In the *Mālinīvijayottara*'s projection of the *śabdarāśi-* sequence into the practitioner's body the sixteen vowels are after all also placed into the head (*Mālinīvijayottara* 8.27–29ab).

[29]*ra* forms the staff of the trident in her right hand, *ja* its three spikes. *Cf.* SYM 3.12; *Triśirobhairava* 9c.

heart; *cha* and *la* are her breasts; her milk is *ā*; *saḥ* is her soul; [*ha*], the immediately following phoneme is her vital energy; *ṣa* and *kṣa* are her belly and navel; *ma, śaṃ* and *ta* are her buttocks, her genitals and her pair of thighs; *e, ai* her knees; the following phonemes [*o* and *au*] are her shanks; *da* and *pha* are her feet.

iv. In the *Tantrasadbhāva* the *nādiphānta* sequence is given in an encoded form using the device of the *Mālinīgahvara.*[30]

The *Mālinīgahvara* is a triangular grid into which are placed all of the phonemes beginning with the top corner spiralling inwards to the centre. Once this grid has been drawn the sequence is "extracted" (*uddharet*) by following instructions such as 'take the syllable between *ya* and *sa* [=*ha*]' etc.[31]

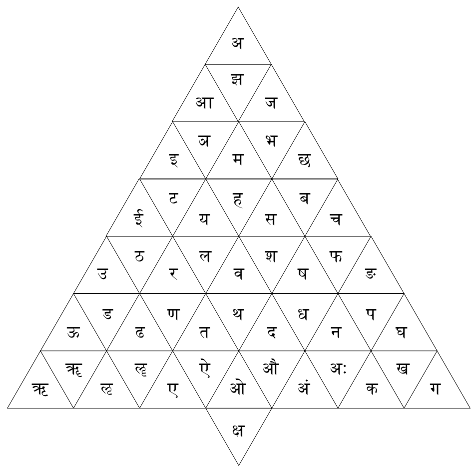


Figure 1: The *mālinīgahvara.*

Although the *Tantrasadbhāva* 3.105–128ab employs the term *nādiphānta,* it then paradoxically proceeds to begin the sequence not with *na* but with *tha*. An error in the process of redaction or in the scribal transmission may therefore be diagnosed. The correct order is easily restored with help from the earliest MSS of the *Kubjikāmata*'s parallel passage.[32] The remaining divergences between the sequences of the *Tantrasadbhāva* and

[30] For a discussion of this and other *gahvara*s, see SCHOTERMAN 1982.

[31] For instructions on drawing the *Mālinīgahvara* see: *Tantrasadbhāva* 3.100–104, *Kubjikāmata* 4.76–80, *Ṣaṭsāhasrasaṃhitā* 7.76–80, *Śrīmatottara* F^{v}34^{6}ff. In the *uddhāra-* procedure of the *Tantrasadbhāva* the directions *pūrva-, paścima-, ūrdhva-* and *dakṣiṇa-* refer solely to the directions "left, right, above" and "below"; they are not associated with the five *mahāpīṭhas* placed into the diagram by some texts of the Kubjikā-cult. *Madhya-* ("in the middle of") and *randhra-* ("at the edge of") are self-explanatory. A separate triangle with the syllable *kṣa* is occasionally appended below the *o*; *kṣa* has this special status because, strictly, it cannot be extracted from the diagram but arises from the *saṃyoga-* of *ka* and *ṣa*.

[32] The problem relates to the confusion over the true nature of the *śiromālā-* represented by the four neuter vowels *ṛ ṝ ḷ ḹ* (*Tantrasadbhāva* 3.106cd) already encountered. The original position of the "head", ie. the phoneme *tha*, was immediately after these. This is the position preserved in the derivative *Kubjikāmata* passage and also in the *Mālinīvijayottara* which agrees with the *Tantrasadbhāva* for the first twenty-nine phonemes if *tha* is restored to this place.

the *Mālinīvijayottara* are not dramatic,[33] and with the exception of one quarter-verse[34] the *Tantrasadbhāva* passage could be rearranged to give precisely the same *nādiphānta*-sequence as the *Mālinīvijayottara* without doing anything more than rearranging the sequential order of complete half-verses.[35]

v. This passage of the *Tantrasadbhāva* has been adopted into *Kubjikāmata* 4.81ab-106, the first occurrence of the *nādiphānta-* sequence in that Tantra.[36]

Somewhere in a lineal precursor of the surviving two palmleaf MSS of the *Tantrasadbhāva* the *śiromālā-* must have been wrongly perceived as "necklace of heads". This has led to the moving of the *pādayuga-* describing the head (3.106cd) to the beginning of the sequence, since in the practice of *nyāsa-* it would have been incongruous to jump from the topknot down to the neck and then back up to finish the head. The transposition of the hemistich relating to the head was also less invasive than the excision and reinsertion of the four vowels relating to the "head-garland" (*śiromālā-*) and thus preferable.

[33]Restoring the misplaced initial *tha* the sequence continues in the exact order of the *Mālinīvijayottara* up to *ña* at position 29, then agrees with the *Triśirobhairava ṭa-ra-ja*, then follows its own arrangement made up of sequences found in the *Triśirobhairava*. From *kṣa*, position 40, onwards it follows the *Mālinīvijayottara* again. Again, *anusvāra-* and *visarga-* do not feature independently. The left-right-orientation, frequently stated explicitly, is the reverse of the other Trikatantras (no indication is given whether this implies that the description is *sādhakāpekṣa-*, from the viewpoint of the practitioner).

[34]The one problem occurs at 3.120c (*na-sa-madhyagam udaram* the syllable *ṣa* is the stomach) where it is metrically impossible to move *pāda* c to the desired location after 122b. That quarter verse also shows a metrical problem. The *na-vipulā-* (⏑⏑⏑) is not preceded by either the permitted double *ga-gaṇa-* (−−) or *ra-gaṇa* (−⏑−) but by a *ja-gaṇa* (⏑−⏑). The hypothetical, reordered verse-numbering yielding the *nādiphāntakrama* of the *Mālinīvijayottara* is as follows (Metrically impossible insertions are bracketed by superscript asterisks): *Tantrasadbhāva* 3.105ab, 106, 105cd, 107→116, 119, 118, 117, 120ab*c*d, 121, 122cd, 123ab, 122ab, 123cd→128. The derivative *Kubjikāmata* passage allows itself to be reordered into the *nādiphāntakrama* of the *Mālinīvijayottara* without any problems at all: *Kubjikāmata* 4.81cd→94ab, 96cd, 97ab, 95cd, 96ab, 94cd, 95ab, 97cd, 99cd, 100, 98ab→99ab, 101→106. The metrical problem with the corresponding passage to *Tantrasadbhāva* 3.120c does not arise since the *Kubjikāmata* reads *gṛhya* (the *lectio difficilior*), in place of *priye* and expands the quarter verse into an independent *pathyā pādayuga-*.

[35]It is however difficult to explain why this should have happened in each and every case. Beyond the restoration of the original positions of the phonemes *na* and *tha* no other changes have here been [re?-]imposed on *Tantrasadbhāva*.

[36]The *Kubjikāmata*'s redactors' thought-processes can occasionally be reconstructed. At *Tantrasadbhāva* 3.115ab > *Kubjikāmata* 4.91cd–92ab a redactor of the *Kubjikāmata* had presumably misread *u-ṭha* as either *ū-ṭha* or *u-ḍha*, neither of which makes sense in the *Mālinīgahvara*. He was therefore compelled to rewrite the instructions for the extraction of the phonemes representing the Goddess' arms. This implies that the redactor(s) had access to only a (single?) rather corrupt MS of the *Tantrasadbhāva* for this passage, secondly that he/they seem(s) to have

vi. The *Triśirobhairava*'s discussion of the *nādiphānta*-sequence survives only in citation in Jayaratha's *Tantrālokaviveka* 15.121–125b and it has also been redacted into in the *Kubjikāmata* 17.94–109.[37] In this most elaborate exposition of any surviving Trikatantra all fifty phonemes of the syllabary are listed separately with their Śakti and location on the body of the Goddess. The phonemes are given explicitly without encoding.

Although the *Triśirobhairava*'s *nādiphāntakrama* roughly follows the order of the *Mālinīvijayottara*, it cannot be reduced to that order by simple transpositions of halfverses as can that of the *Tantrasadbhāva*. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that the sequence of the *Triśirobhairava* is in large parts very similar to that of the MVUT.[38] The differences are in fact exactly the kind to be expected in a conflated transmission originating with a common source, ie. transposition and inversion of discrete groups.

x. Among the scriptures of the Kubjikā-cult which have drawn upon these Trikatantras, the *Kularatnoddyota* 5.84–101ab shows a somewhat remote but still discernible affinity to the *Triśirobhairava*. The usefulness and the limitations of *Kubjikāmata* 4.81ab–106 and 17.94–109 have been noted above.[39]

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been well versed in the encoding system of the *Mālinīgahvara*, and thirdly that he has been able to restore the correct order of the *nādiphānta* sequence from another, unknown source.

[37]The secondary nature of the *Kubjikāmata* passage is confirmed by the nature of its divergence: original *vipulā-* forms have been removed during redaction. Thus at *Triśirobhairava* 12ab/*Kubjikāmata* 105ab the redactor of the *Kubjikāmata* has rephrased the verse to remove the *ra-vipulā-*. At 98a the editors of the *Kubjikāmata* have accepted the secondary emendation Mukhīvīrā for the doubtlessly original Chirvirā in MS A, thus converting the *ra-vipulā-* to a *pathyā-* form. There are also some errors of omission which have occurred during the redaction of the *Kubjikāmata*: for instance at 103b the *Kubjikāmata* has not even preserved the phonemes *bha* and *ya* corresponding to the shoulders, in place of *bhayau* it reads *api*.

[38]Positions 7–9 (*Mālinīvijayottara*: *ca-dha-ī*) are *dha-ī-ca*, the ears and ear-ornaments *ṇa-[ṇ]u-[ṇ]ū* are moved down to positions 18–20, the *Mālinīvijayottara*'s sequence is maintained in the interval. The shoulders *bha-ya* are moved from positions 23–24 to 31–32; in the intervening list *ja-ra-ṭa* is inverted to *ṭa-ra-ja*. These three phonemes describe the trident and the skull-bowl of the Goddess. It is unlikely that this should indicate an iconographical difference, for instance that the trident might be inverted, pointing downwards in the manner of Durgā Mahiṣāsuramardinī or that the orientations might be reversed, the skull-bowl being in the right hand and the trident in the left. The order then diverges but the final sequence from *ma→pha* agrees with the *Mālinīvijayottara* again. The attribution of left and right is given only for the feet, and, following the practice of *Mālinīvijayottara*, the right member is listed first. From this it may again be concluded that the other pairs obey the same pattern, the prior member is the right, the latter the left. This again reflects a normative practice for the Trikatantras.

[39]The *Ṣaṭsāhasrasaṃhitā* 7.5–38 has been edited by SCHOTERMAN (1982:210–218). Regarding the naming of some of the Śaktis of the *nādiphāntakrama* SCHOTERMAN (1982:213–214)

ix. The *Śrīmatottara*[40] is the only text to give a full visualisation of a variety of the Goddess Mālinī and also of the fifty Śaktis presiding over the individual phonemes.

xi. *Agnipurāṇa* 145.6–18ab appears to be in turn derived from the scriptures of the cult of Kubjikā. The text is unfortunately transmitted very imperfectly.[41] The twenty-nine phonemes which are enumerated are thus unreliable, but nevertheless the Śaktis and their locations agree (with some omissions) with the list of the *Kubjikāmata*.[42]

The Only Mildly Fluctuating Identities of the Phoneme Goddesses

Just as the Śabdarāśi sequence has a series of Rudras presiding over the individual phonemes,[43] so the Nādiphānta sequence has a pantheon of female deities, variously called Śakti, Kalā, Dūtī or Yoginī, presiding over the individual syllables.[44] Their original purpose was the ritual purification, empowerment and divinisation of the physical body during the imposition of the phonemes in the practice of *nyāsa-*.[45] The names of some of these deities echo the respective body-parts their phonemes are associated with: Priyadarśanā in the eyes, Vāgīśvarī for speech etc. The variations encountered are tabulated (variant spellings encountered in a single text are noted individually, α denotes all texts):

remarks that he has chosen *-yā* endings instead of the more natural *-ī* in cases where he believed the *-yā* to be the ending of a feminine proper noun in compound with *samanvita-* rather than denotative of the instrumental suffix. The weight of evidence now points against this, and it seems advisable to restore the "correct forms" as far as possible: Kapālinyā > Kapālinī, Dīpanyā > Dīpanī, Pāvanyā > Pāvanī.

[40] *Śrīmatottara* (=*Gorakṣasaṃhitā*) 7.2– 64; 7.118–342.

[41] The edition reproduces numerous Śāradā→Devanāgarī transcription errors (initial *u*:*ta*; retroflex for dental etc.) and ignores obviously incorrect repetitions (*ma* occurs twice). Some obvious corrections to the names of the Śaktis are Vāgeśvarī for Nāgeśvarī, Lāmā for Nāmā etc.

[42] This affiliation is further corroborated by the independent enunciation of the phoneme *-aḥ* with the Śakti Sañjīvanī on the backs of the hands. This is common in the texts of the Kubjikā-cult and can be traced back to the *Triśirobhairava*.

[43] Cf. *Mālinīvijayottara* 3.17–25.

[44] Six of the sources consulted give details of these Goddesses: *Triśirobhairava* cit. TaĀlViv$_K$ ad *Tantrāloka* 15.121–125cd; *Kubjikāmata* 17.94–109; *Śrīmatottara* 7.7–69; *Ṣaṭsāhasrasaṃhitā* 7.5–38; *Kularatnoddyota* 5.80c–101b; *Agnipurāṇa* 145.6–18ab.

[45] In the twenty-seventh chapter of the *Pārameśvarīmata* the object of $\sqrt{nyas}$- is always one of these Goddesses, never a phoneme on its own.

na *Nādinī* α

ṛ *Nivṛtti* α

ṝ *Pratiṣṭhā* α

ḷ *Vidyā* α

ḹ *Śānti* α

tha *Grasantī* TriŚiBhai; *Grasanī* α

ca *Cāmuṇḍā* α

dha *Priyadarśanā* TriŚiBhai, KuRaUdd; *Priyadarśanī* KubMaTa; *Priyadarśinī* ŚrīMaUtt; *Prītadarśanī* ṢaṭSāSaṃ; *Priyādṛṣṭi* AgPu

ī *Guhyaśakti* α

ṇa *(Śaṅkara)-nārāyaṇī* ṢaṭSāSaṃ; *Nārāyaṇī* α

u *Mohanī* α

ū *Prajñā* α

ba *Vajriṇī* α

ka *Kaṅkaṭā* TriŚiBhai, ŚrīMaUtt, KuRaUdd; *Karālī* ŚrīMaUtt, AgPu; *Karālinyā,* KubMaTa, ṢaṭSāSaṃ

kha *Kālikā* TriŚiBhai, KuRaUdd; *Kaṅkaṭā* KubMaTa; *Kapālinyā* ṢaṭSāSaṃ; *Kapālī/Kaṅkālī/Kaṅkaṭā* ŚrīMaUtt; *Kapālinī* AgPu;

ga *Śivā* TriŚiBhai, ṢaṭSāSaṃ, KuRaUdd, AgPu; *Kālikā* KubMaTa;

gha *Ghoraghoṣā* TriŚiBhai, KubMaTa, ṢaṭSāSaṃ; *Ghorā* KuRaUdd, AgPu

ṅa *Śivirā* TriŚiBhai; *Mukhīvīrā* KubMaTa; *Chirvvarā* ŚrīMaUtt; *Khirvarā* ṢaṭSāSaṃ; *Śirvarā* KuRaUdd

i *Māyā* α; *Māyā/Sarasvatī* ŚrīMaUtt

a *Vāgīśvarī* TriŚiBhai; *Vāgeśvarī* KubMaTa, ṢaṭSāSaṃ, KuRaUdd; *Vāgīśī* ŚrīMaUtt; *Nāgeśvarī* AgPu; [*Sarasvatī* TaSadTa]

va *Śikhivāhinī* α

bha *Bhīṣaṇī* TriŚiBhai, AgPu; *Bīṣaṇā* KubMaTa, KuRaUdd; *Bhīmā* ṢaṭSāSaṃ

ya *Vāyuvegā* α

ḍa *Lāmā* α; *Nāmā* AgPu

ḍha *Vināyikī* TriŚiBhai; *Vināyakī* KubMaTa, ṢaṭSāSaṃ; *Vaināyakī* KuRaUdd; *Vināyakā* AgPu

ṭha *Pūrṇimā* TriŚiBhai, ṢaṭSāSaṃ, AgPu; *Paurṇimā* KubMaTa, KuRaUdd

jha *Jhaṅkārī* α; *Jhaṃkārī/Ḍāṃkārī* ŚrīMaUtt

ña *Kundanā* TriŚiBhai; *Kurdanī* KubMaTa, ṢaṭSāSaṃ; *Kurddhanī* ŚrīMaUtt; *Ūrdhvakurdanī* KuRaUdd

ja *Jayantī* α; *Jayantyā* ṢaṭSāSaṃ

ra *Dīpanī* TriŚiBhai, KubMaTa, KuRaUdd, AgPu; *Dīpanyā* ṢaṭSāSaṃ; *Dīpinī* ŚrīMaUtt

ṭa *Kapālinī* α; *Kapālinyā* ṢaṭSāSaṃ

pa *Pāvanī* α; *Pāvanyā* ṢaṭSāSaṃ

cha *Chagalī* TriŚiBhai, KubMaTa; *Chagalāṇḍā* KuRaUdd; *Chagalāṇḍī* ŚrīMaUtt; *Śarīrā* AgPu

la *Pūtanā* α

ā *Āmoṭarī* TriŚiBhai; *Āmoṭī* KubMaTa, ŚrīMaUtt, ṢaṭSā-

Saṃ; *Āmodī* KuRaUdd; *Nairṛti* ŚrīMaUtt

sa *Paramātmā* α; *Paramākhyā* AgPu

aḥ *Icchāśakti* TriŚiBhai; *Icchā* KubMaTa

ha *Ambikā* α

ṣa *Lambikā* TriŚiBhai, KubMaTa, KuRaUdd; *Lambinī* ŚrīMaUtt; *Lambodaryā* ṢaṭSāSaṃ; *Lambodarī* AgPu

kṣa *Saṃhārikā* α; *Saṃhārya* ṢaṭSāSaṃ; *Saṃhārikā/Saṃghārī* ŚrīMaUtt

ma *Mahākālī* α

śa *Kusumāyudhā* α

aṃ *Śukrā* TriŚiBhai, KubMaTa, KuRaUdd; *Krūrā* ṢaṭSāSaṃ

ta *Tārā* TriŚiBhai, KubMaTa, ṢaṭSāSaṃ; *Tārakā* KuRaUdd, AgPu

e *Jñānaśakti* α

ai *Kriyāśakti* α

o *Gāyatrī* α

au *Sāvitrī* α

da *Dahanī* α; *Dahanyā* ṢaṭSāSaṃ

pha *Pheṭkārikā* TriŚiBhai; *Phetkārikā* KubMaTa; *Phetkāryā* ṢaṭSāSaṃ; *Phetkārī* KuRaUdd

It is striking that there is no substantive variance regarding the attribution of Śaktis to phonemes. The deviations in the names are relatively minor and can easily be explained away as scribal errors, variant orthographies, synonyms etc.[46]

The Rationale of the *Nādiphāntakrama*

Even more striking than the fidelity with which the phoneme-Śakti assignation was retained, is the flawless preservation, despite the frequent divergence of sequence, of the association of a corresponding phoneme and body-part. This shows beyond doubt that this is the one key feature essentially defining the *nādiphāntakrama* in the pre-exegetical tradition. Astonishingly, there occur no variations at all in any of the texts consulted. As we have seen, the sequence of the phonemes may vary considerably, the associated female deities may or may not be present (but when they are their correlation with phoneme and body-part is also scrupulously maintained), but the undeviating identification of cer-

[46]Elaborate visualisations *(mūrtidhyāna-)* for these are found only in the *Śrīmatottara paṭala* 7 Fr 39^8–Fr 44^2, part of which is reproduced in *Gorakṣasaṃhitā paṭala* 7, pp. 30–46. A similarly secondary elaboration seems to have taken place for the presiding deities of the Śabdarāśi order. Rāghavabhaṭṭa, in his *Padārthādarśa* commentary on the *Śāradātilaka* of Lakṣmaṇadeśikendra (a commentary that is rich in visualisations of Speech-Goddesses), *ad* 6.4, a visualisation of Sarasvatī, gives details of the presiding deities of the phonemes in the Śabdarāśi sequence. His source is identified simply as 'another Tantra': *pratyakṣaraṃ dhyānaṃ tantrāntaroktaṃ yathā*…

tain phonemes with certain body-parts of the Goddess persists as the single constant factor in an entire scriptural transmission probably spanning several centuries.

Unexpected Uniformity

Once this specific correlation of a given phoneme and and a given body-part is accepted, the *nādiphāntakrama* can be explained as the order of mantra-imposition *(nyāsa-)*. The most systematic of these orders of *nyāsa-* is that of the MVUT. It begins with the topknot and then descends down the body to the feet. The only missing link in the explanation of the *nādiphāntakrama* is the specific assignation of phoneme to body-part. What is so special about these particular associations and what has made them so impervious to change?

How can the Phoneme Goddesses Always be in the Same Place?

To uncover the reason for this it is helpful at this point to shift our attention from the audible phonemes to the visual graphemes used to represent them instead. The surviving exegesis of the Trika shows little interest in the written characters forming the *nādiphāntakrama*.[47] Abhinavagupta does indicate that Somānanda had taught such considerations as soteriologically effective *(upāya-)* in his commentary on the *Parātriṃśikā*.[48] But Abhinavagupta does not see fit to follow his lead. He is aware of the historical and geographical specificity of calligraphic styles and dismisses such elaborations with this justification: although of use to some rare person, such speculations, dependent on the artificial conventions of writing, are of no use to disciples removed in space and time. Despite his dismissal, it is clear that certain Śaiva Tantras, notably the *Sarvavīra*, did show an interest in written characters and not just in phonemes.[49]

[47] It contains very little speculation on the esoteric significance of written characters in general (see *Tantrāloka* 3).

[48] *Parātriṃśikāvivaraṇa* 5–9ab (KSTS, p. 35[14]): *dhūlibhedādinā ca kalpitasāmayika**lipy**apekṣaṇam api bhaved api kasya cid upāyāya, na tu tat sakaladeśakālagataśiṣyaviṣayam iti nāsmābhir vitatya vipañcitam | etadanubhavayuktyanupraviṣṭānāṃ ca tad akāryakaraṃ, svakalpanābhiś ca sukaram | anyeṣāṃ caitadupadeśānabhijñānāṃ tadupadeśanam api akiṃcitkaram, ity alam anena prakṛtavighnavidhāyinā* |.

[49] See Kṣemarāja in *Śivasūtravimarśinī* at 1.4:*a*: …*śrīsarvavīrādyāgamaprasiddha**lipikrama**saṃniveśotthāpikā…[mātṛkā].*

Phonemes, Graphemes and Body Parts

The relationship between the graphemes and their correlated body-parts claimed here is the most simple: physical resemblance.[50] Specifically, the resemblance claimed begins to be evident in the Gupta version of the Brāhmī alphabet and lasts several centuries. The characters given in the following table represent a Gupta hand of the 3–4th century CE.[51]

- ***na*** topknot (tip of topknot *(śikhāgra-) TriŚiBhai*).
- *ṛ [ṝ ḷ ḹ] mālikā śirasi TriŚi-Bhai* = *śiromālā-*. As noted earlier this is not a garland worn around the neck but rather a chaplet of skulls worn on the head.
- ***tha*** head
- ***ca*** third eye
- ***dha*** two eyes
- ***ī*** nose (breath *(prāṇana-) KuRa-Udd*).
- ***ṇa*** ears

  [u] right earring (its character resembles a small hook to the left added below the character it modifies).

  [ū] left earring (its character resembles a small double-hook to the left added below the character it modifies).
- ***ba*** mouth
- ***ka kha ga gha [ṅa]*** teeth, (right upper fang→lower left fang *ṢaṭSāSaṃ, AgPu, ṅa* = *rāja-danta-*).
- ***i*** tongue
- ***a*** speech
- ***va*** throat
- ***bha*** right shoulder
- ***ya*** left shoulder
- ***ḍa*** right arm
- ***ḍha*** left arm
- ***ṭha*** palms of the hands
- ***jha*** fingers of right hand
- ***ña*** fingers of left hand
- ***ja*** trident in right hand
- ***ra*** staff of trident
- ***ṭa*** skull in left hand
- ***pa*** heart
- ***cha*** right breast

[50] Of course, the post-scriptural exegetes have built up elaborate systems of identifications and homologies of their own involving this sequence, but the parallels they sought and put forward were between a sequence of morphemes and various elements, reality levels and other ontological, phenomenological or metaphysical categories (see for instance Abhinavagupta's exposition of Mālinī, Mātṛkā and Śabdarāśi as existing at the Madhyamā, Paśyantī and Parā levels of speech respectively, and the complex associations with *tattva*s and experiential states which he advances primarily in his exegesis of the Anuttara, or Ekavīra system of the Trika found in his two commentaries on the *Parātriṃśikā*). But here we are concerned with the original attribution of meaning to the phonemes.

[51] Taken from Sander (1968:tables 8–20).

- ***la*** left breast
- ***ā*** milk in breasts
- ***sa*** soul (soul in heart *SiYoMa*, supreme soul *TriŚiBhai, KubMaTa*).

  [aḥ] [Prāṇātmā *TriŚiBhai*, *vyāpya KubMaTa*].
- ***ha*** vital energy (vital energy pervading whole body SYM).
- ***ṣa*** stomach
- ***kṣa*** navel
- ***ma*** buttocks
- ***śa*** the genitals. An apparent problem is presented by the phoneme *śa*, since the triangular grapheme of the phoneme *e* would clearly be a more appropriate representation of the Goddess' genitalia. The resemblance is rather to a male practitioner's penis.

  [aṃ] [ovarian fluid *TriŚiBhai, KubMaTa, ṢaṭSāSaṃ, KuRaUdd*].
- ***ta*** thighs. The phoneme *ta* may originally have been meant to cover both thighs together since it evolved out of a basic inverted *y*-shape.
- ***e*** right knee
- ***ai*** left knee
- ***o*** right shank
- ***au*** left shank
- ***da*** right foot
- ***pha*** left foot

Self-evidently, it would be rash to suppose this could be used as a reliable indication for the date of the earliest Trika texts. The *nādiphāntakrama* need not have originated in the Trika but may have been borrowed from an earlier source and, the range of possible dates within which the resemblance of graphemes and body-parts can be discerned is rather large.

This hypothesis is not as strange as it first appears. An interest in the actual shape of the graphemes of the Sanskrit alphabet is also evident in other early Tantric sources. The *Jayākhyasaṃhitā*, an early scripture of the Pāñcarātra, contains a description of the *varṇa*s so graphically detailed that BHATTACHARYA[52] (admitting the inaccuracy of the method) adduces this as evidence for a date as early as 450 CE. The graphemes described in *Jayākhyasaṃhitā* 6.32cd–58 are similar to those used by the compilers of the *nādiphāntakrama* but the visual associations implied by the two systems are radically opposed. For instance the author of the *Jayākhyasaṃhitā* passage saw the written character *ka* as a lotus (***ka****mala-*), having in mind perhaps a slightly earlier form of the character resembling a small plus sign. The author of the *nādiphāntakrama* on the other

[52] This reasoning does not seem to be that of E. KRISHNAMACHARYA, the editor of the text, but of B. BHATTACHARYA, the general editor who supplied the introduction.

hand saw a hideous fang, having in mind the dagger-shaped evolute of the character.[53]

To summarise: In the Trika's *nādiphāntakrama* the written shape of each grapheme taken singly was identified as resembling a certain bodily limb or organ; taken together the whole syllabary represented the anthropomorphic body of the alphabet deity. When listed in the conventional head-to-toes order of the *nyāsa*-rite a particular rearrangement of the alphabet is arrived at, and this is the sequence beginning with *na* and ending with *pha*. This means that one can draw an anthropomorphic sketch of the Goddess using Gupta era characters.

What does this tell us about the earliest conception of the Goddess Mālinī?

A Synæsthetic Icon

The Goddess Mālinī, embodied in the *nādiphāntakrama*, was conceived of as a synæsthetic icon. This implies that Mālinī comes into existence through a fusion of phonematic sound and graphemic shape within (or even as) the divinised body of the Tantric practitioner.[54]

The Sanskrit technical term used[55] to express such "fusion" is *lolībhāva*.[56]

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[53]See Sander (1968) tables 8–20, Schrifttypus ii, Gruppe A: Gupta-Alphabete des 3.–4. Jh. n. Chr.; Gruppe B: Gupta-Alphabete des 4.–5. Jh. n. Chr. On the whole the description of the graphemes given in the *Jayākhyasaṃhitā* seems to belong to even earlier paleographic strata than Bhattacharya had assumed. For instance the phoneme *ra* is said to resemble a fire (*anala-*), an apt description of the wavy vertical line representing the phoneme *ra* until about 100 ce, but rarely beyond that date. In Śaiva Tantras also, the phoneme *ra* is usually the fire syllable. Alexis Sanderson has provided me with the *Jayadrathayāmala*'s enumeration of the various synonyms for the *repha-* (4, Varṇanāmapaṭala, 41cd–42ab): *vahniṃ ca ṭiṭṭibhaṃ caiva devāsyaṃ bhīmavigraham / rephaṃ krodhaṃ samākhyātaṃ tathā tejojjvalaṃ ca tat*. What must be realised, of course, is that a dating of any section of the *Jayākhyasaṃhitā* cannot date the whole text, even if it were an original composition in the earliest stratum of that text.

[54]The most widespread form of synæsthesia (a condition where the stimulation of one sense organ produces a sensory impression in a different sense) is the perception of sound as colour, but all sorts of (sometimes debilitating) combinations are known to exist.

[55]See for example, Mālinī's self-dissolution through *lolībhāva* after she feels slighted by Bhairava at *Kubjikāmata* 1.71–80, cf. Vasudeva 2004:xlvii–xlviii.

[56]See *Tantrasadbhāva* 1.20cd–21ab: *punar eva tu te sarva ekabhāvagatā prabho / lolībhūtā yathā santi tathā tvaṃ kathayasva mām,* and 1.473ab: *lolībhūtam idaṃ sarvaṃ śaktisthāne layaṃ gataḥ; Parātrīśikāvivaraṇa* p.50 ll.17-18: *viśvatra vācye viśvātmani vācakam api yadi viśvātmaiva tad evaṃ paraṃparācchādanalolībhāvātmā nirvahed adhyāsaḥ, na tv anyathā / na hi tricaturaṅgulanyūnatāmātre 'pi paṭaḥ paṭāntarācchādakaḥ syāt. Kaulajñānanirṇaya* 3.20d; *Kubjikāmata* 1.79; *Jayaratha* ad *Tantrāloka* 1.1: *tasya yāmalaṃ = lolībhāvas…Tantrālokaviveka*

More precisely this seems to have originally denoted a state of indistinctness or instability that various entities must assume when they are on the verge of merging together, to the extent that they can no longer be distinguished.[57] In the Kashmirian exegetical tradition *lolībhāva* is usually interpreted as a synonym for other technical terms denoting such fusion: *laya, saṃghaṭṭa, yāmala,* and *sāmarasya,* but evidently these terms all have complex histories of their own.

For the initiate of the Trika, the Sanskrit alphabet, instantiated in the very precise order of the *nādiphāntakrama*, self-assembles into a visual representation of the Goddess Mālinī, her mantric identity or sound body. In a place and at a time proximate to the original conception of the phoneme-grapheme associations, the similarity between grapheme and body-part would have been immediately perceived, giving the impression that they are natural *(svābhāvika)*, almost inviting the ritualistic assimilation *(tanmayībhāva)* with the body-parts of the practitioner in the *nyāsa*-rite. As such, the successful visionary realisation *(darśana)* of the Goddess Mālinī would induce a mild form of synæsthesia in the initiate, dissolving the boundaries of sensory perceptions so that one could "see the alphabet as a Goddess,"—strikingly apt for the creative power underlying and manifesting the universe. The transformative power of such a many-levelled icon, bridging the sense-organs, must have been great.

A careful reading reveals that these facts about Mālinī are taught quite explicitly in the earliest surviving scripture of the Trika, the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata*. First, it states that she must be sketched, but then reveals that she is "made up

ad Tantrāloka 3.122: *lolībhāvam … bhoktṛbhogyasaṅghaṭṭasvabhāvam; ibid* 3.232: *ya āveśaḥ parasparasaṅghaṭṭātmā lolībhāvaḥ, ibid* 3.237: *yaḥ parasparaṃ lolībhāvātmā sandarbhaḥ, Īśvarapratyabhijñāvivṛtivimarśinī* 2 p. 233, p. 278; 3 p. 27, p.50, *Kularatnoddyota* 12. 16, *Timirodghāṭana* fol. 48 recto, *Devīpañcaśatikā* 2.55: *lolībhūta parāśaktī ravisomakalodayaṃ prakāśānandayor antar (antar MS G, antā* Dyczkowski *etext) ekākāratayā sthitā; Matasāra* fol. 6r: *tataḥ sa maithunaṃ bheje drāvaye <'>mṛtam uttamam / akampitena manasā lolībhāvavivarjitaḥ. Svacchandatantroddyota* 4.296d explains it as identical with the state of *sāmarasya*: *samo raso yasmin sa samaraso lolībhāvaḥ, ibid* 4.299d: *[lolībhūtam]…avikalpaṃ vimṛśya tadviśrāntyaiva samarasīkuryāt. Pārameśvarasaṃhitā* 6.4: *bāhyotthā vāsanā vipra! bahujanmārjitā dṛḍhā / lolīkṛto 'nayā hy ātmā śuddho 'śuddhasvarūpayā //. Ahirbudhnyasaṃhitā* 16.62ab: *vācyavācakabhāvena lolībhūtā kriyāmayī.* Naṭanānandana's *Kāmakalācidvallīvyākhyāna ad Kāmakalāvilāsa* 1.5: *tayoḥ samarasaḥ ekalolībhūtaḥ … piṇḍībhavaty ekalolībhavati. Dhvanyālokalocana*: *saṅkīrṇatā hi miśratvaṃ lolībhāvaḥ, tatra katham ekasya prādhānyaṃ kṣīrajalavat?* In Buddhist Tantric texts the term features usually as *ekalolībhāva.*

[57] See for example Helarāja's *Prakīrṇaprakāśā* commentary *ad Vākyapadīya* 3.3.2 *(saṃbandhasamuddeśa): lolībhūtāni śabdārthajñānāni ghaṭa ity evam avagamyante*.

of all phonemes" *(sarvākṣaramayī)*.[58] The natural interpretation of this statement is that formulated as the central argument of this paper: the phonemes are arranged so as to represent the actual body of Mālinī. This is confirmed by statements such as: 'The phoneme *ī* pointing downwards is said to be her nose,'[59] a meaningless observation if applied to a sound or her nose alone. From such statements we may at least deduce that some of the characters must be rotated to fit into the icon. Figure 2 tries to recreate the synæsthetic icon of Mālinī by minimizing such rotations.

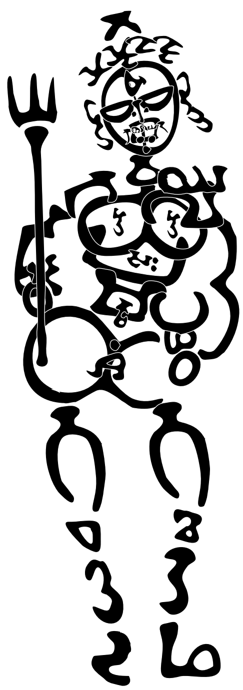


Figure 2: A tentative, provisional attempt to recreate the synæsthetic icon of Mālinī made up of Gupta characters.

In the later Trika and its exegesis, the Goddess Mālinī becomes completely aniconic. A separate diachroneity, diametrically opposed to this essentialisation seen in the Trika, took place in the cult of the Goddess Kubjikā, where we find elaborate, standard iconographies of Mālinī (see below for a critical edition of the detailed visualisation taught in the *Śrīmatottara*). This secondary elaboration might be explained by the demotion of Mālinī from the high rank she occupies in the Trika.[60]

It is also easy to understand why this principle underlying the *nādiphāntakrama* should eventually have been forgotten. Paleographic drift and the deliberate innovation of new calligraphic styles meant that the correspondence was no longer obvious, and inscriptional evidence of paleographical development shows that within a few centuries this correspondence becomes difficult to perceive.

[58] SYM 3.4–7ab: *same medhye sulipte ca sugupte bhūmimaṇḍale…rudraśaktiṃ samālikhet sarvākṣaramayīṃ devīṃ sarvavarṇopaśobhitām*, "On an even ground fit for worship, well smeared [with cowdung] and concealed he should sketch the power of Rudra, the Goddess made up of all consonants adorned with all vowels."

[59] SYM 3.8a: *ī nāsādhomukhī proktā*

[60] On the pervasive influence of the Trika on the cult of Kubjikā, extending even to the mantra-system, see Sanderson (2002, 1986:163–164) referred to in Goudriaan and Schoterman (1988:14–24, 488–496).

Documentation

Mālinīdhyānam: Śrīmatottara 6.141–47

A visualisation of a ten-armed Mālinī with five faces with three eyes each. She is red like the rising sun, intoxicated with liquor. She wears a dazzling diadem and celestial earrings. She bears: [1.] a bow, [2.] a lance, [3.] a conch, [4.] the gesture relieving fear, and [5.] a mirror in her left pentad of hands. In her right hands she holds: [6.] a thunderbolt, [7.] an arrow, [8.] a serpent, [9.] the gesture granting boons, [10.] a rosary. She is seated in *vajrāsana* on the corpse (Sadāśiva). She wears a chaplet of skulls. Her heart-Mantra is *s-h-au-ūṃ*, a derivative of the Parāmantra *sauḥ*, cf. *Śrīmatottara* 6.132cd–133.

udayādityasaṅkāśāṃ madirānandananditām |
pañcānanāṃ mahādevīṃ tripañcanayanojjvalām || 141||
divyakuṇḍalaśobhāḍhyāṃ kirīṭīmukuṭojjvalāṃ |
bhujair dvipañcakair yuktāṃ nānālaṅkāramaṇḍitām ||142||
cāpaṃ śaktis tathā kaṃbu abhayaṃ darpaṇaṃ priye |
vāmamārgakareṣv asyā divyāstraṃ ca virājate || 143||
vajraṃ bāṇaṃ tathā sarpaṃ varadaṃ cākṣasūtrakam |
dakṣiṇena tathā devi divyāstraṃ divyarūpiṇam ||144||
trivalībhaṅgamadhyasthāṃ pīnonnatapayodharām |
hārakeyūraśobhāḍhyāṃ maṇiratnavibhūṣitām ||145||
vajrāsanagatāṃ devīṃ pretaparyaṅkasaṃsthitām |
haḍamālā śire divyā varṇahārāvalambinī ||146||
evaṃ dhyātvā varārohe mālinīṃ divyatejasāṃ |
sarvavyāptimayīṃ devīṃ bhuktimuktiphalapradām ||147||

Codices used for this section of *paṭala* 6: N = NGMPP reel no. A $\frac{194}{3}$, Fr $33^{4–7}$; from 6.142c onwards G = Gorakṣasaṃhitā *paṭala* 6, p. 29.

141a °saṅkāśāṃ] *corr.*; °saṅkāśaṃ N **141b** °nanditām] *corr.*; nanditam N **141c** ānanāṃ] *corr.*; ānanā N **141c** °devīṃ] *corr.*; °devī N **142a** °āḍhyāṃ] *corr.*; °āḍhya N **142b** jvalāṃ] *corr.*; jvalaṃ N **142c** bhujair] *corr.*; bhujai N **142c** yuktāṃ] N; …petāṃ *testimonium of* G *begins* **143c** vāmamārgakareṣv] *em.*; vāmamārgakare tasya N; *****retasya G **143d** °āstraṃ] G; °āmbraṃ N **144b** cākṣa°] G; cāstra° N **144c** dakṣiṇena tathā] N; *****thā G **145a** °bhaṅga°] *conj.*; °taraṅga° G *hypermetrical*, °talaṃga° N *hypermetrical* **145b** pīnonnatapayodharām] *conj.*; vṛttonnatapayodharām G, pīnavṛttamayodharā N **146a** °gatāṃ devīṃ] *em.*; °gatāṃ devi G, gatā devī N **146c** haḍa°] *conj.* Sanderson; svara°G, vaḍa N **146c** divyā] G; divyāṃ N **146d** °āvalambinī] *em.*; āvaraṃbinī N **147b** mālinīṃ] G; mālinī N **147c** °vyāptimayīṃ] *em.*; °vyāptimayī N, vyāptamayīṃ G^{pc}, vyāptamantīṃ G^{ac} **147c** devīṃ] G; devī N

145a °*madhyasthāṃ*] possibly a metrical adaptation of a final °*madhyamāṃ*.

Tantrasadbhāva 3 > *Kubjikāmatatantra* 4

104d	uddharen Mālinīṃ śubhām	81b	uddharen Mālinīṃ śubhām |
105a	nādiphāntasvarūpeṇa	81c	nādiphāntakrameṇaiva
105b	yathā bhavati tac chṛṇu |	81d	yathā bhavati tac chṛṇu
106a	*pa-dha*-madhyaṃ śikhā caiva	82a	*pa-dha*-madhye śikhā jñeyā
106b	adhaḥśirovyavasthitā |	82b	adhaḥśirovyavasthitā |
106c	*e*-pūrvārṇacatuṣkaṃ tu	82c	*e*-pūrvārṇacatuṣkaṃ tu
106d	śiromālā nigadyate	82d	śiromālā nigadyate
105c	*ai-śa*-madhyaṃ śiro devyāḥ	83a	*ai-śa*-madhye śiro devyāḥ
105d	kārayec chubhalakṣaṇam	83b	kārayec chubhalakṣaṇam |
107a	tṛtīyaṃ nayanaṃ kāryaṃ	83c	tṛtīyaṃ nayanaṃ devyā
107b	*ṅa-cha*-madhyagataṃ priye |	83d	*ṅa-cha*-madhyagataṃ priye
107c	*na-da*-madhyagataṃ jñeyaṃ	84a	*na-da*-madhyagataṃ jñeyaṃ
107d	dvidhābhūtaṃ varānane	84b	dvidhābhūtaṃ varānane |
108a	nayane te smṛte devyāḥ	84c	nayanau ca smṛte devyāḥ
108b	kramād dakṣiṇavāmage |	84d	kramād dakṣiṇavāmage
108c	*ṭa*-pūrvaṃ nāsikā jñeyā	85a	*ṭa*-pūrvaṃ nāsikā jñeyā

Codices for *paṭala* 3 are denoted by the following sigla: N_{I}= NGMPP Reel no. A 44/1 (NAK MS 1/363); N= NGMPP Reel no. A 44/2; D= NGMPP Reel no. A. 188/22. Conflation of the dental and palatal sibilants *sa* and *śa* (frequent in N) is reproduced only where relevant to other variance. The position of *tha* (105cd) has been altered since it was deemed incorrect.

104d mālinīṃ] *corr.*; mālinī *codd.* **106a** pa-dha-°] N_{I}N; pa-da-° D **106b** adhaḥ] D; a⌈dha⌉ḥ N_{I}, ∗ N **106c** e-pūrvārṇa°] ND; e-⌈pū⌉rvārṇa° N **106d** °mālā] *em.*; °mālya D, °māla N_{I}N **105c** ai-śa-°] *em.*; ai-da-° *codd.* **107b** ṅa-cha-°] N_{I}N; da-ha-° D • priye] D; priyet N_{I}N **107d** varānane] *codd.*; varāna⊔dha⊔ne N_{I} **108a** smṛte] *em.*; smṛtā *codd.* **108b** °vāmage] *codd.*; °vāmake N_{I}

105 illegible in microfilm of N. **106b** *śirovyavasthitā* :: incorrect syncopation with three *iambi* (⏑–⏑–⏑–) **107c–109c** illegible in microfilm of N.

Variæ lectiones noted in Ed_{GS} are given only where relevant to proposed emendations. The sigla of Ed_{GS} have been retained. Unfortunately the editors state: 'only those readings are included which make sense in the Mālinī Gahvara.'

82b °śiro° *em.*; °śira° Ed_{GS}, °śiraḥ° D, °śirā° E **82c** °ārṇacatuṣkaṃ tu] *em.*; °ākṣaracatuṣkaṃ Ed_{GS} *unmetrical*, °ākṣar?catuṣkaṃ tu DEGHJK, °ākṣarecatuṣkaṃ F **83d** priye] ABC; punaḥ Ed_{GS} **84c** nayane te smṛte] *em.*; nayanau ca smṛtau Ed_{GS} (nayane FGHJK, smṛte GHJK) **84d** °vāmage] GHK; °vāmagau Ed_{GS}, vāmago J **85a** °pūrvaṃ] C; pūrve Ed_{GS}

108d	saṃśliṣṭā tu *dha*-madhyagā	85b	saṃśliṣṭā netramadhyagā |
109a	*ḍha-ta*-madhyagataṃ gṛhya	85c	*ḍha-ta*-madhyagataṃ gṛhya
109b	dvirabhyāsapaderitam |	85d	dvirabhyāsapaderitam
109c	*ṭha-ḍa*-pūrve yute 'dhastād	86a	*ṭha-ḍa*-pūrvau yutau 'dhastād
109d	bhūṣaṇau karṇayo⟨ḥ⟩ smṛtau	86b	bhūṣaṇau karṇayoḥ smṛtau |
110a	vāmadakṣiṇamārgeṇa	86c	vāmadakṣiṇamārgeṇa
110b	yathodbhūtau sthitāv iha |	86d	karṇabhūṣasthitāv iha
110c	*sa-ca*-madhyagataṃ vaktraṃ	87a	*sa-ca*-madhyagataṃ vaktraṃ
110d	devyāyā vīranāyike	87b	devyāyā vīranāyike |
111a	visarga-*kha*sya madhyasthaṃ	87c	visargānta-*kha*-madhyasthaṃ
111b	*ka-ga*-madhyayutaṃ punaḥ |	87d	*ka-ga*-madhyagataṃ punaḥ
111c	*kha*-paścimaṃ samuddiṣṭaṃ	88a	*kha*-paścimaṃ samuddiṣṭaṃ
111d	yasya cottaram eva ca	88b	yasya cottaram eva ca |
112a	*gha-ca* syāt tatrasaṃsthaṃ tu	88c	*gha-ca*-madhyagataṃ caiva
112b	uddhared akṣarāñ chubhān |	88d	uddhared akṣaraṃ śubham
112c	ete pañca smṛtā varṇā	89a	ete pañca smṛtā varṇā
112d	devyā daśanakalpanā	89b	devyā daśanakalpanā |
113a	*ña*-pūrvaṃ rasanā proktā	89c	*ña*- rasanā devyā
113b	*jha*-ūrdhvena Sarasvatī |	89d	*jha*-ūrdhvena Sarasvatī
113c	*sa-ta*-madhyasthitaḥ kaṇṭho	90a	*sa-ta*-madhyasthitaḥ kaṇṭhaḥ
113d	*ma-cha*-madhyagatoddharet	90b	*ma-cha*-madhyagatoddharet

108d °madhyagā] *codd.*; °madhyagāḥ N_{I} **109a** ḍha-ta-°] *em.*; ṭa-ta-° *codd.* • gṛhya N_{I}; gūghra ND **109b** °paderitam] *codd.*; °pade 'nvitam N_{I} **109c** pūrve] *codd.*; pūrvaṃ N_{I} • yute] *em.*; yutau N_{I}, ryutau ND • 'dhastād] N_{I}; dhastā ND **110a** °dakṣiṇa°] *codd.*; °daṣiṇa° N **110c** vaktraṃ] N_{I}N; cakraṃ D **111a** visargakhasya] N_{I}N; visargakhaś ca D **111c** kha-°] *em.*; gha-° *codd.* **111d** yasya] D; paśya N_{I} **112a** tatra°] *conj.*; tara *codd.* **112b** akṣarāñ] *corr.*; akṣarāṃ D, akṣarā N_{I} • chubhān] *corr.*; śubhāṃ *codd.* **112d** daśanakalpanā] *em.*; darśanakalpane D, daśanakalpaye N_{I} **113b** jha-ūrdhvena] *em.*; jha-pūrveṇa N_{I}, ja-pūrveṇa D **113c** °sthitaḥ] N_{I}; °sthitaṃ D **113d** ma-cha-madhya°] N_{I}; ma-*ttha*-madhya° ND

111a–118d illegible in microfilm of N.

85b saṃśliṣṭā] DE; saṃsṛṣṭā Ed_{GS}, saṃśiṣṭāś G, saṃsṛṣṭaṃ J **85b** netra°] F*G*ʳ; caiva Ed_{GS} **88b** yasya cottaram] *conj.*; paścimottaram Ed_{GS} **89c** pūrvaṃ] E; pūrve Ed_{GS}, pūrva° FG

114a	*ra-ma*-madhyagatas tadvad	90c	*ra-ma*-madhyagataṃ tad vad
114b	akṣarau dvau śubhātmakau |	90d	akṣarau tu śubhātmakau
114c	śikharau tu smṛtau bhadre	91a	śikharau tau smṛtau bhadre
114d	vāmadakṣiṇagau śubhau	91b	vāmadakṣiṇagau śubhau |
115a	*u-ṭha*-dakṣiṇagau dvau tu	91c	*ū-ḍha*-madhyagataṃ gṛhya
		91d	*ḍa-ṇa*-madhye dvitīyakam
		92a	vāmadakṣiṇagau dvau tu
115b	bāhugau vāmadakṣiṇau |	92b	bāhū devyāḥ surārcite |
115c	*ra-u*-madhyagataṃ caiva	92c	*ra-u*-madhyagataṃ caiva
115d	dvidhābhūtaṃ prakalpayet	92d	dvidhābhūtaṃ prakalpayet
116a	karatalau smṛtau devi	93a	karatalau smṛtau devyāḥ
116b	savyāsavyaṃ vijānataḥ |	93b	savyāsayvau vijānataḥ |
116c	*ja-ma*-pūrvau tathāṅgulyau	93c	*ja-ma*-pūrvau tu aṅgulyau
116d	vāmadakṣiṇagāḥ śubhāḥ	93d	vāmadakṣiṇagau śubhau
		94a	*aṃ-ka*-madhye karapṛṣṭhe
		94b	dvidhābhūtaṃ prakalpayet |
117a	*ña-ṭha*-madhyagataṃ gṛhya	94c	*ña-ṭha*-madhyagataṃ gṛhya
117b	vāmahaste prakalpayet |	94d	vāmahaste prakalpayet
117c	ūrdhvavaktraṃ kapālaṃ tu	95a	ūrdhvaktrakapālaṃ tu
117d	amṛtākhyena pūritam	95b	amṛtākhyena pūritam |
118a	dakṣiṇe tu kare jñeyaṃ	95c	dakṣiṇe tu kare jñeyaṃ
118b	*ya-ḍha*-madhyaṃ tu daṇḍakam |	95d	*ya-ḍha*-madhyaṃ tu daṇḍakam
118c	śūlasya kathitaṃ bhadre	96a	śūlasya kathitaṃ bhadre
118d	uddhāreṇa samuddhṛtam	96b	uddhāreṇa samuddhṛtam |
119a	*a-cha*-madhyagataṃ śūlam	96c	*a-cha*-madhyagataṃ śūlam
119b	uttānā ūrdhvavaktragam |	96d	uttānam ūrddhvavaktragam

114a ra-ma-°] *em.*; ra-sa-° *codd.* **115a** u-ṭha-°] *em.*; ra-dha-° N_{I}, ṭa-ṭha-° D **116a** °talau] *em.*; °talastho *codd.* **116b** savyāsavyaṃ] D; savyāsayva N_{I} **116c** ja-ma-°] *em.*; bha-ma-° *codd.* **117a** gṛhya] N_{I}; gūghra ND **117c** ūrddhvavaktraṃ] D; ūrddhvaktraṃ N_{I} **118c** bhadre] D; rudre N_{I} **119a** a-cha-°] N_{I}N; a-ccha-° D

119b *uttānā* :: a nasalisation *-ā* in place of the correct *sandhi -am* has been preferred in order to avoid an incorrect syncopation with three *iambi* (˘–˘–˘–).

92c ra-u°] *G/*; ṭa-ḍa Ed$_{GS}$, u-ra° K **94d** prakalpayet] DFGHJK; prapādayet Ed$_{GS}$ **95d** madhyaṃ] DFG; madhye Ed$_{GS}$

119c	jñātavyaṃ tu vipaścidbhir	97a	jñātavyaṃ tu vipaścidbhir
119d	yathālakṣaṇalakṣitam	97b	yathālakṣaṇalakṣitam |
120a	*gha-na*-madhyagataṃ hṛc ca	97c	*gha-na*-madhyagataṃ hṛc ca
120b	devyāyāḥ sarvakāmikam |	97d	devyāyāḥ sarvakāmadam
120c	* *na-sa*-madhyagam udaraṃ *		
120d	*ca-ja*-madhyagataṃ priye	99c	*ca-ja*-madhyagataṃ gṛhya
121a	*ra-va*-sandhigataṃ tadvad	99d	*ra-va*-sandhigataṃ tathā
		100a	*vāmadakṣiṇagau dvau tu*
121b	akṣarau dvau stanātmakau |	100b	akṣarau tau stanātmakau |
121c	*jha*-pūrvaṃ tu payo jñeyam	100c	*jha*-pūrve tu payo jñeyam
121d	amṛtaṃ samudāhṛtam	100d	amṛtaṃ samudāhṛtam
122a	*ya-sa*-madhyagataṃ prāṇaṃ	99a	*ya-sa*-madhyagataṃ prāṇaṃ
122b	devyāyā vīranāyike |	99b	devyāyā vīranāyike |
122c	*ma-ṣa*-madhyagataṃ devi	98a	*ma-ṣa*-madhyagataṃ gṛhya
122d	ātmābījāmṛtātmakam	98b	ātmābījaṃ śivātmakam |
123a	visargasahitaṃ rudre	98c	visargasahitaṃ bhadre
123b	uddhṛtaṃ mantram uttamam |	98d	uddhṛtaṃ mantram uttamam
		101a	* *na-sa*-madhyagataṃ gṛhya*
		101b	*udaram uddhṛtaṃ 'naghe* |
123c	*kaṣā*khyaṃ mantrarājānaṃ	101c	*ka-ṣā*khyaṃ mantrarājānaṃ
123d	nābhiṃ devyāḥ prakalpayet	101d	nābhiṃ devyāḥ prakalpayet
124a	*bha-ña*-madhyasmṛtaṃ devi	102a	*bha-ña*-madhyagataṃ devi
124b	nitambaṃ sakalātmakam |	102b	nitambaṃ sakalātmakam |
124c	*va-ṣa*-madhyagataṃ guhyaṃ	102c	*va-ṣa*-madhyagataṃ guhyaṃ
124d	*au*-paścimasamanvitam	102d	*au*-paścimasamanvitam

120a °gataṃ] D; °gata N$_{I}$N • hṛc ca] *codd.*; hṛ∗ N **120d** °gataṃ] *em.*; °gataḥ *codd.* **121a** °-sandhi°] N$_{I}$N; °-sandi° D **121c** jha-°] N$_{I}$; *jha* N, *ña* D **122a** ya-sa-°] ND; ya-śa-° N$_{I}$ **123c** mantrarājānaṃ] D; tatvarājānaṃ N$_{I}$, mantrarājānaḥ N **123d** nābhiṃ] N$_{I}$N; nābhi D • devyāḥ] *corr.*; devyā *codd.* **124a** bha-ña-°] *em.*; bha-ya-° *codd.* **124b** sakalā°] *codd.*; ⌈sa⌉kalā° N **124c** va-ṣa-° N$_{I}$; va-śa-° ND **124d** au-°] *em.*; da-° *codd.*

120c A *na-vipulā* form preceded by a non-permitted *ja-gaṇa* (⏑–⏑).

97c madhyagataṃ hṛc ca] *em.*; °madhye tu hṛdayaṃ Ed$_{GS}$ a *na-vipulā*, madhyagataṃ hṛdayaṃ C, madhyaṃ tu hṛdayaṃ FG **99c** ca-ja°] EFG; ja-ca Ed$_{GS}$ **100d** samudāhṛtam] ABD; ca udāhṛtam Ed$_{GS}$, camudāhṛtam C **101c** mantra°] F*G*ı tattva° Ed$_{GS}$, taṃtva C

125a ūrvākāraṃ bhaved bījaṃ
125b *ṇa-tha*-madhyagatā 'naghe |
125c *ṇa-ta*-dakṣiṇagau bījau
125d jānukau dvau suśobhanau
126a savyāsavyagatau jñeyau
126b krameṇaiva śubhekṣaṇe |
126c *ai-o*-paścimagau dvau tu
126d jaṅghe dve vāmadakṣiṇe
127a *tha-dha*-madhyagataṃ devi
127b *ṅa-ṣa*-madhyaṃ tathaiva ca |
127c dvau bījāv uddhṛtau bhadre
127d pādau jñeyau vipaścite
128a vāmadakṣiṇagau proktau
128b lakṣaṇena vilakṣitau |
128c evaṃ samyagvidhānena
128d uddhṛtā Mālinī priye

125a ūrvākāraṃ] *em.*; ūrvākārau *codd.* • bījaṃ] D; bījā N_{I}, bīja N **125b** ṇa-tha-° N_{I}N; ṇa-ṣa-° D • °gatā] *em.*; gato *codd.* **125c** ṇa-ta-°] *em.*; ta-tha-° *codd.* **126a** savyāsavyagatau] D; savyāmavyagatau N_{I}, savyāsavyaganau N **126b** śubhekṣaṇe] D; śubhakṣaṇe N_{I}, śubhekṣaṇau N **126c** ai-o-°] *conj.*; ai-tha- N_{I}; ai-ṣa- ND **127a** tha-dha- N_{I}N; ṣa-dha- D **127b** ṅa-ṣa-°] N_{I}; ḍa-tha-° N, ṛ-ṣa-° D **127c** bījāv] D; bījav N_{I}, bījaṃv N • bhadre] *codd.*; omitted N_{I} **127d** pādau] *codd.*; omitted N_{I}

103a ūrvākāraṃ bhaved bījaṃ
103b *ṇa-tha*-madhyagataṃ 'naghe |
103c *ṇa-ta*-dakṣiṇagau bījau
103d jānunī dve prakalpayet
104a savyāsavyagatau jñeyau
104b krameṇaiva śubhekṣaṇe |
104c *tha-da*da-dakṣiṇagau dvau tu
104d jaṅghe dve vāmadakṣiṇe
105a *tha-dha*-madhyagataṃ devi
105b *pa-ba*-madhyaṃ tathaiva ca |
105c dvau bījau coddhṛtau bhadre
105d pādau jñeyau vipaścitā
106a vāmadakṣiṇagau proktau
106b lakṣaṇena samanvitau |
106c evaṃ samyagvidhānena
106d uddhṛtā Mālinī priye

104c tha-da-dakṣiṇa°] Ed_{GS}, ??-paścima° ADFG'HJK **104d** jaṅghe dve vāmadakṣiṇe] K; jaṅghau dve vāmadakṣiṇau Ed_{GS}, …°dakṣiṇe FGHJK

Triśirobhairavatantra > *Kubjikāmatatantra* 17

1a	Nādinī tu śikhāgrasthā	94a	Nādinī tu śikhāgrasthā
1b	*na*kārākṣarasaṃjñitā	94b	*na*kārākṣarasambhavā |
1c	*ṛ ṝ ḷ ḹ* Nivṛttyādyā	94c	*ṛ ṝ ḷ ḹ* tu Nivṛttyādyā
1d	mālikā śirasi sthitā	94d	mālikā śirasi sthitā
2a	*tha* śiro Grasanī devī	95a	*tha* śiro Grasanī smṛtā
2b	*dha* netre Priyadarśanā	95b	*dha* netre Priyadarśanā |
2c	*ī* Guhyaśaktir nādasthā	95c	*ī* Guhyaśakti nādasthā
2d	nāsāyāṃ netramadhyataḥ	95d	nāsāyāṃ netramadhyataḥ
3a	vyāpayitvā sthitā devī	96a	vyāpayitvā sthitā devī
3b	*ca* tṛtīyaṃ ca locanam	96b	*ca* tṛtīyaṃ tu locanam |
3c	Cāmuṇḍā parameśānī	96c	Cāmuṇḍā parameśānī
3d	lalāṭasthā virājate	96d	lalāṭasthā virājate
4a	*ba*kāro vadanaṃ tasyā	97a	*ba*kāraṃ vadanaṃ tasyā
4b	Vajriṇī śaktir avyayā	97b	Vajriṇī śaktir avyayā |
4c	*ka*varge daśanās tīkṣṇāḥ	97c	*ka*varge daśanās tīkṣṇāḥ
4d	Kaṅkaṭā Kālikā Śivā	97d	Kaṅkaṭā Kālikā Śivā
5a	Ghoraghoṣā Śirvirākhyā	98a	Ghoraghoṣā Śirvirākhyā
5b	*ka*varge saṃprakīrtitāḥ	98b	*ka*varge saṃprakīrtitāḥ |
5c	Māyādevī *i* jihvā tu	98c	Māyādevī *i* jihvā tu
5d	*a* vāg vāgīśvarī matā	98d	*a* vāg Vāgīśvarī matā
6a	Nārāyaṇī *ṇa* karṇau tu	99a	Nārāyaṇī *ṇa* karṇau tu

T = *TaĀlVi* 15.121–125ab

2a śiro grasanī] *conj.*; śirograṃ satī T 2c nādasthā] *em.*; nāsasthā T 2d nāsāyāṃ] *em.*; vyāptāste T 4c °varge] *em.*; °vargo T 5a śirvirākhyā] *em.*; śivirākhyā T (*unmetrical*)

2c A correct *ma-vipulā* form. The redactor of the *Kubjikāmata* has emended to °śakti, reverting to the more familiar *pathyā* form. 5a śirvirākhyā :: The emendation is derived from the variant Chirvirākhyā in MS A of the *Kubjikāmata*. The metre thus shows a correct *ra-vipulā*.

Variæ lectiones noted in Ed$_{GS}$ are given only where relevant to proposed emendations. The sigla and numbering of Ed$_{GS}$ have been retained. F and E proved closest to the *Triśirobhairava*. The verse order of F is superior to that of Ed$_{GS}$: 94ab, 95a+*vaktrameḍalasaṃsthitā*, 96ab, 96c+95b, 95cd, 99ab, 99c+*bakāre vajriṇī mukhe*, 97cd, 98, 99d+*kubjike śikhivāhinī*, 103ab, 100ab, 100c+*vakārākhyau ubhau tu tau*, 101, 102, 103cd, 104cd, resumes.

97a tasyā] C; devyā Ed$_{GS}$, tena G **98a** śirvirākhyā] *em.*; mukhīvīrā Ed$_{GS}$, mukhāvīrā G, mukhīvīrākhyā D, ca vīrākhyā F, chirvirākhyā A, chirvarākhyā B, khivarākhyā E **98b** saṃprakīrtitāḥ] F; daśanāḥ śubhāḥ Ed$_{GS}$, daśanā śubhā AD, °daṃ śubhāvahā E **98d** vāgīśvarī] A; vāgeśvarī Ed$_{GS}$

6b	tayor *u ū* ca bhūṣaṇam	99b	tayor *u-ū* ca bhūṣaṇam |
6c	Mohanī ca tathā Prajñā	99c	Mohanī ca tathā Prajñā
6d	*va* kaṇṭhaṃ Śikhivāhanī	99d	*va* kaṇṭhaṃ Śikhivāhinī
7a	Lāmā Vināyikīdevī	100a	Lāmā Vināyakīdevī
7b	*ḍaḍhau* bāhudvayaṃ vibhoḥ	100b	*ḍa-ḍhau* bāhudvayaṃ matam |
7c	Pūrṇimā hastadeśasthā	100c	Pūrṇimā hastadeśasthā
7d	*ṭha*kārākhyā vibhor matā	100d	*ṭha*kārākhyā vibhor matā
8a	Jhaṅkārī Kundanā caiva	101a	Jhaṅkarī Kundanī caiva
8b	*jhañāv* aṅgulayaḥ kramāt	101b	*jha-ñāv* aṅgulayaḥ kramāt |
8c	Kāpālinī vāmakare	101c	Kapālinī vāmakare
8d	*ṭa*kāraḥ pārameśvari	101d	*ṭa*kāraḥ parameśvari
9a	Dīpanī śūladaṇḍaś ca	102a	Dīpanī śūladaṇḍaṃ ca
9b	*rephaḥ* samyag udāhṛtaḥ	102b	rephaḥ samyag udāhṛtaḥ |
9c	*ja* Jayantī bhavec chūlaṃ	102c	Jayantī *ja* bhavec chūlam
9d	devadevyā maheśvari	102d	evaṃ devī virājate
10a	Bhīṣaṇī Vāyuvegā ca	103a	Bhīṣaṇī Vāyuvegā ca
10b	skandhayor ubhayor *bhayau*	103b	skandhayor ubhayor *bha-yau* |
10c	Pāvanī tu *pa* hṛllagnā	103c	Pāvanī tu *pa* hṛllagnā
10d	udaraṃ *ṣaś* ca Lambikā	103d	udaraṃ ṣaś ca Lambikā
11a	Saṃhārikā *kṣa*kāro 'yaṃ	104a	Saṃhārīkā *kṣa*kāro 'yaṃ
11b	nābhau devyās tu bhairavi	104b	nābhir devyāś ca bhairavi |
11c	Chagalī Pūtanā caiva	104c	Chagalī Pūtanā caiva

6d kaṇṭhaṃ] *em.*; kaṇṭha° T 8d pārameśvari] *em.*; pārameśvarī T 11b devyās] *em.*; devas T 11c caiva] *em.*; ceti T

8c vāmakare :: a correct *bhavipulā*.

99b u-ū ca bhūṣaṇam] *em.*; bhūṣaṇam ī-parau Ed$_{GS}$, u-ū…[?] *B*/C, u-ū-bhūṣitau E, bhūṣaṇam āparau G, bhūṣaṇam īpatau F, bhūṣaṇam īkṣagau H **99d** kaṇṭhaṃ] E; kaṇṭhe Ed$_{GS}$, kaṇṭha ABDGHK, kaṇṭa C **100c** pūrṇimā] FGJ; paurṇimā Ed$_{GS}$, paurṇamā D **100d** °ākhyā→matā] *em.*; °ākhyaṃ→matam Ed$_{GS}$, °ākhyā→matam E, °ākhyā→mataḥ AB, °ākhye→matam E **101a** kundanī] *em.*; kurdanī Ed$_{GS}$, krurdanī K, kandanī E **101b** jha-ñāv] *em.*; na-jhāv Ed$_{GS}$, jha-ñaś A, jha-ñāś B, jha-ña E, jha-ṇau J, jha-ṇyau K **103a** bhīṣaṇī] D*E*/; bhīṣaṇā Ed$_{GS}$, bhīṣaṇaṃ E **103b** bha-yau] *em.*; api Ed$_{GS}$ **103d** udaraṃ ṣaś ca lambikā] F (*misreading* ṣacca ?); ṣodaraṃ lambikā sthitā Ed$_{GS}$ **104b** F *reads* nābhau devyā vyavasthitā

11d stanau *chalau* prakīrtitau
12a Āmoṭarī tadgataṃ tu
12b kṣīram *ā* parikīrtitam
12c paramātmā *sa*kāro 'yaṃ
12d *ha* prāṇaḥ śaktir Ambikā
13a Icchāśaktir *visargākhyā*
13b vyāpya prāṇātmaṇi sthitā
13c *ma* nitambaṃ Mahākālī
13d *śa* guhyaṃ Kusumāyudhā
14a Śukrādevī bhavec chukram
14b *anusvāras* tu bhairavi
14c Tārā *ta*kāra ūrusthā
14d *e ai* JñānaKriye ubhe
15a jānunī saṃsthite devi
15b bhairavyās tu mahātmanaḥ
15c Gāyatrī caiva Sāvitrī
15d *o au* jaṅghe prakīrtite
16a Dahanī dakṣapādasthā
16b vāme Phetkārikā *daphau*

āmoṭarī] *em.*; ā moṭarī T 14b bhairavi] *em.*; bhairavī T

11d Incorrect syncopation in three *iambi* (˘–˘–˘–). āmoṭarī tadgataṃ tu :: A correct *ra-vipulā* which has again been emended to a *pathyā* form by the redactor of the *Kubjikā-mata*.

104d *cha-lau* prakīrtitau
105a Āmoṭī tadgataṃ kṣīraṃ
105b *ā*kāraṃ parikīrtitam |
105c Paramātmā *sa*kāro 'yaṃ
105d *ha* prāṇaḥ śaktir Ambikā
106a Icchāśaktir visargākhyā
106b vyāpya prāṇātmani sthitā |
106c *ma* nitambaṃ Mahākālī
106d *śa* guhyaṃ Kusumāyudhā
107a Śukrādevī bhavec cukram
107b anusvāras tu bhairavi |
107c Tārā *ta*kāram ūrusthā
107d *e-ai* JñānaKriye ubhe
108a jānunī saṃsthite devi
108b bhairavyāś ca mahātmanaḥ |
108c Gāyatrī caiva Sāvitrī
108d *au-o* jaṅghe prakīrtite
109b Dahanī dakṣapādasthā
109b vāme Phetkārikā *da-phau* |

104d prakīrtitau] EHJK; paristhitau Ed$_{GS}$, paristhite G, vyavasthitau C **105b** ākāraṃ] E; āvarṇaḥ Ed$_{GS}$, āvarṇa ABH, avarṇa D, āvarṇaṃ J,*lacuna* …kaśra F **105d** prāṇaḥ] FJK; prāṇe Ed$_{GS}$, prāṇa CDE, prāṇāḥ H **106b** prāṇātmani sthitā] E; °bhāvena saṃsthitā Ed$_{GS}$, vyāptibhūtā vyavasthitā F **107a** bhavec chukram] F; tv anusvāraṃ Ed$_{GS}$, tv anusvāra AB, sānusvāraṃ HJK, ty anusvāraṃ E **107b** anusvāras tu] *em.*; śukraṃ devyās tu Ed$_{GS}$, satuṣyanaśu F **107d** jñāna°] ABEF; jñānī° Ed$_{GS}$, jñānā° D, jānu° HK **107d** °kriye] EF; °kriyau Ed$_{GS}$, °dvaye HK **107d** ubhe] K; ubhau Ed$_{GS}$, ute F **108a** saṃsthite] A; saṃsthitau Ed$_{GS}$, saṃsthito F,saṃsthitā EGHJK, saṃsisthitā C **108d** jaṅghe] FGJK; jaṅghau Ed$_{GS}$ **108d** prakīrtite] AG; prakīrtitau Ed$_{GS}$, prakīrtitāḥ C, prakīrtitā FHK **109b** da-phau] *em.*; matā Ed$_{GS}$, smṛtā E, śubhā HJK, phaś ca vosagā F

107d Reading as short for Jñānaśakti and Kriyāśakti rather than 'Jñānā/ī' and 'Kriyā'.

Kularatnoddyota 5

atordhvaṃ mālinīṃ brūmi sāṅgopāṅgasamanvitām ||80||
samastavyastayogena varṇarāśir varānane |
nādiphāntakrameṇeha yathā bhavati tac chṛṇu ||81||
pūrvoktā vyāpakā varṇā māyātattvasamanvitāḥ |
mālinīhṛdayaṃ nāthe kūṭabījayutaṃ bhavet ||82||
uttarādharanirmuktaṃ vāyutattvavivarjitam |
prāṇākṣarasamutpannaṃ tad eva bhavate priye ||83||
*na*kāras tu śikhāsthānān Nādinīśaktisaṃyutaḥ |
śiraso Grasanī varṇam abhūn mama varānane ||84||
ṛ NivṛttiPratiṣṭhā *ṝ ḷ* Vidyā Śānti *ḹ* smṛtaḥ |
śiromālā samutpannam etac chakticatuṣṭayam ||85||
dhadhaca netrodbhavau jñeyau samavarṇau kuleśvari |
kalās tatra imā proktā Cāmuṇḍā Priyadarśanā ||86||
Guhyaśaktir *i*-varṇasthā prāṇanādodbhavā mama |
Vajriṇī *bā*kṣaraṃ vaktrān Māyā *ī* lalanodbhavā ||87||
a vāg vācaḥsamutpannā Vāgeśvaryā samanvitaḥ |
*kā*di*ghā*ntāś ca ye varṇās te priye daśanodbhavāḥ ||88||
Kaṅkaṭā Kālikā caiva Śivāghorā ca Chirvvarā |
upari proktavarṇaiś ca yuktā me dvijasaṃbhavāḥ ||89||
Nārāyaṇī *ṇa*varṇena saṃyuktā śravaṇāntarāt |
u ū Mohani Prajñā ca karṇabhūṣaṇasaṃbhavāḥ ||90||
va-varṇakaṇṭhajaṃ viddhi Śikhivāhanisaṃyutam |

Codices collated: N$_{\text{NAK}}$=MS. NGMPP Reel no. A $\frac{206}{10}$; N$_{\text{CŚŚ}}$=MS. Chandra Shum Shere c.348

80c atordhvaṃ] *em.*; atordhva° N$_{\text{NAK}}$; atorddhaṃ N$_{\text{CŚŚ}}$ **80c** mālinīṃ] *corr.*; mālinī *codd.* **80d** sāṅgopāṅga°] N$_{\text{NAK}}$; sāṃgopāga° N$_{\text{CŚŚ}}$ **81b** varṇarāśir] *corr.*; varṇa⌈rā⌉-śir N$_{\text{NAK}}$, varṇarāśi N$_{\text{CŚŚ}}$ **82a** pūrvoktā] N$_{\text{CŚŚ}}$; pūrvoktād N$_{\text{NAK}}$ **82b** °samanvitāḥ] N$_{\text{CŚŚ}}$; °samanvitaṃḥ N$_{\text{NAK}}$ **83a** uttarādhara°] N$_{\text{NAK}}$; unnarādhara° N$_{\text{CŚŚ}}$ **83c** °ākṣarasamutpannaṃ] N$_{\text{NAK}}$; °āccharasame-petām N$_{\text{CŚŚ}}$ **83d** bhavate] *em.*; ⌈bhava⌉ta N$_{\text{NAK}}$, bhate N$_{\text{CŚŚ}}$ **84a** nakāras tu śikhā°] N$_{\text{NAK}}$; nakārasthaśikhā° N$_{\text{CŚŚ}}$ **84b** °saṃyutaḥ] N$_{\text{NAK}}$; °saṃyutam N$_{\text{CŚŚ}}$ **84c** śirastho] *em.*; śiraso *codd.* **84d** abhūn] N$_{\text{CŚŚ}}$; abhūt N$_{\text{NAK}}$ **85a** nivṛtti°] N$_{\text{CŚŚ}}$; nivṛrtti° N$_{\text{NAK}}$ **85c** °mālā] N$_{\text{CŚŚ}}$; °mā⌈lā⌉ N$_{\text{NAK}}$ dhadhaca] *codd.*; (*unmetrical*) **86a** netro°] N$_{\text{NAK}}$; netrau N$_{\text{CŚŚ}}$ **86a** °dbhavau] N$_{\text{CŚŚ}}$; bhavau N$_{\text{NAK}}$ **87a** °śaktir] *corr.*; °śakti] N$_{\text{NAK}}$, °śaktiḥ N$_{\text{CŚŚ}}$ **87a** i-varṇasthā] N$_{\text{NAK}}$; varṇasthā N$_{\text{CŚŚ}}$ **87b** °nā-dodbhavā] N$_{\text{NAK}}$; °⌈nā⌉do⌈d⌉bhavā N$_{\text{NAK}}$ **87c** vaktrān] N$_{\text{NAK}}$; vaktrā N$_{\text{CŚŚ}}$ **88a**vācaḥ°] *em.*; kācaḥ N$_{\text{NAK}}$, kāca⌈ḥ⌉ N$_{\text{CŚŚ}}$ **88a** samutpannā] N$_{\text{NAK}}$; samutpanno N$_{\text{CŚŚ}}$ **88d** te] N$_{\text{NAK}}$; ⟦ste priye varṇā⟧ te N$_{\text{NAK}}$ **89a** kaṅkaṭā] N$_{\text{NAK}}$; kukkuṭā N$_{\text{CŚŚ}}$ **89b** ca chirvvarā] *corr.*; vac-chirvvarā N$_{\text{NAK}}$, cacchirvvarā N$_{\text{CŚŚ}}$ **89d** dvijasaṃbhavāḥ] N$_{\text{NAK}}$; dvijam udbhavāḥ N$_{\text{CŚŚ}}$ **90b** °āntarāt] N$_{\text{CŚŚ}}$; āṃcarāt N$_{\text{NAK}}$ **91a** va] N$_{\text{CŚŚ}}$; ca N$_{\text{NAK}}$ **91a** °kaṇṭhajaṃ] N$_{\text{NAK}}$; °kaṃcajaṃ N$_{\text{CŚŚ}}$

da-ḍā-rṇabāhuyugalā LāmāVināyakīyutau ||91||
Paurṇimā varṇasaṃyuktā utpannā ṭha karadvayāt |
jha-ñau ca karaśākhā dvau Jhaṃkārī Ūrddhvakurdanī ||92||
śūladaṇḍā *ra* Dīpanyā Jayantī *jā*rṇasaṃbhavā |
dakṣapāṇau samutpannā āyudhārthaṃ varānane ||93||
Kapālinī *ṭa*-saṃyuktā vāmahastodbhavā priye |
Bhīṣaṇā Vāyuvegā ca *bhayā*rṇau skandhagau smṛtau ||94||
Pūtanā *cha*rṇa*lā*rṇena Chagalaṇḍā stanadvayāt |
Āmodī *ā* payomadhyāt parā *sā*tmāvinirgatā ||95||
Ambikā *he*titaḥ prāṇād visargaḥ prāṇaśaktijaḥ |
Pāvanī *pā*rṇahṛdayāl Laṃbikā *ṣo*darān mama ||96||
maṇisthānodbhavā bhādre Saṃhārī *kṣā*kṣarānvitā |
nitambān *ma* Mahākālī *śa* guhyāt Kusumāyudhā ||97||
aṃ Bhairavīti śukrasthā Tārakā *tā*rṇa ūrukāt |
Jñānā *e ai* Kriyopete utpannau jānumaṇḍalāt ||98||
o au Gāyatrī Sāvitrī jaṅghābhyāṃ saṃbhavau mama |
Dahanī *dā*ṃghridakṣasthā *pha* Phetkārī ca vāmataḥ ||99||
saṃbhūtā parameśāni jñātavyā śrīkuleśvari |
etad yogigaṇaṃ sarvaṃ varṇamālāsamanvitam ||100|
mantravidyāsamūhasya padaniṣpattikāraṇam |

91d °vināyakī°] *em.*;°vaināyakī° N_{NAK}, °venāyakī° $N_{\text{CŚŚ}}$ **92b** ṭha] *em.*; ca *codd.* **92d** ūrddhvakurdanī] N_{NAK}; ūrddhakurdanī $N_{\text{CŚŚ}}$ **93a** ra] N_{NAK}; na $N_{\text{CŚŚ}}$ **93b** jārṇa°] N_{NAK}; kṣārṇa° $N_{\text{CŚŚ}}$ **93d** āyudhārthaṃ] N_{NAK}; āyudhādhva $N_{\text{CŚŚ}}$ **94a** ṭa°] $N_{\text{CŚŚ}}$; ṭha° N_{NAK} **94b** priye] N_{NAK}; ⟦smṛ⟧priye $N_{\text{CŚŚ}}$ **94d** skandhagau smṛtau] *conj.*; skandhagonvitau N_{NAK}, skandhato smṛtau $N_{\text{CŚŚ}}$ **95a** charṇalārṇena] $N_{\text{CŚŚ}}$; cchaṇḍalārṇena N_{NAK} **95c** āmodī] N_{NAK}; āmodhī $N_{\text{CŚŚ}}$ **95c** ā] *em.*; ca *codd.* **95d** parāsātmā°] N_{NAK}; parāsānmā° $N_{\text{CŚŚ}}$ **96a** prāṇād] N_{NAK}; prāṇān $N_{\text{CŚŚ}}$ **96b** visargaḥ] N_{NAK}; vi⟦ni⟧sargaḥ $N_{\text{CŚŚ}}$ **96b** prāṇa°] N_{NAK}; prāṇa⟦prā⟧° N_{NAK} **96c** Pāvanī] *conj.*; pārṇavatī *codd.hypermetrical* **96c** °hṛdayāl] N_{NAK}; °hṛdayāt $N_{\text{CŚŚ}}$ **96d** laṃbikā ṣodarān] *em.*; laṃbikāyodarān N_{NAK}, raṃbikāmodarān $N_{\text{CŚŚ}}$ **97a** bhādre] N_{NAK}; bhādra $N_{\text{CŚŚ}}$ **97b** saṃhārī] N_{NAK}; saṃ⟦jñahe⟧hārī $N_{\text{CŚŚ}}$ **97b** kṣākṣarānvitā] N_{NAK}; kṣakṣarānvitā $N_{\text{CŚŚ}}$ **97c** ma] N_{NAK}; me $N_{\text{CŚŚ}}$ **97c** mahākālī] N_{NAK}; mahālī $N_{\text{CŚŚ}}$ **97d** śa] N_{NAK}; sa $N_{\text{CŚŚ}}$ **97d** guhyāt] $N_{\text{CŚŚ}}$; guhyā N_{NAK} **98a** śukrasthā] *em.*; guśkrasthā N_{NAK}, guhyasthā $N_{\text{CŚŚ}}$ **98b** tārakā] $N_{\text{CŚŚ}}$; tālakā N_{NAK} **98b** tārṇa ūrukāt] N_{NAK}; bhārṇajabhakāt $N_{\text{CŚŚ}}$ **98c** Jñānā] *em.*; Jñāna *codd.* **98c** kriyopetau] *em.*; kriyopete $N_{\text{CŚŚ}}$, kriyāpete] N_{NAK} **98d** utpannau] *em.*; utpanne *codd.* **98d** jānu°] N_{NAK}; jātu° $N_{\text{CŚŚ}}$ **99a** gāyatrī] N_{NAK}; gāyatri° $N_{\text{CŚŚ}}$ **99b** jaṅghābhyāṃ] *em.*; jaṅghāsyāṃ N **99b** saṃbhavau] *em.*; saṃbhavān *codd.* **99c** dāṃghridakṣasthā] *em.*; dāghridakṣasthā N_{NAK}, dāṃhridakṣasthā $N_{\text{CŚŚ}}$ **100a** saṃbhūtā] $N_{\text{CŚŚ}}$; saṃbhūtāḥ N_{NAK} **100b** jñātavyā] $N_{\text{CŚŚ}}$; jñātavyāḥ N_{NAK} **100d** varṇa°] $N_{\text{CŚŚ}}$; svarṇa° N_{NAK} **101b** °niṣpatti°] N_{NAK}; °niṣpanti° $N_{\text{CŚŚ}}$

Śrīmatottara 22

aiṃ hrīṃ phreṃ hsauṃḥ na nādinī śikhaye namaḥ ||
⟨*aiṃ ṛ nivṛttyai namaḥ* ||⟩
aiṃ ṝ pratiṣṭhāyai namaḥ ||
aiṃ ḷ vidyāyai namaḥ || *20*||
aiṃ ḹ śāntyai namaḥ ||
evaṃ śiromālāṃ kramaṃ nyaset ||
aiṃ tha grasaniḥ śirase namaḥ ||
aiṃ cāmuṇḍā tṛtīyanetrāya namaḥ || *21*||
aiṃ dha priyadarśanī netrābhyāṃ namaḥ ||
aiṃ ī guhyaśaktir nāsāpuṭebhyo namaḥ ||
aiṃ ṇa nārāyaṇī karṇābhyāṃ namaḥ ||
aiṃ u mohanī dakṣiṇakarṇabhūṣaṇe namaḥ || *22*||
aiṃ ū prajñā vāmakarṇabhūṣaṇe namaḥ ||
aiṃ va vajriṇī vaktramaṇḍale namaḥ ||
aiṃ ka kaṅkaṭā ūrddhvadaṃṣṭre namaḥ ||
aiṃ kha kālikāyai adhodantapaṅktau namaḥ || *23*||
aiṃ ga śivāyai ūrddhvadantapaṅktau namaḥ ||
aiṃ gha ghoreghoṣāyai adhodantapaṅktau namaḥ ||
aiṃ ṅa ghovīrā ghaṇṭikāsthāne namaḥ ||
aiṃ ī māyādevī jihvāgre namaḥ || *24*||
aiṃ a vāgeśvarī vāce namaḥ ||
aiṃ va śikhivāhinī kaṇṭhe namaḥ ||
aim bha bhīṣaṇī dakṣiṇaskandhe namaḥ ||
aiṃ ya vāyuvegāyai vāmaskandhe namaḥ || *25*||
aiṃ ḍa lāmīdevī dakṣiṇabāhau namaḥ ||
aiṃ ḍha vināyakī vāmabāhau namaḥ ||
aiṃ ṭha pūrṇimā karatalamadhye namaḥ ||

Codex used for this section of *paṭala* 22: N=NGMPP reel no. A $\frac{194}{3}$, Fv 120[3]–Fr 121[3]

20c ṝ] *em.*; ṛ N **21a** śāntyai] *corr.*; sāntyāyai N **21b** śiromālāṃ] *em.*; śiromālā N **21c** grasaniḥ] *em.*; grasani N **21d** °netrāya] *em.*; °netra N **22b** ī] *em.*; i N **22b** śaktir] *em.*; śakti N **22c** ṇa] *em.*; la N **22d** °bhūṣaṇe] *corr.*; °bhūṣanī N **23a** °bhūṣaṇe] *corr.*; °bhūṣaṇī N **23b** vaktra°] *em.*; cakra° N ka] *em.*; kaṃ N **23c** kaṅkaṭā] *em.*; kaṭhaṇe N **23c** ūrddhvadaṃṣṭre] *em.*; ūrddhāṣṭre N **23d** adhodantapaṅktau] *conj.*; adhone N **24a** °paṅktau] *em.*; °yaktau N **24b** paṅktau] *em.*; paktau N **24c** ṅa] *em.*; ṅam N **24c** ghovīrā] *corr.*; ghovīra N **24d** ī] *em.*; i N **25a** vāgeśvarī vāce] conj; vācā vāgeśvarī N **26c** °madhye] *em.*; °hṛye N

aiṃ jha jhaṃkāriṇī dakṣiṇakarāṅgulīnakheṣu namaḥ || 26||
aiṃ ña kurddhanī vāmakarāṅgulīnakheṣu namaḥ ||
aiṃ aḥ icchāśaktiḥ karapṛṣṭhābhyāṃ namaḥ ||
aiṃ ṭa kapālinī vāmakare kapāla amṛtaghūrṇite namaḥ ||27||
aiṃ ra dīpanī dakṣiṇatarjanī śūladaṇḍaṃ namaḥ ||
aiṃ ja jayantī triśūlorddhvaṃ namaḥ ||
aim pa pāvenī hṛdaye namaḥ ||
aim sa paramātmaśakti jīvaṃ namaḥ ||28||
aiṃ haṃ ambikā prāṇe namaḥ ||
aiṃ cha chagalaṇḍī dakṣiṇastane namaḥ ||
aiṃ la pūtanā vāmastane namaḥ ||
aiṃ ā ⟨ā⟩modī stanamonaḥ kṣīre namaḥ ||29||
aiṃ ṣa lambikāyai udare namaḥ ||
aiṃ kṣa saṃdyāriṇī nābhau namaḥ ||
aiṃ ma mahākāli nitambe namaḥ ||
aim śaṃ kusumāyudhā guhye namaḥ ||30||
aiṃ ⌈aṃ⌉śukradevī śukre namaḥ ||
aiṃ taṃ tārā ūrubhyāṃ namaḥ ||
aiṃ e jñāninī dakṣiṇajānuni namaḥ ||
aiṃ ai kriyāyai vāmajānuni namaḥ ||31||
aiṃ o gāyatrī dakṣiṇajaṅghāyāṃ namaḥ ||
aiṃ au sāvitrī vāmajaṅghāyāṃ namaḥ ||
aiṃ da dahanī dakṣiṇapāde namaḥ ||
aim pha phetkāriṇī vāmapāde namaḥ || 32||

26d jha] *em.*; ṛ N jhaṃkāriṇī] *corr.*; jhaṃkāriṇi N **27c** °śaktiḥ] *corr.*; °śakti N **27d** amṛtaghūrṇite] *em.*; amṛtaghūmitaṃ ghūrṇitaṃ N °orddhvaṃ] *em.*; ārddhaṃ N **30d** śaṃ] *em.*; *aṃ* N **30d** guhye] *em.*; guhya N **31c** e] *em.*; pa N **32d** pha] *em.*; pheṃ N

Manuscript Sources

Agnikāryapaddhati [1.] Göttingen, Cod. Ms. Mu. 1, 134; [2.] Paris Sanscrit 166A.

Aghoranirṇaya see *Pārameśvarīmata* [3.].

Kularatnoddyotatantra [1.] NGMPP A206/10, ff. 96, paper, Nevārī script, copied in 1634 CE, colophon: *iti śrī Ādināthavinirgate pañcāśatkoṭivistīrṇe śrīKubjikāmate Kularatnoddyote prayāgādicakrapūjāpratiṣṭānānākarmakaraṇakarmārambhāyācāryābhiṣekayoginām ānt[y]eṣṭividhāno nāma caturdaśaḥ paṭalaḥ* ||; [2.] Bodl. Chandra Shum Shere C. 348; [3.] NAK 4-2454, NGMPP A146/6, ff. 93, paper, Nevārī, colophon: *iti śrī Ādidevāt pañcāśatkoṭivistīrṇād vinirgate śrīkularatnoddyote śrīkulasantāna ādisūtranirṇayo nāma dvādaśaḥ paṭalaḥ* ||; [4.] NAK 5-427, NGMPP A40/2, ff. 72, palmleaf, first lines of ff. 1–5 damaged; [5.] NGMPP 119/3, ff. 138, paper; [6.] NGMPP B118/12, ff. 100, paper; [7.] NAK 5-5142, NGMPP A147/10, ff. 19, paper, Devanāgarī.

Tantrasadbhāvatantra [1.] NAK 5-445, NGMPP A44/2, ff. 186, palmleaf, Kuṭila script; [2.] NGMPP A44/1, palmleaf, Kuṭila script, copied in 1097 CE; [3.] NAK 5–1985 NGMPP A188/22, ff. 132, a transcript of [2.].

Timirodghāṭana NAK 5-690, NGMPP A35/3, late Licchavi or early Kuṭila script on palmleaf.

Nityādisaṅgrahābhidhānapaddhati of Takṣakavarta, Bodl. MS Stein Or.d.43, paper, *Śāradā* script.

Pārameśvarīmata [1.] NAK 3–364, NGMPP B27/3, ff. 84, palmleaf, Kuṭila, ca. 12th century CE; [2.] NAK 1–259, NGMPP B27/2, ff. 77, palmleaf, Kuṭila script, illustrated cover, the final chapter of this MS has been catalogued seperately as [3.] *Aghoranirṇaya* NAK PRA 1606, NGMPP B25/5, ff. 6, palmleaf, Kuṭila script, final cipher of date illegible: the range of dating is thus 1079–1088 CE, final colophon: *iti śrīPārameśvarīmate navakoṭisaṃhitāyāṃ caturāśītisahasre aghoranirṇayaś catvāriṃśatimaḥ paṭalaḥ*

Matasāra NAK 3-379, NGMPP B28/16, ff. 161, palmleaf.

Śrīmatottaratantra [1.] NGMPP B28/17, ff. 189, palmleaf, Pāla script, colophon on fol. 154^r: *iti śrīmatottare śrīkaṇṭhanāthāvatārite candradvīpavinirgate yoginīguhye śirodūtinirṇayasādhanaṃ nāma daśamaḥ paṭalaḥ* || ❁ ||; [2.] NAK 3-191, NGMPP B28/21, ff. 55, palmleaf, Devanāgarī, Begins with fol. 29^r, colophon on fol. 53^v: *iti śrīmatottare śrīśrīkaṇṭhanāthāvatārite candradvīpavinirgate śrīkulālikā ādye māt[ṛ]nāṃ pratiṣṭhālakṣaṇanirṇayo caturthaḥ paṭalaḥ* || ❁ ||, change of hand at fol. 66; [3.] NGMPP A194/3, colophon title: *Śrīmatottaracandradvīpavinirgataśrīkaṇṭhanāthāvatārite Vidyāpīṭhe Yoginīguhye*; NAK 1-1697 7/4, NGMPP B28/35, ff. 25, palmleaf, Devanāgarī.

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Abbreviations

BORI Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute

CNRS Centre National pour la Recherche Scientifique

EFEO Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient

IFI Institut français d'indologie

IFP Institut français de Pondichéry

KSTS Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies

NAK National Archives of Kathmandu

NGMPP Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project

PDI Publications du département d'indologie

PIFI Publications de l'Institut français d'Indologie

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